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VICTORIA, QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND EMPRESS OF INDIA.

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CASSELL'S

ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF INDIA.

BY

JAMES GRANT,

Author of "British Battles on Land and Sea," &c.



VOL. II.

CASSELL PETER & GALPIN:

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CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE WAR WITH BURMAH.—THE ARRACAN COLUMN.
—OPERATIONS OF GENERALS CAMPBELL, COT-
TON, AND MAJOR SALE, ETC.

THE fatal event at Barrackpore had delayed for a time the departure of Morrison's Arracan column, which, as we have stated, mustered 11,000 strong. It included H.M. 44th and 54th Regiments, the 26th, 42nd, 49th, and 62nd Bengal Native Infantry Battalions, the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, the Mugh Levy, some local horse, artillery, and pioneers.

Under Commodore Hayes, a flotilla accompanied it, to aid in the reduction of islands and maritime districts, and this force consisted of the Honorable Company's surveying ships *Investigator* and *Research*, the steamer *Pluto*, five gun-brigs, a bomb-vessel, four gun-pinnaces, and eighty gun-boats, each armed with a twelve-pound carronade, besides transports and native craft. With this flotilla were 600 of the Royal Marines; but it was not until the middle of January, 1825, that Brigadier Morrison was able to move from Chittagong.

He hoped, however, to make up for lost time, as it was known he would find no Burmese force to encounter in Arracan, Maha Bandoola having with-

drawn all his troops for the purpose of hemming up Campbell in Rangoon; but a more terrible enemy than Burmah could send forth was to be met on his disastrous march.

The total length of the province of Arracan is 250 miles, its greatest breadth is 105, though in some parts it is little more than ten miles. On the north it is separated from the Chittagong district by the river Nauf. A range of mountains, named the Yeomandong, whose height varies from 2,000 to 8,000 feet, running parallel to, and in some places approaching very near the coast, separates it from the Burmese empire. No fewer than twenty-two passes exist in this chain between Arracan and Ava; of these, the principal, the Pass of Aeng, at its summit, attains an altitude of 4,664 feet; but these passes are generally little more than mere foot-tracks, traversable only by bullocks or mountain ponies. The sea-coast is bordered by numerous isles, the largest of which is Cheduba, and has a line of dangerous shoals, and is torn and indented by creeks, the formation of the fierce torrents that are for ever pouring from the Yeomandong. The interior presents only a succession of rugged heights, with deep ravines and marshy flats between.

Towering forests and impervious jungle render every route one of extreme difficulty, and poison the atmosphere so much that, at the commencement and cessation of the rainfalls, it becomes quite pestilential. In the town of Arracan, fifteen inches of rain have been known to fall in one day. In 1825, the year of Morrison's march, out of 16,500 square miles, the Mughs, its inhabitants, had only 400 under cultivation.

In order to avoid the serious obstacles which he was aware would beset him, General Morrison resolved to march as near the coast as possible, to the end that he might avail himself of the assistance of Commodore Hayes for the conveyance of the troops and stores across the mouths of rivers. On the 1st of February, 1825, he reached the mouth of the Nauf, and threw a detachment across it to take possession of Mangdoo, but twelve days elapsed ere the whole of his troops had crossed; and, as many of his baggage animals had not yet come up, he was compelled to leave there many of his stores, under a guard, while he pushed on to the mouth of the Myoo, a stream there more than three miles in width.

So varied and unforeseen were the causes of delay, that a whole month elapsed ere the last man was across, after which the army encamped at the town of Chankroin, near a tributary of the Kaladyne, which is navigable even to deeply-laden boats, to within a few miles of Arracan, the capital of the

province, to capture which, with its population of about 10,000 souls, was now the chief object of the brigadier.

Commodore Hayes having entered the river with his shipping towards the end of February, found his progress obstructed by the guns of a stockade, which he failed to force; but when the troops reached the same point on the 20th of the subsequent month, it was found to be abandoned. Morrison's force had now marched 150 miles from Chittagong.

On the 26th of March, after storming two stockades, it continued to advance, without further opposition, till, on the 29th, it halted at the base of a hilly range, about 400 feet in height, that overlooks Arracan, the houses of which are all built on piles, above the mud and ooze which the river deposits around them. On the summit of these hills, 9,000 Burmese troops were found strongly stockaded, and Morrison ordered an instant assault.

Up this steep ascent our soldiers rushed to the attack, but were met by a dreadful matchlock fire, accompanied by volleys of enormous stones which were rolled down upon them, and after suffering considerable loss, they were compelled to fall back, and acknowledge themselves beaten. On the 30th, he brought up his battering-guns, which opened briskly on the stockade, while next evening a detachment, by a circuitous route, attacked it in rear; the Burmese, finding themselves assailed on two points at once, lost all presence of mind, and fled. Arracan was captured, and the whole province was subjugated; and by the Treaty of Yandaboo—yet to be narrated—was ceded to Great Britain.

So far all had gone well with Morrison's column; but there, in one of the most unhealthy places between the tropics, he put his troops into cantonments, while he halted to complete the occupation of a country where there was nothing to subdue. In the month of May the rains of the monsoon set in, fever began to appear, and it continued to augment daily and nightly, amid the horrid miasmatic atmosphere of Arracan, till scarcely a soldier remained fit for duty, and even the baggage animals drooped and died. The horses, bullocks, and elephants, perished by hundreds; and the mortality was so great in the ranks of the two king's regiments that, together, they did not muster 1,004 men.

Three-fifths of the whole force found their graves in Arracan during the course of eight months; and the rest became utterly inefficient, as the sepoy suffered quite as much as the British soldiers. And all this came to pass from Morrison's abandoning the original plan for co-operating with the army of

the Irawaddi, and the ignorance of his staff as to the geography of the country. The perfectly practicable Pass of Aeng, by which an extensive trade was carried on between Burmah and Arracan, was overlooked, and the army, supposing there was no further outlet, instead of aiding Campbell, was left in the latter place to pine away and perish by disease.

Yet that the road by the Aeng Pass, though steep, was a perfectly open one, ample and practicable proofs were given to the public, when, in the March of the following year, Captain David Ross tells us that he marched homeward with the 18th Madras Infantry, fifty pioneers, and all the elephants of the army, from Yandaboo on the Irawaddi, across the Arracan mountains, by that route, on an excellent road—a march extending over only nineteen days.*

After the successes of our troops at Kokim on the 15th of the preceding December, the condition of our Rangoon expedition was greatly ameliorated. The return of the healthy season had lessened disease, and reinforcements had arrived, including, among other European regiments, the second battalion of the Royal Scots, under Colonel Armstrong; but prior to commencing more active operations, a new policy was inaugurated, by offering independence to the Peguers, that confidence might be given to the returning inhabitants of Rangoon. To this end, Sir Archibald Campbell issued a proclamation, showing the folly of resisting the British arms, and reminding the Peguers of the oppression and tyranny they had so long endured, drawing a contrast between their degraded state and the happiness now enjoyed by the freed people of Tenasserim under the British flag, concluding with the recommendation to choose from among themselves a chief, and he would acknowledge him. The ancient dynasty of Pegu was extinct: there was none to choose from; and before there was any prospect of a candidate appearing, the policy of Great Britain had adopted a new phase, and it was deemed unsafe, amid eventualities, to encourage a spirit of national independence in the people of Pegu.

When General Campbell began a new line of operations, he led the first division in person. It consisted of only 2,400 men, and by way of distinction was called the Land Column. It was composed of H.M. 38th, 41st, and 47th Regiments, all very weak, with three native battalions, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, and a rocket troop.

The second division was under Brigadier-General Cotton, and consisted of H.M. 89th Regiment, the

1st Madras Europeans, and 250 of the 18th Madras Native Infantry, some foot artillery, and a few of the rocket troop, but mustering only 1,200 men in all.

The third division—if such slender formations can be so called—consisted only of H.M. 13th Regiment, the 12th Madras Native-Infantry, and a few artillery, but only 600 men in all, under the gallant Robert Sale, then holding the rank of major.

Campbell's division was to proceed by land to Prome, on the Irawaddi, while Cotton, by water, would form a junction with him at the same point, for the purpose of reducing the enemy's works at Panlang and Donabew. With Cotton were to come fifty-two gunboats, under Captain Alexander, R.N. Sale's small force was to operate by sea; in pursuance of which order it proceeded to Cape Negrais, and after destroying the batteries there, had orders to advance to Bassein.*

The latter must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Bombay, as it is a district, town, and river of Burmah, in the province of Pegu. Sale was most successful; and after destroying the enemy's works, ascended the river to the town of Bassein, from which the enemy retired, leaving it in flames. Being without means of transport, Sale was unable to follow them up, and thus had no alternative but to re-embark at Bassein, and sail back to Rangoon to await fresh orders.

Meanwhile, Cotton's division advanced to Yougan-Chena, where the Rangoon branch separates from the Irawaddi. When Panlang, on the former, was reached, on the 19th February, Cotton found the flat reedy banks on both sides strongly stockaded; these were ultimately, with difficulty, shelled, after which the enemy took to flight before a shower of rockets. Leaving a detachment of Madras Infantry at this point, the flotilla proceeded on its way, and on the 6th of March appeared off Donabew.

There, the works were on the right bank of the stream; they were of great strength, and commanded the whole breadth of the current. The chief work, as described by an officer of the staff, "a parallelogram of 1,000 by 700 yards, stood on a bank withdrawn from the bed of the river in the dry season, and rising above it. Two others, one a square of 200 yards, with a pagoda in the centre, and the other an irregular work, 400 yards from it, stood lower down the river, forming outworks to the principal stockade, commanded and supported by its batteries. All three were constructed of squared beams of timber, provided with platforms,

* "Two Years in Ava." By an Officer of the Staff.

* Wilson, &c.

and pierced for cannon; and each had an exterior ditch, the outer edge of which was guarded with sharp-pointed bamboos, and a thick abattis of felled trees and brushwood. One hundred and forty guns of various calibres, and a greater number of jingals, were mounted on the parapets, and the garrison consisted of 12,000 men, commanded by [Maha Bandoola] the most celebrated general in the service of Ava.*

Having left part of a native regiment at Panlang, and some of his Europeans to guard the gunboats and stores, the whole available force of Cotton did not amount to much beyond 600 bayonets—a strength manifestly inadequate to storming Donabew; but Cotton having only unconditional orders to attack the place, had no alternative but to obey them.

Accordingly, on the 7th of March, he formed two little columns of attack, consisting of 500 men in all. These advanced against the smaller stockade, covered by the fire of two field-pieces and a rocket battery. They carried it successfully, and then an attempt was made against the second intrenchment. A rush was made at it by 200 gallant fellows; but numbers overwhelmed them, and they were driven back with loss. It was a gross blunder of General Campbell to send Brigadier Cotton with such inadequate means on such a service; and it was an equal blunder on Cotton's part to assault Donabew, after a reconnaissance must have proved to him the enormous strength of the place.

Disparity of force rendered the attempt criminal and absurd. The brigadier was compelled to relinquish it, and re-embarking, to drop down the river to Yung-Yung, and there await fresh instructions from the general in command.

As has been too often the case in British military expeditions, it was now painfully evident that the force sent to Rangoon was too weak, and that the government at Calcutta had formed no correct idea of the task it had undertaken; and Cotton, while waiting for orders, learned that Campbell, finding himself also too weak to achieve anything at Prome, was falling back.

His division had started on the 13th of February; with the grenadiers and light infantry of the 1st Royal Scots as his advance-guard, he had proceeded along a difficult path, tending obliquely towards the Irawaddi river. He marched through the provinces of Lyng and Sarrawah, or Tharawa, till he reached a place called Mophi; when about 3,000 Burmese, under Maha Silwah, abandoned an old Peguan fort, which they at first seemed disposed to defend, and dispersed in the jungle. From

Mophi, Campbell continued his progress uninterrupted by the enemy, and forded the Lyng at Thaboon, on the 1st of March. The whole inhabitants of the country through which his column marched viewed the expulsion of the Burmese with much satisfaction, and assisted the troops in making roads, and in procuring supplies of rice and buffaloes.*

During these arduous operations, the troops were well-nigh maddened by clouds of mosquitoes. These issued from the jungle and high reeds by the river banks, and tortured the poor Europeans by biting them through every kind of clothing. "A cavalry officer," says Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir James Edward) Alexander, "affirmed that he found no protection in a pair of leather breeches; an infantry soldier declared that they bit him through his breast-plate; an artilleryman, to crown the joke, asserted that he could not secure his head by thrusting it into a mortar."†

On the 2nd March, Campbell's division reached that point on the Irawaddi where its junction with the Water Column had been intended, only to learn that it had fallen back from Donabew. Campbell was thus compelled to retrace his steps, and concentrate his force for the reduction of that formidable place, if possible. He accordingly crossed the Irawaddi by means of canoes and rafts, which, owing to the insufficiency of these craft, caused the movement to last five days.

After halting two days at Henzada, a large town, where there were many temples and wooden bridges, the column, cutting a path through jungle and thicket, pursued its march along the right bank of the river, and arrived before Donabew on the 25th of March. Two days after, a communication was opened with the Water Column, under Cotton, and both leaders now prepared to co-operate for the reduction of the place. Campbell had halted above Donabew, while the flotilla, under Cotton, was below it. Thus, ere they could act together, the latter had to take advantage of a fair wind, before which he sailed up against the current, gallantly running the gauntlet of every gun the enemy could bring to bear upon him.

Batteries were now constructed without delay, and to retard their progress Bandoola threw out many spirited sorties. One of these was headed by seventeen elephants, each carrying six men, armed with jingals or matchlocks, supported by horse and dense masses of infantry; but a well-directed fire of grape and musketry threw them all into confusion. Torn with bloody wounds, the

* "Hist. Records 1st Royal Scots."

† "Journey from India to England," 1827.

huge elephants became wild and unmanageable, and, trampling the foot soldiers to death, fled to the nearest thickets, followed by the horsemen, while the infantry took flight to their stockades. In their subsequent operations, neither skill nor courage was shown by the besieged; against whom Campbell opened his batteries on the 3rd of April, when, to the surprise of all, there came no response from the vast works of the Burmese. It was then found that the latter had abandoned the place, and for some time had been in full retreat through the friendly jungle.

The works were then at once taken possession of. Maha Bandoola, the only leader in whom the Burmese had confidence, had been slain by a shell, and his body was stripped of his armour, which is now preserved in the Tower of London. The suit consists of a mixture of plate and quilting; the former having a circular breast defence, and all the pieces ornamented with a richly-gilded arabesque bordering; the latter composed of crimson velvet, with small metal studs. His spear-shaft, which is also preserved, is all of chased silver. It was rumoured in the camp, that before his death this leader had begun to evince some tendencies to Christianity. When the reporter of this interesting fact—a Mugh from Chittagong—was questioned to explain what these symptoms were, he replied, that Bandoola was of his “master’s caste”—having acquired a relish for beef, pork, and brandy! Our total loss was thirty killed, and 134 wounded.

All the guns and stores of every description now fell into the hands of our troops, who then resumed their progress towards the heights of Prome.

On the 8th of April, Campbell was joined by Brigadier McCreagh, with the eight battalion companies of the 1st Royal Scots, the 28th Madras Native Infantry, and a good supply of draught cattle and elephants. The Prince of Tharawaddi, brother of the king, was now at the head of the Burmese army, which fell back to defend Prome, a town on the left bank of the Irawaddi, a mile and a half in circumference, enclosed by a brick wall and stockade, near which are hills covered by pleasant groves of tamarind and palmyra trees. But instead of fighting, the prince continued to retire, step by step, as Campbell advanced, till the latter was within thirty miles of Prome; when one of our soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, came into camp with a letter addressed to the general by two of the royal councillors.

This document attributed the war to the conduct “of a certain paltry chief,” and suggested that a negotiation should be opened for the restoration of peace and the ancient friendship of the two states.

To this Sir Archibald Campbell replied, that when the British army was at Prome he would then listen to overtures for peace. And on the 25th of April he entered that place without the least opposition, although, according to his own opinion, it was strong enough by art and nature to have been held by one thousand men against ten times their number.

Though the Burmese would seem to have begun to despair of success at this time, they gathered courage and made fresh levies of troops, till they had 52,000 under arms. Of these, 20,000 were assembled at Meaday, on the Irawaddi, forty miles north of Prome, under a half-brother of the king; 12,000 were at Tongho, eighty miles distant; and the remaining 20,000 were about Melloone and elsewhere; while to oppose all these, Campbell had only five thousand, the half of whom were native troops, with his head-quarters at Prome, and 1,500 more from Rangoon had orders to join him. An armistice was agreed upon, to extend from the 17th of September to the 17th of October, in order to enable the British agents and Burmese vakeels to come to terms of peace. In September, Sir James Brisbane, Commander-in-chief of the British Navy in the Indian Seas, joined the army.

The Kye Wungyee and Lamain Woon met these two leaders on the 2nd of October, to form the terms of a definitive treaty, on the plain of Narenzik, when it soon became obvious that our demands were deemed arrogant by the Burmese. On first meeting in the hall of audience there was much appearance of friendship. “Shaking of hands, and every demonstration of amicable feeling having passed,” says Major Snodgrass, “the parties entered the house, and sat down on two rows of chairs, fronting each other; the Wungyees and their suite, in all fifteen chiefs, each bearing the chain of nobility, and dressed in their splendid court dresses, evidently doing grievous penance in seats they were never accustomed to, that no difference might appear, even in the most trifling particular, between the parties; and so observing and tenacious were they on this point, that scarcely a movement could be made without a corresponding one on their side.”*

But the business in hand soon disconcerted them, for General Campbell’s conditions were these:—“The court of Ava was expected to desist from all interference with Assam and Cachar, and to recognise the independence of Manipore. Arracan, with its dependencies, was to be given up to the British, and an indemnity of two crores of rupees (£2,000,000) was to be paid for the expenses

* “Narrative of the Burmese War.”

of the war, until the discharge of which sum, Rangoon, Martaban, and the Tenasserim provinces were to be held in pledge. A Resident was to be received at Ava, and a commercial treaty to be concluded, by which trade with Rangoon should be relieved from the exactions by which it had hitherto been repressed." *

It was soon evident that the Burmese would never concede to all this without another struggle ; and thus, a few days before the expiration of the armistice, a letter arrived from the Burmese commissioners, intimating the final resolution of the Golden Foot in these terms :—

"If you sincerely want peace, and our former friendship re-established according to Burmese custom, empty your hands of what you have, and then, if you ask it, we will be on friendly terms with

you, and send our petition for the release of your British prisoners, and send them down to you. However, after the termination of the armistice between us, if you show any inclination to renew your demands for your expenses, or any territory from us, you are to consider our friendship at an end. This is Burman custom."

As soon as the Burmese had thus, with undisguised indignation, rejected the terms proposed by Sir Archibald Campbell, they lost not an hour in preparing for the resumption of hostilities, and began to advance upon Prome.

A considerable body of them took post at Watigaon, about twenty miles from that place, and by commanding the country on Campbell's right flank, threatened to give his army the greatest annoyance.

CHAPTER II.

WAR WITH BURMAH.—THE BATTLE OF PROME.—THE AFFAIR OF MELLOONE.—BATTLE OF PAGAMHEW.—
PEACE WITH THE KING OF AVA.

To dislodge this advanced party of Burmese, on the 15th of November, 1825, Brigadier McDowall marched in the evening, with five slender regiments of native infantry, formed in three divisions ; but the ground, which was found to be flooded and swampy, did not admit of the conveyance of field-pieces, and no heavy guns had been brought. Ignorance of the position led to confusion in the attack, which proved a failure, and McDowall was repulsed, with the loss of nine officers wounded—one mortally—and 216 rank and file killed or wounded. The Burmese, who had never shown much apprehension of the sepoys, for a considerable time after this spoke of them with exulting contempt.

They were now encouraged to make an attempt upon our lines at Prome, by advancing and intrenching themselves within a few miles of that place, under Maha Nemiow, 8,000 of whose *corps d'armée* were Shans, who had not yet come in contact with our troops, and were expected to fight with more courage and resolution than those who had already encountered us. These new levies were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, who were supposed to be

* Wilson.

endued with the gifts of prophecy and of turning aside the bullets of the British.

On the 30th November arrangements were made to attack the enemy next morning, beginning with the left, and taking the divisions in which the Burmese troops were formed in rapid detail. Commodore Brisbane, with the flotilla, was to cannonade the enemy's post upon both banks of the Irawaddi at daylight, and a body of native infantry was to advance at the same time along the margin of the river upon the position of Kye Wungyee, drive his advanced posts back on the main body, drawing the enemy's whole attention to his right and centre, while the columns were marching for the real attack upon his left at Simbiké.

Leaving four regiments of sepoys in garrison, at dawn on the 1st December, the rest of the force assembled in two columns of attack at a short distance in front of Prome. One, under Brigadier Cotton, advanced by the straight road that led to Simbiké ; the other, led by General Campbell, crossed the river Nawine, and moved along its right bank to get into the enemy's rear, and cut off his retreat upon the division of Kye Wungyee.

"The columns," says Major Snodgrass, "had



NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE : MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND BURMESE COMMISSIONERS.

scarcely moved off, when a furious cannonade upon our left announced the commencement of operations on the river, and so completely deceived the enemy, that we found the pickets of his left withdrawn, and the position at Simbike exposed to a sudden and unexpected attack. Brigadier Cotton's column first reached the enemy's line, consisting of a succession of stockades erected across an open space in the centre of the jungle, where the villages of Simbike and Kyalaz had stood, having the Nawine River in rear, a thick wood on either flank, and available only by the open space in front, defended by cross-fires from the zig-zagging formation of the works.*

Cotton's plans were soon matured. With the 41st Welsh in front, and the flank companies of the Royal Scots and 89th Regiment, with the 18th Madras Native Infantry, in flank, he advanced with great intrepidity. Encouraged by the presence of the aged Kye Wungyee, who was borne from place to place in a gilded litter, and cheered by the example of the three beautiful Amazons, the Shans certainly fought well; but no sooner was a lodgment effected in the interior of their densely-crowded works than confusion ensued, and they were unable to contend with, or check the progress of, the fast-forming line of disciplined soldiers who formed up to the front as they poured in, and from whose destructive file-firing there was no escape.

The strongly-built enclosures everywhere prevented flight, and in a few minutes the narrow outlets were choked up by the dead and dying. Horses and men rushed wildly to and fro; in some places groups were seen trying to tear down the stockades, in others, offering a feeble resistance to their conquerors. "The grey-headed *Chobwas* (princes) of the Shans, in particular, showed a noble example to their men, sword in hand, singly maintaining the unequal contest; nor could any signs or gestures of good treatment induce them to forbearance; attacking all who offered to approach them with humane or friendly feelings, they only sought the death which too many of them found."

Maha Nemiow fell, with all his litter-bearers, and his body, with his sword, Kye Wungyee's chain, and other insignia, were found among the dead. One of the Amazons received a mortal wound in her breast, and expired in the hands of our soldiers.

Elsewhere, Campbell's column was pushing forward in rear of these stockades, and met the panic-stricken in the act of emerging from the jungle. The Horse Artillery now unlimbered, and opened a crashing fire upon the flying mobs.

* "Narrative of the Burmese War."

Another of the Shan ladies was then seen galloping on horseback into the Nawine River; but before she could reach the protection of the forest beyond it, a shrapnel exploded over her head, and she fell from her saddle; but whether she was killed or merely terrified was never known, as the Shans bore her away.

The rout of the Burmese army was complete, with enormous losses; ours were three officers killed and two wounded—one mortally—twenty-five soldiers killed, and 121 wounded.

On the 19th of December the army reached Meaday, accompanied by the flotilla, when a flag of truce came to the naval commander, offering to negotiate. Lieutenant-Colonel Tidy and Lieutenant Smith, R.N., had conducted previous negotiations, and these officers were deputed to meet the Burmese. Nevertheless, Sir Archibald Campbell was resolved neither to be deceived nor obstructed by delays under the guise of negotiations, and he continued to advance with the armaments till they arrived at Patanagoh, opposite to Melloone, on the 29th of December.

Next day the negotiators undertook to have an interview in a boat in the centre of the river. The general, the commodore, Mr. T. C. Robertson, the civil commissioner, and their suites, went on board, and found five great officials of Ava ready to receive them. The demands of the British were repeated, and met by the old expostulations on the part of the Burmese; who, at last, gave way, by consenting to a surrender of territory, but protesting against the payment of any indemnity, though the British reduced the latter to one million sterling.

On the 3rd of January, 1826, a definitive treaty was executed, and an armistice settled, to extend to the 18th of that month. On the 17th an extension of time was asked, and General Campbell, perceiving that they only meant to delude him, demanded that the Burmese should evacuate the fortified camp of Melloone by sunrise on the 20th, or expect an attack; and on that day, as no ratification of the treaty arrived, the troops advanced against Melloone.

By the 19th Campbell had lined the bank of the river with his batteries; one of eighteen-pounders and heavy mortars was opposed to the centre of the greatest stockade; another, of lighter guns, was ready to batter a pagoda to the southward. The guns and howitzers of the Horse Artillery were in battery to the left of the central work. "By eleven o'clock," says Sir Henry Havelock, "twenty-eight mouths of fire were ready to open on Melloone, and the whole strength of the rocket

brigade was posted near the right of the central battery."

Campbell, in person, gave the word. The roar of the first combined salvo shook the ground, and seemed to rend the air. It reverberated amid the rocks and woods of Melloone, and died away in rumbling echoes among the distant hills. Shots followed each other in deafening peals; and they were seen dashing the works to pieces, and raising clouds of whirling dust and splinters from the stockades. "Shells hit sometimes a few paces from the parapet, behind which the garrison was crouching, bursting among their ranks; sometimes upon the huts of the troops and marked points of the pagodas. The rockets flew in the truest path. Many fell upon the barbarians; many shaped their course direct into the pavilions of the chiefs. Partial fires were soon seen to break out at Melloone. Twice the line of the barbarians which manned the eastern face was seen to give way under the dreadful fire; twice they were rallied by their chiefs. The storm of fire, of shells, and bullets continued, without intermission, for an hour and a quarter. Fifteen minutes before one, the boats of the flotilla began to move from a point 200 yards above the light battery. The first brigade had been embarked on board the leading vessels."*

The flank companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers—the 41st and the 89th—with some strong sepoy detachments, found themselves at the same moment afloat in the remainder of the flotilla, under the orders of Brigadier Cotton, with whom were Lieutenant-Colonels Henry Godwin, one of the heroes of Barossa, B. B. Parily, C.B., and Hunter Blair, C.B., who had been severely wounded at Waterloo. This force was to gain the right bank a little above the great work, and operate against its northern face, then being fearfully enfiladed by the Horse Artillery guns.

As one of its columns was intended to intercept the retreat of the Burmese, the whole body ought to have been put in motion before the first brigade; but the attempt which was made to render the advance of both simultaneous, ended by an inversion of the order of their operations. Thus the first brigade came too soon, and the turning columns too late, in contact with the enemy.

The boats of the first brigade began to fall rapidly down the stream. Colonel Sale, says Havelock, was seen in the leading man-of-war boat, far ahead of the heavier vessels, moving to attack the south-east (Snodgrass says the south-west) angle of the great work; thus he had to receive the fire

of the whole eastern front of the fortification, and every matchlock and jingall opened the moment the first boat was abreast of the place. The force of the stream swept the British to within half-musket range of their numerous enemies, who, relieved from the severity of our cannonade, caused by the approach of our boats, had full leisure to pour their fire upon them. "It caused a sensation of nervous tremor amongst the unoccupied spectators on the right bank, to see these two old tried corps (the 13th and 38th) thus silently enduring the storm of barbarian vengeance. A dense cloud of smoke from the Burmese musketry began to envelop the boats. Now and then, by the flash of a nine-pounder from one of the gun-vessels, she was seen to present her bows for an instant to the line, and direct a piercing shot against the works. The headmost boat was seen to touch the sand. A body of troops sprang ashore. They formed themselves, with the alacrity of practised *tirailleurs*, under the slope of the bank. They were part of the 38th; they began to answer and check the fire of the Burmese bastion near them. The vessels followed as rapidly as possible; but all seemed too slow for the wishes of those who looked upon the animating scene. They felt the inexpressible desire to urge on, by the power, as it were, of imagination, to press forward, to impel to the point, the headmost boats, which, though dropping quickly, yet seemed, to the eyes of impatience, to lag. More soldiers leaped upon the dry land, with a cheer; others followed. The spectators looked for the leader of the brigade. They did not know that a ball had struck him—the gallant Sale—between the shoulder and the breast, and that he lay swooning from loss of blood in the bottom of the boat."

Lieutenant-Colonel Frith then assumed the command, and conducted the assault, which was made with a steadiness and regularity that must have struck awe into the enemy. In an incredibly short time our soldiers entered by escalade, and established themselves in the interior of the works.

A prouder, or more gratifying sight, wrote another actor in the scene, has seldom been witnessed, than this mere handful of gallant fellows driving a dense multitude of from ten to fifteen thousand armed men before them, from works of such strength, that even Memiaboo, their general, contrary to all custom, did not think it necessary to quit until the troops were in the act of carrying them. The other brigades, cutting in upon the enemy's retreat, as they were rushing in headlong flight across the open ground, completed their

* "Campaigns in Ava."

destruction, and the capture of the whole of their artillery and military stores.*

But these stern examples were yet insufficient to overcome the obstinacy of the Burmese.

On the 8th of February our army approached within five miles of Pagamhew, an ancient town on the left bank of the Irawaddi, 260 miles above Rangoon. It consists of numerous mouldering pagodas and other ruins, covering some seven miles of ground along the bank of the stream, and extending for three miles inland. For many centuries it was the capital of the Burmese empire, and was regarded as a holy city. There the Burmese seemed resolved to make another stand, as it is solidly built and capable of defence; so Sir Archibald Campbell lost no time in attacking the enemy, though mustering 16,000 warriors, under a leader named the "King of Hell and Prince of Sunset."

The British advanced along a narrow road bordered by a species of plum-tree, above which rose the clouds of dust their marching raised from the dry sandy soil. Instead of defending Pagamhew, the Prince of Sunset, despising all tactics that savoured of timidity, or even throwing up the inevitable Burmese stockades, drew up his army on open ground to which this narrow roadway led, and along which Campbell was marching, with only 1,300 men.

The Burmans fired the first shot; the advance of their right opened a random fusillade, out of all range, at the head of the 43rd, and then fell back. The leading troops, in a moment after, became engaged with the advance of the Burmese, posted at a place called Loganunda, and drove it in, though they had come on with great fury, with frantic gestures and hideous shouts. The whole 13th Light Infantry were thrown forward in skirmishing order, and in this formation actually dashed among the Burmese, overthrew them, and, by bayonet and bullet, strewed the plum-thickets with their bodies. In their flight the Burmese were hotly pursued and thundered upon by the Horse Artillery guns, and cut down by the sowars wherever they could be overtaken.

The rest of the force found a difficulty in seconding this manœuvre, as it could not debouch with sufficient rapidity from the narrow path into which the troops were wedged, with the carriages of the foot artillery, the tumbrils, and rocket-tubes. The heat was overpowering, and two of the weak battalions had been harassed by a night march; the skirmishers of the 13th, thrown out along a considerable space, became closely en-

gaged with formidable masses before they could be adequately supported.

"The barbarian general took advantage of this with laudable adroitness," says Havelock. "He promptly moved up large bodies of horse and foot to the aid of his worsted advance; he caused a mass to debouch from his extreme left, menacing the right flank of the British, and another to press down from his centre, to cut off their vanguard from the road. The ground was a succession of hillocks planted with the jujube. Many of the little summits were covered with the ruins of pagodas; others with monuments less worn by time. Thus the adverse lines were scarcely aware how closely they approached each other. . . . The major-general, accompanied by the principal officers of his staff, was in the very centre of the attack of the vanguard. His person must have been distinctly seen by the barbarians. Large bodies advanced within a few yards of him; their shouts seemed already to announce a victory. The situation of the major-general was for many minutes critical. He had with him only fourteen men of the 13th, sixteen sowars of the Body Guard, and two field-pieces of the Horse Artillery."

The fire of the latter disconcerted the enemy, who fell back, and General Campbell recalled the 13th by sound of bugle, at a time when our guns and howitzers were got into position on the plateau of a ridge, where a ruinous brickwork formed a species of rampart. At its foot stood the enemy in immense force, their infantry supported by squadrons of Cassay horse. Campbell surveyed them steadily for a time through his telescope, and then said calmly, as the troops re-formed:—

"I have here the 13th and Body Guard, so the whole Burmese army shall not drive me from this hill."

Nevertheless, he was full of anxiety; there was no intelligence yet of the movements on the left, and detachments of the enemy filled all the thickets on both flanks, and even penetrated to the rear; but, at length, the 89th Regiment came up, and took its position in support, and the British once more prepared to attack the "King of Hell"—as his name of *Nee Woon Breen* has been translated—when it was perceived that he had diminished the frontage of his force, in consequence of his right flank and his communications with Pagamhew being menaced. When the troops advanced, with loud cheers, the Burmese were driven from position to position, from pagoda to pagoda, in total rout. All their standards were captured, and Campbell and his staff rode triumphantly into Pagamhew by its eastern gate; and we are told, that the boom

* Major Snodgrass.

of the last cannon-shot had scarcely ceased to echo among the pagodas of the ruined city, when his sentiments were thus conveyed to the troops in general orders :—

“ Providence has once more blessed with success the British arms in this country; and in the decisive defeat of the imposing force posted under and within the walls of Pagamhew, the major-general recognises a fresh display of the military virtues which have characterised his troops from the commencement of the war.”

The defeated commander left the field of battle with such rapidity, that he was the first to bear to Ava the tidings of his own disaster. The object of this, we are told, was to solicit a new army with which to expel the presumptuous invaders; but the courtiers, or the king, thought they had had enough of him. He was expelled from the royal presence with ignominy, and put to death the same evening. The employment of “the King of Hell and Prince of Sunset” had been the last effort of desperation; and it soon became evident that the resources of the empire were incapable of preventing a mere “handful” of British troops from penetrating 500 miles into the interior of the country, and compelling its capital to surrender at discretion.

After a five days’ halt at Pagamhew, Sir Archibald Campbell resumed his march, and arrived at Yandaboo, within sixty-three miles of Ava. It is a town in the Mranma, on the left bank of the great Irawaddi, and there negociators met him, in the persons of two Burmese ministers and two American missionaries, the Messrs. Price and Judson. As a proof of the sincerity of the now thoroughly humbled court of Ava, they were accompanied by a number of released captives, and brought with them twenty-five lacs of rupees (£250,000) as the first pecuniary instalment.

The terms had been previously arranged, so nothing remained but to give effect to them by a regular treaty, which was concluded, without giving rise to much discussion, on the 24th of February, 1826, and ratified without any unnecessary delay; and of this treaty we may quote the following five articles out of the eleven of which it consisted :—

Art. II. His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all further interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous states of Cachar and Jynteca.

Art. III. To prevent all disputes respecting the boundary-line between the two great nations, the British Government will retain the conquered provinces of Arracan, including the four divisions of Arracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandowey, and his

Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Arracan Mountains will henceforth form the boundary between the two great nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation will be settled by commissioners appointed by the respective Governments for that purpose, such commissioners to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

Art. IV. His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered provinces of Ye, Tavoy, Mergue, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto belonging, taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier. Any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article III.

Art. V. In consequence of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government for the expenses of the war, the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore (£1,250,000) of rupees.

Art. VII. In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two Governments, it is agreed that accredited ministers, retaining an escort of fifty men from each, shall reside at the durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase or build a suitable place of residence of permanent materials; and a commercial treaty, upon principles of reciprocal advantage, will be entered into by the two high contracting parties.

So ended the war with Burmah, which proved one of the most costly waged in the East. Various writers estimate it at fourteen millions sterling; and the loss from all causes—in the field and garrison, along the frontier of Assam, in Arracan, and upon the pestiferous banks of the Irawaddi—at twenty thousand men. Our European troops, especially the officers, perished in much greater proportion than the sepoys, and, more especially, than the Mugh levies, among whom the loss of life was not great.

It has been asserted by some writers, that the Burmese war was never cordially sanctioned at home. Be that as it may, the court of Ava was resolutely bent on war, and every concession we might have made would have been followed by some new and degrading demand; and ultimately, the Burmese did, in fact, lay claim to districts lying within the ancient and recognised frontier of Bengal. “A Burmese war, therefore, however little to be desired on its own account, was, sooner or later, inevitable; and the Indian Government,



BURMESE TOY GIRL.

which undertook it, have a sufficient vindication in the fact that they only yielded to a necessity which was laid upon them. For the mode of conducting the war, they, and the commander to whom they entrusted it, were strictly responsible; and it is here that the blame lies. They carried it on without any regular plan, committed gross blunders, from which careful inquiry, previously made, would have saved them; and incurred enormous expense and loss of life by scattering their forces, instead of concentrating them, and engaging in wild expeditions, without any reasonable prospect of an adequate result."

When peace was fully concluded, Sir Archibald Campbell, deeming it justly of the highest importance that the inlet from Arracan to the heart of Ava should be fully known to us, in case of future wars, dispatched Captain Trant, with a battalion of sepoy and the elephants of the army, to explore the best route across the mountains from Sembew-

ghewn, on the Irawaddi, in north latitude $20^{\circ} 40'$, to Aeng, in Arracan, in north latitude $19^{\circ} 53'$. Captain Trant found "a superb road"—the same described by Captain David Ross*—which had been executed by the Burmese Government some years before to facilitate intercourse between Arracan and Ava; and which, as it was the channel of so great an inland trade as to be annually traversed by 40,000 persons, ought to have been as well known to our authorities in India as the high road from Calcutta to Cawnpore.

For his past services, and those in this war, Sir Archibald Campbell was created a baronet in 1831, with an augmentation to his ancient clan arms, in chief "a mount *vert*, inscribed *Ava* in gold letters, surmounted by a Burmese stockade;" and for a crest, a Burmese warrior, armed and on horseback.

He died at Edinburgh, when colonel of the 62nd Regiment, in 1843.

* "Two Years in Ava,"



HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT BETWEEN MR. SHORE AND THE GOOJUR.

CHAPTER III.

DEATH OF CHARLES GRANT.—THE GHURRY OF KOONJA.—THE PCTAIL OF OOMRAIZ.—THE CHIEFS OF KITTOOR.—THE RAJAH OF KOLAPORE.—DEATH OF GENERAL OCHTERLONY.

To preserve continuously the narrative of the Burmese war, we have made no reference to events occurring in other parts of the East, or connected therewith, during that time.

In 1823, Mr. Charles Grant, long one of the most brilliant and able of the Company's civil servants, and one of their most zealous and powerful supporters in the House of Commons, the originator also of the College at Haileybury, died on the 31st of October, in his seventy-seventh year. An active member of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and connected with the Church Missionary, and other bodies, religious and charitable, he was for years the coadjutor and bosom friend of Lord Teignmouth, whose letters contain several references to his grief for the loss he sustained personally by his death. In one, to Lady Teignmouth, dated from Portman Square, 5th November, 1823, he says :—"My thoughts turn perpetually to the melancholy family in Russell Square. I have just received your letter of yesterday, in which you express the feelings which have overwhelmed me. Yes, I do hope and believe that the death of our dear and beloved friend will prove a blessing to us, and to many. Why should he be taken and I left? Was he more ripe for the harvest, and am I spared that I may ripen? God grant that it may be so! Such deaths do indeed preach home to our hearts and consciences most impressively."

Three days after, he wrote :—"I am just returned from the melancholy solemnity of depositing the last remains of my loved and respected friend It will be long, very long, before the events of this day, and that which caused them, will be erased from my recollection—nor do I wish it. On the contrary, I hope that the impression which they have made upon me will be deep and salutary. We think too little of death, forgetting the consequences of it."*

In the month subsequent to his death, at a General Court held in the India House, a motion was carried for the erection of a monument to his memory in the church of St. George, Bloomsbury, at the expense of the Company, in whose service, during a long career, dating from the year 1773, he had won and secured to himself the familiar sobriquet of "Honest Charles Grant."

* "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. ii.

Three years subsequent to this time, Lord Teignmouth had a source of keener grief in his own household, by the death of his second son, Henry Dundas Shore, who died in India, when serving with the 11th Light Dragoons.

At the close of the Burmese war the whole of the East was swarming with reckless military adventurers—the relics of defeated armies, or of mercenary corps which had served under the British colours as irregular cavalry. Hence there were many men ready to join us against any power—native or foreign—or join it against us. "On the whole," says a writer, "they were more willing to serve against, than for, the prevailing power. Notwithstanding that Bengal and Central India had been subjected to them, the British were in the predicted condition of the Arabs—their hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against them. While yet the Burmese war exhausted the exchequer and drained the garrisons of India of European troops, war was waged elsewhere."

On the 2nd of October, 1824, an express reached Deyrah from Mr. Grindall, the local magistrate of Saharunpore, stating that part of the district had risen in rebellion, that upwards of 800 men, principally Goojurs, headed by a notorious freebooter, named Kower, had taken possession of the Ghurree of Koonja, in that neighbourhood, and was committing every species of atrocity. He announced his advent as Kali, the last of the Hindoo avatars, for the purpose of putting an end to the reign of foreigners. Mr. Grindall solicited the aid of 200 rank and file of the Sirmoor Battalion, which had been formed of disbanded Nepalese in 1815; and this detachment instantly marched, under Captain Young (commanding the corps), accompanied by the Hon. Frederick Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, "who, with his accustomed zeal and love of enterprise, marched with the little band. Mr. Grindall joined the detachment at Secunderpore, with 150 men of the Sirmoor Battalion, attended by Lieutenant Debude, of the Engineers, and Dr. Royle, as volunteers."*

After a forced march of thirty-six miles, these forces reached the scene of action in the Deyrah Doon, a valley through which the Ganges flows in the form of a stream, full of green islets, and

* "Services of the Sirmoor Battalion," 1834.

fordable with difficulty, and where the forests abound with elephants, tigers, leopards, black bears, and striped hyænas.

The rebels were found drawn up outside the fort and along the skirts of the village of Koonja in fighting order, and they instantly opened fire upon the advancing column, which was quickly led to the attack by Captain Young, and after a short conflict they were routed, broken, and driven into the ghurly, or fort, in their rear. Lest they might make their escape, it was resolved to attack this place; but, as the walls were high and in excellent repair, escalade was impossible, as there were neither ladders with the detachment nor the means of making them.

Without a gun to blow open the gate there appeared little prospect of forcing an entrance; the walls were well protected by matchlocks; and a determined band of well-armed ruffians, hopeless of mercy, and treble the number of their assailants, was not likely to prove an easy or bloodless conquest.

The only question was how to get at them. On the suggestion of Mr. Shore, a large tree was cut down, and its branches were lopped off by the sharp *kookeries* of the Ghoorkas; ropes were obtained, and after being tied along it at equal distances, were manned by these active little mountaineers—the two front ropes being held by Mr. Shore and Lieutenant Debude. As the holders of this impromptu battering-ram approached the gate, a fire was opened from the ramparts; several of the Ghoorkas fell under it, but Captain Young led his men in skirmishing order to the edge of the ditch to cover their movements, and then long spears were thrust through openings in the iron-bound gate at the bearers of the tree. At the fifth shock a portion of the gate gave way, making an aperture, but only large enough to admit of entrance in a stooping posture.

Attended by two Ghoorkas, Young dashed through the opening, closely followed by Shore and others. "As he rushed on, without having time to look about him, a man sprang from a corner in the rear, and aimed a desperate blow at the back of his neck, and would assuredly have killed him, but the quick eye of Shore, who had just reared his tall form after bursting through the aperture, saw his friend's danger, and with the full swing of his sword sent the lifeless trunk of the Goojur bounding past Young. The tulwar, however, descended where it had been aimed, but the arm which impelled it was already paralysed and nerveless from Shore's mortal blow, and a blue mark on Young's neck was the only consequence of the murderous attempt.*"

The bayonet and the kookerie decided the contest rapidly within the fort, where 150 were slain, and Shore's sowars cut up all who attempted to escape on the outside; but the writer we have quoted details at some length a gallant single combat between the young civilian (who had already slain seven of the enemy) and an athletic and gigantic *pehlwan* on the flat roof of a house adjoining the ramparts, some of the details of which are picturesque.

The Indian was perfectly naked, with the exception of a middle cloth, and he was gaily and fantastically painted "for this, his last battle." He was armed with a sword and shield, and scornfully addressed Shore as they advanced towards each other:—"What! you too have turned sipahee, and come to fight the Goojurs?" The next moment their swords were seen flashing in the setting sun; but, in the combat, Shore fought at a great disadvantage, his shield having been rendered nearly useless by the loss of its corded handle, and he could only grasp the two rings to which the latter had been attached. At this time Captain Young reached the place where the two were fighting, and levelled his "Joe Manton" at the Goojur's breast; the first barrel flashed in the pan, but a ball from the second pierced his chest just as he was making a desperate cut. The sharp blade swept under Shore's unsteady shield, and gashed his side at the moment his antagonist fell back dead.

The loss of the detachment was thirty-seven killed and wounded. In his thanks to Captain Young, Sir Thomas Reynell, commanding the division, says:—"Mr. Shore has been wounded by sabre-cuts on both breasts, after performing feats of valour and displaying exertions in the course of it, which entitle him to the applause of those who have the power of bestowing it."

The rebel Kower was afterwards caught and hanged at Saharanpore; but in memory of the affair at Koonja, Mr. Shore presented to the Sirmoor Battalion of Ghoorkas a magnificent battering-ram, constructed upon scientific principles, the head and horns covered with a thick plate of brass. This stood in front of the Quarter Guard, and on occasions of festivity is still gaily festooned with flowers.*

His originally robust constitution never recovered the wounds received at Koonja, though he survived till 1837, when he died at Calcutta, in his thirty-eighth year.†

During the greater part of 1825, the whole of the Deccan was in a very disturbed state, particularly

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1834.

† "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. ii.

* "Services of the Sirmoor Battalion," 1834.

in February, partly from a scarcity of food, amounting almost to a famine, and partly from the number of armed freebooters scattered over the country, encouraged by the presence of whom the Potal of a village called Oomraiz refused to pay his accustomed *kist*, or rent, to the government, adding, that he cared nothing for force, and would fight us if we chose. Orders were then sent to the officer commanding at Sholapore to take immediate measures to punish the refractory Potal, and capture his fort at Oomraiz, "lest it should become a nucleus for the many discontented spirits that were roaming throughout the land, and its seizure be attended with great difficulty."

So severe had been the drain upon the troops during the Burmese war, that only two corps, one of cavalry and another of infantry, without a single gunner, formed the garrison of Sholapore, where there was only one field-piece, a six-pounder, with abundance of twelve-pound shot, but only twenty-four for the field-piece. A squadron of cavalry, and 300 infantry, with a few extemporised artillerymen to handle the six-pounder, marched to Oomraiz, under the brigadier commanding at the station, who anticipated some resistance, as the Potal was a resolute man, who had once held Oomraiz for three months against all the power of the Peishwa's army.

As the advance-guard wound up the opposite bank, through a low ravine a mile beyond Oomraiz, dawn broke, and the glitter of arms told the Potal of our approach. Then the great gong in the fort was heard resounding, and the walls were seen crowded with armed men. The cavalry made a *détour* so as to prevent any attempt at escape, and while the infantry, with the field-piece, marched straight for the gate; one dragoon, a dashing fellow, galloped up the glacis to the edge of the ditch, reconnoitred it, and returned untouched amid a shower of balls.

The ghurry of Oomraiz was a square of sixty yards, divided into two distinct courts, enclosed by a curtain wall twenty-five feet in height, with circular bastions at the four corners, on which were mounted long jingalls, and some cannon of very small calibre. The whole was surrounded by a wide dry ditch, in which were the huts of the respectable ryots. On the north flowed a river, 500 yards broad, parallel with which was the outer line of three successive outworks. In each of these walls was a gate, and in the centre of the curtain was a fourth gate, guarded by a low, circular, machicolated wall, which precluded the possibility of its being blown open by a gun. It was further protected by bastions on both sides.

Such was the ghurry of Oomraiz; and to a force unprovided with shells or a battering-gun, and to whom the simple mode of blowing open gates by powder-bags was as yet unknown, it presented means of determined opposition.

Under cover of some huts on the glacis, one company took ground to the left, to keep down the fire that was certain to open on the attacking party, which marched direct for the outer gate. After shouting some warnings, the explosion of a few matchlocks followed. This was answered by the covering party, while the six-pounder was run up with all speed. A line of fire now garlanded the whole work, while the first shot from the gun blew open the gate. It proved too narrow to admit the field-piece, so, by two shots the door-posts were blown away; still it could not be brought to bear upon the second gate; and meanwhile, shot, logs, lighted combustibles, and great stones were showered from above on the troops, wounding many, and nearly disabling the field-piece, from which five shots were now fired; one-half of the second gate came thundering down, but by falling across the passage became wedged, leaving an entrance about four feet square.

Through this aperture, amid the smoke and dust, three officers and twelve soldiers sprang, and flung themselves against the third gate, which the retreating enemy had just time to fasten. Other soldiers now rushed to a traverse; but the smoke and dust having cleared away, they were left exposed to the whole fire of a bastion. Their commanding officer was shot dead; and so fast and true was the fire, that every soldier with him was either killed or wounded. The small party within strove in vain to burst open the third gate, and many were wounded, as no shelter could be found; while the fire from the bastion at the second gate precluded all possibility of their being supported. So the refractory Potal seemed likely to be victorious in the end; and he permitted them to creep forth, with the loss of fifty-eight officers and men killed or wounded.

It was now ten a.m.; the troops had been under arms since eleven p.m. the night before, had marched since then, been exposed for three hours to a hot fire and a burning sun without food or water. By great exertion the gun was extricated, and the detachment, with their wounded, followed by the derisive cheers of the Potal's band, encamped, out of gunshot, on the bank of the stream, while reinforcements were sent for from Sholapore.

About noon two Brahmins, who had long been detained as prisoners by the Potal, came to the officer in command, offering an immediate sur-

render, on the part of the garrison, if he would guarantee the safety of their persons; but he would listen to no terms, save an unconditional surrender. All night a huge gong was thundered on the ramparts, where an enormous fire was kept blazing, to delude our troops as to the movements of the garrison, all of whom effected their escape unnoticed; a few remaining only till the last moment, as guard over three men and two women, who were found chained to a large ring, and with the two Brahmins, had been compelled to beat the gong and feed the watch-fire.

In the fort was found a great store of grain, and from a well were taken several jingalls, an ancient Spanish wall-piece, some long Mahratta spears, seventy swords, including a superb Andrea Ferrara, some breastplates, chain armour, and more than 300 matchlocks, some of which were beautifully mounted in gold and silver. The fort was demolished, as a den of thieves and marauders; the village was resumed by the British Government; the Potal of Comraiz became a mendicant and a wanderer in the Deccan, and, though a large reward was offered for his apprehension, he was never betrayed or given up.*

At this time a strange impression prevailed in the upper provinces of India that the British were preparing to evacuate the whole country; and Bishop Heber tells us, that those with whom the Hon. Mr. Shore had to deal pled this "to justify their rebellion, or, at least, to account for their temerity."

At some distance to the south-west, on the borders of Rajpootana, and even in the vicinity of Delhi, the Bhotteas and Mewattees, and other plunderers, taking advantage of the withdrawal of those troops by whom they had been so long overawed, resumed their predatory habits, and carried their outrages to such an extent, that for some time all communication with the city of the Mogul was interrupted; nor was order restored till an increase of military force was obtained.

The Mewattees were an ambiguous race—half Hindoo and half Mohammedan—and who, according to Sir John Malcolm, were not only robbers and assassins, but the most desperate rogues in all India. Even in the time of Bishop Heber, they had been, in a great measure, so reclaimed that he could travel amid the scenes of their ferocious crimes with perfect safety. "This neighbourhood," says he, speaking of the province of Delhi, "is still badly cultivated; but fifteen years ago it was as wild as the Terai, as full of tigers, and with no human inhabitants but banditti. Cattle-stealing

still prevails to a considerable extent; but the Mewattees are now, most of them, subject either to the British Government or that of Bhurtore; and the security of life and property afforded them by the former has induced many of the tribes to abandon their fortresses, to seat themselves in the plain, and cultivate the ground like honest men and good subjects."*

At Calpee, on the Jumna, about fifty miles west of Cawnpore, a refractory jaghirdar of the Rajah of Jaloun, a province in the Bundelcund, suddenly appeared in 1824, with a considerable body of horse and foot, and after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fort, containing a vast amount of public treasure, he plundered and set the town of Jaloun on fire; and so current became the rumour at Malwah that the British were about to abandon, at least, Central India, that in one locality a rising of the people was actually organised; and in the vicinity of Boorhanpore, among those wild jungles which cover the country north of the Tapti, between Aseerghur and Elichpore, an old Pindaree leader, named Sheikh Dalla, mustered a strong body of horse and foot, and committed many outrages before he was effectually checked.

The Bheels, of whom we have already written, began again to grow troublesome, and were with some difficulty restrained from resuming their habits of outrage and robbery.

And now a Mahratta disturbance took place at Kittoor, a town and district in the province of Bejapore, which belonged of old to the Peishwa, and yielded a revenue of five lacs of rupees yearly. On the death of the chief, without heirs, in September, 1824, the grant he held under the Company was supposed to have lapsed; but certain natives, who had previously been intrusted with the management of the district, being most unwilling to relinquish the profits they made out of it, endeavoured to keep it still in their hands, by alleging that the chief, on his death-bed, had authorised his wife and mother to adopt an heir to him; and in accordance with this pretended injunction, a youth, but distantly related to the family, was brought forward at Kittoor, and hailed as the successor of the dead man.

This was, according to Indian usage and custom, informal; as the adoption, to be valid, should have taken place in the chief's life-time; and, at all events, nothing should have been done subsequently without the permission of Lord Amherst. On these double grounds, and because that he believed the real object of the proceedings at Kittoor was to favour the ambition and avarice of a faction, whose

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1836.

* Heber's "Narrative of a Journey," &c.

object was to carry off the amassed wealth of the late chief, to the injury of his widow, Mr. Thackeray, the British collector, declined to recognise the new arrangements, and meantime, while awaiting instructions from Bombay, assumed the management of Kittoor, and took possession of the treasure, to prevent the chance of which being carried off clandestinely, it was sealed up and placed within the fort, with a guard over it.

Outside this stronghold Mr. Thackeray, with his two assistants, was encamped, with an escort, consisting of two native companies—one composed of horse artillery and the other of infantry; and on the morning of the 23rd October, on sending a new guard to relieve the old, as usual, over the treasure, he was astonished to learn that the gates had been closed and all admittance refused. He ordered an entrance to be forced, and the attempt proved disastrous. The collector and two British officers were killed, one officer was wounded, and the two assistant collectors were taken prisoners, and detained in the fort as hostages.

Trivial as this revolt seemed, it acquired importance from the high excitement it occasioned, and the active sympathy of the adjacent people with the isolated insurgents. Hence it became necessary to lose no time in crushing the rebellious spirit with a firm hand. Accordingly, a strong body of troops, under Colonel Deacon, marched against Kittoor; and, though the garrison of that small place must have known from the first that their case was desperate, they refused to yield until the colonel's guns had breached the walls.

Then came disturbances at Kolapore in the same year, 1824. This was the capital of another Mahratta district among the Western Ghauts, the rajah of which boasted a direct descent from Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire; thus he had a high idea of his own importance, and thought himself entitled, without consulting any other power or potentate in India, to take his own way of displaying it. In this spirit he made a claim to supremacy over Kagal, a possession of Hindoo Rao, brother-in-law of Scindia; and when the claim was disputed, he marched in, with a body of Raj troops, and took military possession of it.

Offended by this rough treatment of his relative, Scindia applied to Lord Amherst, complaining, with some show of justice, "that while his own hands were tied up by a treaty which did not permit him to interfere, the Rajah of Kolapore was allowed to deprive others of rights which were as good as his own, and thus virtually to set the paramount power at defiance." And now the non-interference system

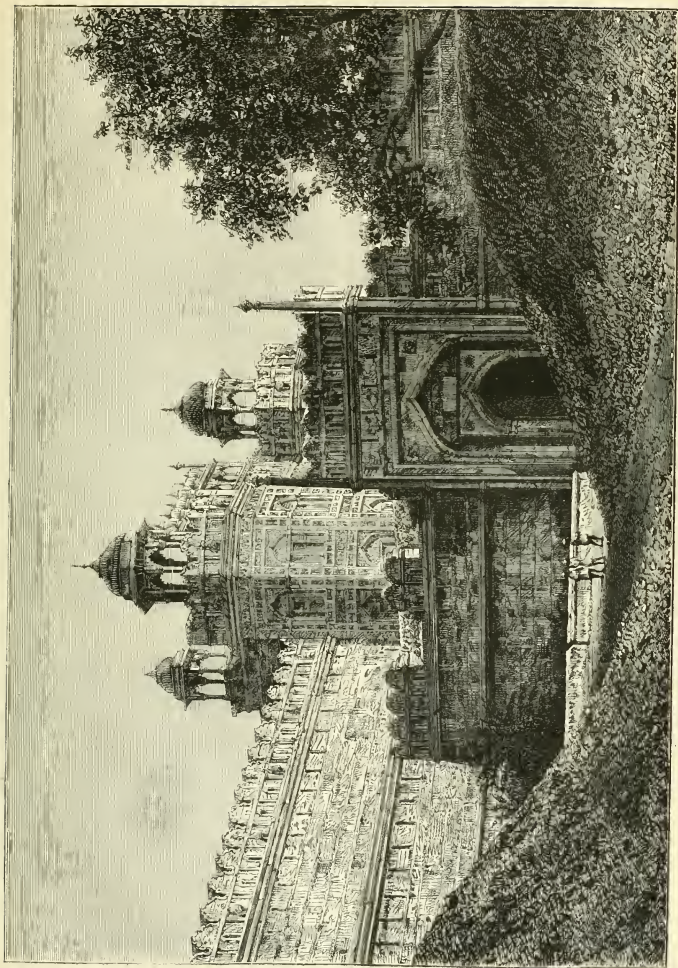
on the part of the British Government produced its usual baleful effect.

The Rajah of Kolapore, finding his first encroachment unheeded, next attacked a landholder, who held his fief partly under the Bombay Presidency and partly of the Rajah of Sattarah. Growing bolder, he next appeared, at the head of 6,000 horse and foot, with a brigade of guns, pillaging and levying tribute in all directions; till the Bombay authorities, who had displayed the greatest reluctance to interfere, were at last compelled to do so, and sent a body of troops against him, and then his cowardice became as manifest as his arrogance. He submitted at once, and made a treaty, by which "he renounced all claim to the territories which he had seized, agreed to pay compensation for the depredations he had committed, and became restricted to the employment of a limited number of troops."

The moment, however, that the forces left his vicinity he began to pursue his old course, on which it became necessary to curb him more stringently. Thus, British garrisons were placed in his forts of Kolapore and Panala, by which means he was deprived of the last semblance of independent sovereignty.

Towards the end of 1826, disturbances which took place in Cutch were encouraged by the Ameers of Scinde, who were ever on the watch for meditated conquest; but the dispatch of a strong force from Bombay, under Colonel Napier, and the brilliant close of the Burmese war, convinced the Ameers that, for the present, their views were hopeless; yet, in another quarter, there was a disturbance not so easily quelled, and which was ultimately to lead to results of the highest importance in history. The treaty which had been made with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, after Lord Lake had failed in four attempts, as we have related, to storm his capital, had been faithfully observed on both sides, and the relations between the two governments had long been of the most friendly description, though our disasters before that place had ever been a taunt to us by surly Mussulmans and sly Hindoos, as the well-known Indian anecdote records. "Is that the way to Hansi?" asked one of our officers of a Jaut agriculturist, a few years before the capture of the great fortress, yet to be recorded. "I cannot tell you," replied the Jaut, pointing in an opposite direction; "but that is *your* way to Bhurtpore."

In 1824, the reigning rajah, Baldeo Sing, finding his health failing, was anxious to secure the possession to his son, Bulwunt Sing, whose legitimacy was indisputable, but whose chances of succession were rendered precarious by the well-



VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL GATE OF THE PALACE OF THE TUGHLAHS, DELHI.

known ambitious designs of his cousin, Durjan Sal. Hence, it occurred to the old rajah that the most effectual mode of preventing disputes was to place his son under the protection of the British Government.

To Sir David Ochterlony, the British Resident at Delhi, he applied with this view, and induced him to invest Bulwunt Sing with a *kheela*, or dress of honour, in recognition of his being the heir-apparent, and this ceremony was performed early in 1824; and about a year after, the question of the succession was opened up by the death of the old rajah. Bulwunt Sing, then in his sixth year, was immediately recognised as rajah, while his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing, was to act as regent, and conduct the affairs of Bhurtpore. But this arrangement had not been in existence a month, when Durjan Sal fully justified all the suspicions of the late rajah, by suborning the state troops, at the head of whom he forced a passage into the citadel, slew the unoffending regent, and seized the person of the boy-rajah.

Resolute old Sir David Ochterlony held these proceedings to be equivalent to an usurpation of the supreme authority, and he instantly issued a proclamation to the Jauts, denouncing Durjan Sal as an usurper, and summoning all to support their lawful prince, whom he meant to uphold at the head of a British force. His firmness was effectual so far, that Durjan Sal, who fully intended to murder the boy-rajah, asserted that he had no

other object than to hold the regency during his minority. However plausible, this explanation was deemed unsatisfactory; and on his declining either to visit the British cantonments or send thither the young rajah, Sir David Ochterlony assembled a considerable force for the purpose of marching against Bhurtpore; but his movements were suddenly arrested by a mandate from Lord Amherst, condemning them in terms so severe and undeserved, that the veteran, who had served India so long, so faithfully, and so well, had no alternative but to resign.

Cut to the heart by the harsh and ungracious terms in which he was addressed, his health gave way, and he died at Meerut, on the 25th of July, 1825. He had served the Company for fifty years; and in their service there was no grander or more distinguished old soldier. Manifestations of regret and respect became strong and universal. Minute guns were fired from the batteries of Fort William, and in the official gazette a becoming acknowledgment announced the merits of the valued servant whom the state had lost. Lord Amherst, besides, in his private capacity, contributed a handsome sum to a subscription for a public testimonial to his memory.

The inhabitants of Calcutta subsequently did themselves and Sir David Ochterlony honour by erecting in their city the column which bears his name, and testifies the worth of the Hero of Maloun, as he has been appropriately named.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SIEGE OF BHURTPORE.—DURJAN SAL CAPTURED.—THE RAJAH RESTORED.

THE time soon came when that very same government which so ungraciously condemned the military preparations and the policy of the veteran Ochterlony, and gave him such unwarranted censure, had now to adopt the very measures they had condemned. Ochterlony had only resolved to draw the sword when all efforts at peaceful negotiation failed. Durjan Sal, while professedly aiming only at the regency, affected to be willing to bind himself by missive to retire so soon as the boy-rajah attained his majority; but there were many secret contingencies against that event ever taking place. The removal of an heir was never a difficult matter in India.

But Durjan's modest demand was supposed to be a mere pretence, as he was in high favour with all the leading chiefs among the Jauts, and a short time sufficed to give the case at Bhurtpore an aspect entirely new, as the moment that Durjan Sal learned that the military preparations against him had been abandoned, by order of Lord Amherst, he threw off the mask, ridiculed the position of regent, and claimed the throne of Bhurtpore as legal heir, asserting that he had been adopted by a previous rajah, and had a title preferable to the boy, Bulwunt Sing.

While putting forth this claim he showed plainly that he was prepared to enforce it by the sword,

and to Bhurtpore military adventurers began to flock from all quarters to take service under his standard; but the apparent unanimity which at one time prevailed among the Jauts—a people whom Tod has foolishly endeavoured to identify with the ancient *Gète* and with the Jutes, the progenitors of the English*—had been destroyed by this time; for Madhoo Sing, a younger brother of Durjan Sal, suddenly unfurled a banner of his own, and made himself master of Deeg; and it now became obvious to Lord Amherst that the alternative lay between armed intervention and looking quietly on that congenial state of anarchy which would speedily extend to other states.

The question was submitted to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had succeeded Sir David Ochterlony as Political Resident at Delhi, and has been described as “one of that band of able diplomatists who had received their first training under the Marquis of Wellesley, and had ever since been strenuous supporters of the Indian policy which that great statesman inaugurated;” and it was soon shown that his opinions coincided in the main with those of the ill-used Ochterlony.

“We are not bound by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpore state, nor by any claim on her part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the right of Rajah Bulwunt Sing to the raj of Bhurt-pore, and we cannot acknowledge any other pretender. This duty seems to me so imperative, that I do not attach any importance to the investiture of the young rajah in the presence of Sir David Ochterlony. We should have been equally bound without that ceremony, which, if we had not been under a pre-existing obligation to maintain the rightful succession, would not have pledged us to anything beyond acknowledgment.”

And now the same views were adopted by the Governor-General, who asserted his belief that, without direct interference on our part, there was a probability of very extended disturbances in the upper provinces, and that he was fully prepared to maintain, by force of arms, if necessary, the succession of young Bulwunt Sing to the raj of Bhurt-pore; but in the first place, he resolved in Council, “that authority be conveyed to Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe to accomplish the above object by expostulation and remonstrance, and should these fail, by a resort to measures of force.”

By the 25th of November, 1825, Sir Charles Metcalfe, finding all expostulation vain, issued a proclamation, denouncing Durjan Sal as an usurper, and declaring the resolution of the British Govern-

ment to maintain the lawful prince by the presence of an army.

The command of the latter was assigned to the new leader of the forces in India, Lieutenant-General Lord (afterwards Viscount) Combermere, G.C.B., who, as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen a long career of brilliant services from the time when he accompanied the 6th Dragoon Guards to Flanders in 1793. After being at the Cape of Good Hope, under Sir Thomas Craig, he had fought in the memorable campaigns of 1797 and 1798 against Tippoo Sultan, at Malavelly and Seringapatam; and afterwards through the glorious war in the Peninsula, where he distinguished himself at the head of the cavalry on every occasion that presented itself, from the operations against Oporto to the crowning victory by the hill of Toulouse.

He now prepared to move against Bhurtpore, at the head of a force including two European regiments and six of native cavalry, three regiments of European and sixteen of native infantry, with strong brigades of horse and foot artillery and pioneers—in all 35,500 men of all ranks—with a train consisting of 160 pieces of cannon and mortars. Of these, fifty were for service in the field. Among the former the heaviest guns were only 24-pounders.

In Bhurtpore the garrison—chiefly Jauts, Rajpoots, and Afghans—was supposed to be quite equal in numbers to the army of Lord Combermere, which assembled in two columns at Agra and Madura (or Muttra); the former under Major-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.C.B., a veteran of the battles of Argaum and Corunna, of the Nepaulese and Pindaree wars; and the latter under Major-General Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart., who had served in Egypt, Flanders, and been wounded at Waterloo.

These columns began their march on the 7th and 10th of December respectively, and soon left the frontiers of Bhurtpore in their rear. On the 10th, Reynell, moving towards the north-west, kept considerably to the north of the fort, and concealed from view by an intervening forest, arrived in the vicinity of the Mottee Jheel, from which the wet ditch around the fort derived its supply of water. During the siege conducted by Lord Lake, the great ditches had been all filled by this extensive piece of water; and to prevent this being so again, detachments of our troops opened the sluices, while others cut the embankments—operations of exceeding difficulty, but of the first importance, as the great ditch continued dry. The extent of the fortress was so great that it could not be completely invested, but posts were placed all round it.

* “History of Rajasthan,”

As we have already referred elsewhere—in the account of Lord Lake's campaign—to the defences of Bhurtpore, it will suffice to remind the reader that it stands in a plain, the ground of which is somewhat broken towards the west; that it covered an area of five miles in circuit, was enclosed by a broad and deep ditch, from the inner side of which towered up a thick and lofty wall, constructed, according to Major Hough,* of clay hardened in the sun, flanked by thirty-five turreted bastions. High above the rest of the town rose the citadel, on a rocky height, girt by an enormous ditch, dug, with vast labour, to the depth of fifty, and width of 150 feet.

The first division of the army took up ground which, resting on the Mottee Jheel to the north-west, extended along the northern face; while the second division, connecting itself with the left of the former, was opposed to the eastern front. Unfortunately, thus the southern and western faces were left nearly open, but the chain of posts referred to, prevented alike the escape or reinforcement of the garrison. The points chosen for attack were a ravelin near the principal gateway on the north-eastern face, and a work on the eastern side, abutting out from the ramparts by a narrow neck, thus named the Long-necked Bastion.

On the 23rd December ground was broken, and eight eighteen-pounders and twenty mortars were got into position during the night, though under a heavy and well-directed fire from the enemy; and on the following day another battery for mortars was formed at Buldeo Sing's garden, and opened at dawn.

"I went down to the garden," wrote an officer of the Sirmoor Battalion, "to see the guns open, and never witnessed such an interesting scene in my life. The place was full of troops, and upwards of 2,000 men, in various uniforms, as busy as bees, were digging and filling baskets for the batteries. Engineers taking observations—guns roaring—shot flying all around and over us—all bustle, activity, and gaiety—the soldiers laughing and cracking their jokes, and running about quire in their element."

While the garrison fought briskly, their cavalry and infantry made many desultory attempts to interrupt the progress of the siege; but in proportion as the batteries were advanced, and established a fire that was overpowering, the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, and the besiegers suffered but little interruption, while for several days they rained a destructive shower of shot and shrapnel-shell from forty-eight battering-guns and thirty-six mortars.

Some of these works were pushed so close to the walls that the enemy could be heard talking behind them. The mortar practice was splendid; and the officer quoted says:—"It was a beautiful sight to see them fall like so many stars at night, and then they exploded in the very centre of the fort."

On the 28th, an European deserter was seen working at the enemy's guns on the wall. On Christmas night, the fort was set on fire in several places, and the red flames were seen to shoot up from the very spots where the shells burst. On the night of the 30th December, the enemy conceived an idea that the town was about to be assaulted, and for about twenty minutes, 5,000 matchlockmen poured their fire over the walls at random, while ghastly blue lights were blazing in every direction. The night was one of intense darkness, yet all Bhurtpore and the sky above it appeared in flames. It was on fire in three places at once, and our shells were falling into it five or six at a time. Though our soldiers were determined to punish the garrison severely when they got in—many in memory of what Lord Lake's wounded suffered in the same place—the frightful shrieks and cries of the women and children, when our shells burst in the streets, excited much commiseration.†

One of our soldiers, who fell into the hands of Durjan Sal's people, was used with unnameable barbarity; and another wrote thus of it:—"The 14th and 59th are worked up to a pitch of perfect frenzy by the shocking spectacle of their unfortunate comrade who was so dreadfully mangled in the wood the other night, and have sworn to kill man, woman, and child, when they get inside. What a scene it will be! I dread it."†

The effect of the breaching-guns was unsatisfactory: the clay ramparts were so tough that they resisted the dint of cannon shot better than if they had been built of solid masonry, and though considerable breaches had been made, the engineers were unable to report them practicable; consequently, mining was resorted to. By the 8th of January, 1826, four mines were sprung, one of them under the cavalier and curtain of the north-eastern angle; and though the effect produced was far short of what had been anticipated, still the dilapidation showed what other efforts might achieve. On the 11th, 12th, and 16th, other mines were sprung—the last containing no less than 2,000 pounds of gunpowder—with terrific effect.

The garrison had made some attempts to countermine, and also to repair the vast breaches that yawned in their defences; but so tremendous was

* "Hist. of Brit. Mil. Exploits in India."

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1835.

† "Journal of the Siege."

the fire of the batteries that every effort proved vain, and the assault was fixed for the 18th—the signal for it to be the explosion of a mine under the north-east cavalier, charged with nearly a ton of powder.

The attacking columns were led by Major-Generals Reynell and Nicolls against the breaches, while the Jaugina gate was stormed by a column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Delanani, the whole assailing force being 11,000 bayonets. After a momentary pause and the tremendous explosion of the mine, which seemed to shoot a mountain of earth and stones heavenward, darkening all the air, with loud cheers the stormers rushed simultaneously to the points of attack, and in an incredibly short space of time, the colours of H.M.'s 14th and 59th Regiments were seen flying in two of the breaches, while the attack on the gate was equally successful. The enemy made a resolute defence, but it was unavailing. The gholandazees fell, nearly to a man, under the bayonets of our soldiers, defending their guns to the last desperate extremity.

Of the garrison, 14,000 were killed or wounded, including every chief of note. During the storm, great bodies of horse and foot attempted to escape by the western gates, but all were cut to pieces or captured by our cavalry. Among the latter was Durjan Sal, who, with his wife and two sons, were sent prisoners to Allahabad.

The British losses were 103 men and officers killed, and 466 wounded. The prize-money taken amounted to forty-eight lacs of rupees. The fall of Bhurtpore was hailed with joy at home, as contrasted with the failure of Lord Lake, in 1805; and for his exploit there, Lord Combermere was created a Viscount.

The total number of cannon-shot, case-shot, and shrapnel-shell fired at Bhurtpore, amounted to 61,446 rounds. Of the operations, an officer wrote thus:—"We find a great similarity of object between this siege and those of Hattrass and Antwerp, conducted by the trench. Both were citadels or forts, with strong garrisons, and both were well fortified after the modes of the several countries; for Hattrass had a good glacis and a ditch. It was required to occupy them, in both cases, with as much certainty of result as could be commanded, and with as little sacrifice of human life as could be obtained; and in neither case was the time taken at all an object if this could be secured by it. On both occasions, bombardment was chiefly depended upon, and in both cases the bombardment was, in fact, efficient in the success. For the siege of Antwerp there were 145 siege-pieces, viz.: fifty-nine guns, and eighty-six

mortars and howitzers. At the siege of Hattrass there was about half this number only; thus showing that the train there was not equal to that used for the attack of a secondary fortress in Europe."*

Among the guns found at Bhurtpore was one of great calibre and destructive power, popularly known among the besiegers by the absurd name of "sweet lips," taken by H.M. 14th, at the point of the bayonet. Another was an antique Scottish brass cannon, inscribed, "JACOBUS MENTEITH ME FECIT, EDINBURGH, ANNO DOM. 1642." It was found on the ramparts by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Lewis Carmichael, a Peninsular officer, then serving as aide-de-camp to Sir Jasper Nicolls, who, on the day before the storm, with six grenadiers of the 59th and four Ghoorkas, made a gallant dash into one of the breaches to reconnoitre it for the deadly work of the next day. The old Scottish cannon was given to him by the Governor-General and Council of India, and is now in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.

On the 19th of January Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the 20th the young rajah was placed on his throne. The chief widow of the late rajah was nominated regent, and intrusted with the custody of the person of his young successor; while the government was given to two ministers, who were to rule under the control of a British Resident, specially appointed to reside at Bhurtpore. Durjan Sal's brother, Madhoo Sing, made his submission; surrendered Deeg, and retired into the British territories, there to live on a liberal pension.

Among many interesting objects taken at Bhurtpore, one of the most remarkable is the silver howdah of Durjan Sal, now in the museum of the East India Company. "It is made of thin plates of silver, very beautifully wrought, fixed on the exterior of a wooden framing. The bottom of the howdah is of open cane-work, and the sides are covered with crimson silk, of which material, also, are made the cushions. The canopy is of extremely ungainly form, but is very curious, from being in the shape of a crested bird with outstretched wings. The body, head, and outside of the wings are covered with silver, the underside of the latter being lined with flowered crimson silk."†

The capture of Bhurtpore put an end to those taunts in which the natives had been prone to indulge since the failure of Lord Lake, and its impregnability, so fondly believed in, was extinguished; but, as it was quite possible that it might

* "Journal of Artillery Operations before Bhurtpore," 1834.
† Beveridge's "India."

become a focus for discontented spirits at a future time, its fortifications were completely dismantled. "The expediency of this proceeding cannot be questioned; but since the British Government

were professedly acting, not for themselves but for an ally, it sounds rather strange to hear that one of the first things they did, after reinstating him in his capital, was to render it incapable of defence."

CHAPTER V.

THE SUCCESSION OF ALVAR.—CLOSE OF LORD AMHERST'S ADMINISTRATION.

ALL was quiet now at Bhurtpore, but there was another quarter in which disturbances were likely to ensue. The Rajah of Alvar—a province of Upper Hindostan, some 3,000 square miles in extent, and comprising two districts, Mewat and Macheny—having died, left an illegitimate son and a nephew, both minors; and as usual, his succession was disputed by different partisans.

As neither seemed to have any decided sign of success, a compromise was effected. By this, Bencee Sing, the nephew, became nominally rajah, while Bulwunt Sing, the son, was to be minister on attaining his majority, until which period a neighbouring nabob, Ahmed Buksh Khan, then under our protection, was to hold the office of guardian; but as the youths approached manhood, ambition fired them both, and civil war began to rage, for the inhabitants of the Mewat district are fierce in disposition, and even predatory in their habits.

In 1824, the nephew, Bencee Sing, gained so decided an ascendancy that he became the real ruler; while the son, Bulwunt Sing, retired upon a jaghire. Soon after this a wanton attempt was made to murder Ahmed Buksh Khan; but, on the seizure of the assassin, the latter confessed that he had been secretly prompted to the deed by Mulha, the rajah's dewan and favourite, and other leading people at Alvar. Ahmed was, by his protection treaty, prohibited from resorting to arms, even for his own protection; hence he applied to the British authorities, who required that the guilty persons should be sent, under guard, to Delhi for trial.

Bulwunt pretended to make them prisoners, but after a time he displayed his real views by taking Mulha into greater favour than ever; and when our Resident at Delhi remonstrated with him, he replied, not unnaturally, "That, as an independent prince, he alone was entitled to try his subjects for any crimes alleged to have been committed by them."

To show that he was determined to assert his independence, he proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of Alvar, his capital, which stands at the base of a steep hill, 1,200 feet in height, commanded by a strong fortress thereon. He also began to muster troops and enter into communication with all who were disaffected to British rule, and more especially with Durjan Sal, of Bhurtpore; till the fall of the latter, and the flight and captivity of its master, filled him with terror; and the instant he heard that Lord Amherst was about to dispatch troops against him, he made submission, by giving up the parties accused of attempting to murder the khan, for trial at Delhi, by releasing Bulwunt Sing from a prison into which he had cast him, and by ceding to him a large amount of territory.

Earl Amherst, finding all India quiet, now intimated his intention of resigning. "The progress of the British," says Auber, "had now reached a point when campaigns could no longer be required within the limits of India. Powerful enemies they had none. In 1827, all the chiefs of Malwa, with the Mahratta princes, sent missions to the government which they had once dreamed of destroying. Holkar was dead, and Scindia died in the following March, leaving no wreck of the dominion which had formerly spread over the largest provinces of Hindostan, and bearing no malice against the stately power which had deprived him of it. In the same year, also, the crown of Delhi was, in name, as it had long been in reality, transferred to the Company; while the title of the king, acknowledged until now, was extinguished. The British put an end to the folly of acknowledging themselves vassals to a man who had lost every attribute of power, except its rapacity and pride."*

In the beginning of August, 1826, the Governor-General set forth on a tour through the upper provinces.

* "British Power in India," vol. ii.



HINDOO JUGGLERS.

On reaching Cawnpore, on the 16th of November, he was visited by several native princes, and among them was Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder, the King of Oude, to return whose visit he went to Lucknow. During the friendly intercourse that now ensued, the king complained, in strong terms, of the extent

to which his royal authority was usurped by the British Resident, and added, that there was nothing in the affairs of Oude to justify it. The turbulence of some refractory lords on the frontiers had led to certain disturbances, but the whole kingdom was in a most prosperous condition, and the people were

contented and happy. The complaint of the king, if just, derived much additional importance from the fact that he was without court favourites of any kind, that he always fulfilled all his agreements, and had repeatedly, by liberal loans and advances, relieved the Calcutta treasury in times of serious embarrassment; but, notwithstanding all this, there was no change in the administration of Oude when he died in the October of 1827, and was succeeded by his eldest son, under the title of Nazir-ud-deen Hyder.

Earl Amherst, after visiting Agra and the young Rajah of Bhurtpore, proceeded to Delhi, where the envoys of the Rajpoot States met him; and he found himself obliged to discuss certain questions concerning precedence with the Mogul, who, in the midst of the humiliation related by Auber, would fain have exacted from the Governor-General of British India that homage which he claimed from him as his vassal. "The time for such mummery had passed away; and before the visit terminated, the King of Delhi was made perfectly aware that he must henceforth be contented to regard himself as only a stipendiary of the Company."

From the city of the Mogul, Earl Amherst travelled northward to Simla, in the protected Sikh territory, between the Sutlej and the Jumna, which thus, for the first time, became "the court *sanatorium* of Bengal," and a residence for the Governors-General of India; and while there, he established the most friendly relations with Runjeet Sing, the King of Lahore; and in the end of June, set out for Calcutta, on his homeward way.

On the 6th of July, the government of India lost one of its most distinguished servants in the person of old Sir Thomas Munro, the governor of Madras. The Burmese war prevented him from retiring from India so early as he wished; and sacrificing his personal wishes and convenience to the public service, he retained his office till its conclusion. At length, in 1827, he made every arrangement for returning to enjoy his well-earned honours, and what remained to him of life, among the mountains of his native land; and before his departure, he proceeded to pay a farewell visit to the people of the ceded districts, in whom he continued to feel a strong interest, but was attacked on the 5th of July with cholera, and expired on the following day at Puteecoodah, near Gooti, where he lies interred. An equestrian statue, by Chantrey, has been erected to his memory at Madras.*

In 1827, by a general order, issued by Lord

* Gleig's "Life of Sir T. Munro," 3 vols.

Combermere, all native soldiers who underwent the degrading punishment of flogging were to be discharged from the Company's service; but it was not intended that this order should extend to Christian drummers, and caused some mistakes and military disputes in 1836.

On the death of Dowlut Rao Scindia, in March, 1827, without any heir of his own body, and without having appointed a successor, in accordance with what was supposed to be his wish, a boy of eleven years of age, and distantly related to his family, was, with the sanction of Amherst's government, placed upon the throne, under the guardianship of Scindia's favourite wife, Baiza Baee, as regent; but in the September of the same year, it was resolved to expel from Gwalior, Maun Sing Rao Patunker (the governor of Powaghur), who had established himself there, and was in opposition to the government. Accordingly, Major Fielding was instructed by the Resident, Colonel Stewart, to march the whole of the late Scindia's Reformed Contingent for that purpose to Gwalior, to which we have already referred as one of the most famous of Indian forts.

A lofty rock starts suddenly out of the thickly-wooded valley of Gwalior, to the height of some hundred feet, surrounded by battlements a mile and a half in length, by about 300 yards in breadth, and overlooks the surrounding country. Early in December, Major Fielding was before this place, which Patunker was prepared to defend, at the head of 2,000 men, though the major acquainted him with the instructions he had received.

The order for a preconcerted attack, before three and four p.m. on the 11th, was issued by Fielding, who conducted that on the south-east in person. It consisted of two battalions of infantry, and 600 of the Contingent Cavalry, dismounted, and led by two native officers, named Churanajee and the Kissaldar Jour Buksh Rao, who dashed on in gallant style, and drove in the outposts of Patunker till they got close to the wall, under which they placed themselves. The battalions then advanced, and also effected a lodgment about dark.

The second column, led by Captain Stubbs, consisted of 400 of the contingent, two battalions, with their guns, and about 600 matchlock-men; the order to Stubbs was to dispossess Patunker of the substantial houses in the Sharaffa, and occupy them himself; but that officer was wounded while leading on a party of the British levy, and although the house against which he advanced was carried, the rest remained in possession of the enemy.

It was Major Fielding's intention to carry on ulterior operations from the west; thus, the troops

were established in their several positions, and arrangements were made for battering the inner wall through the outer, which was so completely taken in reverse as to be untenable. When everything around him was in Major Fielding's possession, and batteries were erected against his western wall to breach it, Patunker sent to request a cessation of hostilities, which was granted, the major saying: "I have only to advert to the nature of the dispute to account for my exercising a degree of forbearance which, in a mere military point of view, would be quite ridiculous."

Eventually, Maun Sing Rao, with his son and their followers, were permitted to evacuate Gwalior on the 15th of December, and theirs were the last shots fired during Lord Amherst's tenure of office.

In his report to Colonel Stewart, Major Fielding says:—"I have great pleasure in stating that the conduct of the contingent, both British levy and Mahrattas, was most gallant, and I should have derived great assistance from Captain Stubbs' intrepidity, had he not unfortunately been disabled at the very beginning. My loss, I am happy to say, is smaller than was expected from the nature of that service. There are fourteen of the contingent killed, and twenty-five wounded; and from what I have heard—not having yet a detailed report—the loss of the rest of the force falls short of 100 killed and wounded. Of Patunker's people, seventy-five were killed, including sixteen persons of consideration, and a proportionate number were wounded."*

But Maun Sing Patunker was to be the cause of fresh troubles in the following year.

The year 1827 was remarkable for the ravages committed by tigers in the province or kingdom of Hyderabad. Within twelve months, about three hundred persons, together with a vast number of cattle, sheep, and goats were devoured in the circle of seven villages, near Doongul. There is a great uniformity in the detail of these occurrences; but we may select one or two.†

A poor bunniah, or shopkeeper, when returning to Doongul from Hyderabad, whither he had gone to obtain some money that was owing him, when a little way beyond the cantonment of Secundrabad, overtook an armed peon, who was apparently a traveller in the same direction. After mutual inquiries, the peon told the bunniah that he was going to the same place; and, as the trader was glad to have a companion in a district of so much peril, he gave him a share of his food, and, as

they mutually spoke of their affairs, he was unwise enough to mention the object of his visit to Hyderabad, and the sum he had collected. This roused the cupidity of the peon, who made up his mind to kill the bunniah at a certain place, and possess himself of his money.

They proceeded together till they came to a spot where the ravages of one of those tigers were notorious, and then he attacked him. While they were struggling together, and the peon was endeavouring to draw his sword, the savage quadruped sprang from the jungle upon him, and carried him off bodily, "leaving his sword and shield, which the bunniah carried to Doongul as trophies of retributive justice in his favour. If such instances of retribution were frequent and regular, it would deter us from those crimes which are often committed in defiance of every real or fictitious terror with which our minds are inculcated. The next was a Brinjarra and his wife, who were lying together under a tree, when a tiger sprang up, and seized the woman by the head. The man, from mere impulse to save his wife, held her by the legs, and a struggle ensued between them, the tiger pulling her by the head and the man by the feet, until the issue, which could not be doubted, when the tiger carried off the woman. The man devoted himself to revenge her death, forsook his cattle and property, resigned them to his brother, offered his services to the tiger-killing party, and strayed about the jungles till he was heard of no more. A camel-driver, who had just been married, was bringing home his bride, when a tiger followed, and had them in view for a great part of the way to seize one of them. The bride having occasion to alight on the road, was instantly seized, and borne off by the tiger."*

The internal administration of Lord Amherst in India does not require any lengthened notice. A feeling averse to him had arisen in Britain, in consequence of the slow progress of the Burmese war, and the serious loss of life connected with it; but for this he was not alone to blame, as the officials of the Company at Calcutta have been reprehended, even by their warmest adherents, for a culpable ignorance of everything connected with the kingdom of Ava, its geography, and the habits of its people. Still, says a writer, it must be pleaded on their behalf, "the vast empire of which they were in charge, and the rapid revolutions and terrible wars which they had to assist in directing and bringing to a fortunate close. Lord Amherst was a diligent governor, a just and brave man. He dealt with good faith to native chiefs, with dignity and

* "Origin, &c., of Scindia's Contingent;" *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1839, &c.

† *East Indian Government Gazette*, 1827.

* *Ibid.*

leniency to open enemies, with sagacity and caution to false friends. He watched over the prosperity of the army, and rewarded merit. He served his king, his country, and the East India Company with fidelity, and ruled numerous nations with an honest, intelligent, and benevolent concern for their good; but the government of this nobleman never received its due meed of praise."

In Bengal, which was more immediately under his superintendence, the different departments of state he left in pretty much the same condition as he found them; while in Madras and Bombay, the most important improvements are due to Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro. The leading objects of these distinguished Scotsmen were the adaptation of their reforms to the sentiments and feelings of the native population; and, in particular, to the employment of native agency wherever, with safety, it could be made honestly available, rather having it as a mere auxiliary to that of the Europeans.

The strife with Ava had greatly injured the finances of India, and more than ten millions sterling had been added to her debt. At the same time, when demands increased the revenues diminished, so as to leave, in 1827-28, a local deficit of more than a million.

"The account," says Beveridge, "comparing the close of Lord Amherst's administration with its commencement, stood as follows:—In 1822-23, revenue, £23,118,000; charge, £18,406,000. In 1827-28, revenue, £22,863,000; charge, £21,974,000. In 1822-23, debt, £29,388,000. In 1827-28, debt, £39,606,000. In financial prospect this was rather alarming; but, as the increased expenditure had been occasioned by wars that were happily terminated, there was ground to hope that, by careful economy the temporary embarrassment which had been produced would disappear."

It is certain, that but for the aid of the Madras Presidency, under Sir Thomas Munro, the Government of Bengal would never have carried on the war along the eastern shores of the bay and up the waters of the Irawaddi with success, whatever the fate of the strife might have been on the plains of Assam and in Arracan.

We have shown how many minor difficulties there were, arising out of local aversion to British rule or intervention, prevailing in Hindostan, the solution of which tested, and required, all the firmness and decision of Lord Amherst, and the speedy adjustment of which was not sufficiently observed. Petty wars and quarrels took place at

Kolapore and elsewhere, which, if not promptly crushed, might have set all India in a flame.

"Lord Hastings," says Miss Martineau, "left the Company's revenue increased by £6,000,000 a year; and a considerable part of the increase was from the land, indicating the improved condition of the people who held it. He was succeeded by Lord Amherst, who had the Burmese war to manage, in the first instance; and the Mahratta and Pindaree wars had left behind them the difficulty dreaded by every pacific Governor-General—an unsettled and unorganised population of soldiers, whom it was scarcely possible to deal with, so as to satisfy at once themselves and their neighbours. The reforms already conceived, and even begun, had not yet checked abuses or remedied grievances; and there were real causes of disaffection, in the new provinces especially, which gave a most mischievous power to a marauding soldiery at the moment of finding its occupation gone. A vigorous rule was therefore necessary, and almost as much military demonstration as in warlike times. The improved revenue did not meet these calls, and much less the cost of the Burmese war; and a new loan and increased taxation marked the close of Lord Amherst's term. He left the territory in a peaceful state, with not a single fort standing out so long as Bhurtpore did against British authority, while the Company's territories were largely increased by the Burmese forfeitures. He won not a little European popularity by ascertaining the fate of the expedition of *La Perouse*, which had been as much a mystery as that of our Franklin Expedition ever was; and he came home in 1828, full of confidence that the reforms inaugurated by his predecessor, and promoted by himself, would retrieve all financial difficulties if they were duly taken in hand by his successor. For such an object the very best choice was made. If our raj were really over, as the deluded sepoys now suppose, and the last Briton were to leave India for ever, tradition would preserve the memory of Lord William Bentinck in the gratitude of the native population for centuries to come, though he over-ruled whatever was intolerably mischievous in their notions."*

In February, 1828, Earl Amherst, owing to the illness of a member of his family, sailed for Europe, in H.M.S. *Herald*, without waiting for the arrival of a successor; and in the interval, the government was administered by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, who succeeded to it as senior member of Council.

* "British India," 1851.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JUGGLERS AND SNAKE-CHARMERS OF BRITISH INDIA.—THE GYPSIES.—KANGJARS AND CHAMARS.—
NAUTCH GIRLS AND TUMBLING WOMEN, ETC.

THE most startling feats and tricks in the world are those performed by the numerous professional jugglers of India; and these have been unvaried since the days of Baber, the descendant of Timour, in the sixteenth century. "I was frequently amused at the public wells and halting-places," says Forbes, "by the vanjarrahs and their families, and especially by the jugglers, who generally found out the encampments of these travelling merchants. There they spread their carpets, and performed feats of legerdemain superior to any I have seen in England; the most conspicuous was generally one of those women mentioned by Dr. Fryer, who hold nine gilded balls in play with their hands and feet, and the muscles of the arms and legs, for a long time together without letting them fall.*

Dr. Fryer saw a juggler "who swallowed a chain, such as our jacks have, and made it clink in his stomach; but on pulling it out it was not so pleasant to the ladies, for whose diversion it was brought. I was promised to see a fellow cast up his entrails by his mouth, stomach and all, showing them to the beholders; but this we excused." In his stead was brought a juggler who, by sheer dint of suction, so contracted the lower portion of his belly, that it had nothing left to support it, but fell on his loins, the midriff being forced into the thorax, "and the muscles of the abdomen as clearly marked out by the stiff tenons of the *linea alba* as by the most accurate dissection could be made apparent; he moving each row, like living columns, by turns."

The well-known sword feat is described at great length by Forbes. Seating himself, the juggler took the sword, which had a straight blade, about twenty-six inches in length and one in breadth, with edges and point blunted, and after oiling it, he introduced the point into his mouth, and pushed it gently down his throat until the hand of Forbes, who held the hilt, came in contact with his lips. "He then made a sign to me," says the narrator, "with one of his hands, to feel the point of the instrument between his breast and navel, which I could plainly do by bending him a little more backwards, and pressing my fingers on his stomach, he being a very thin and lean fellow."

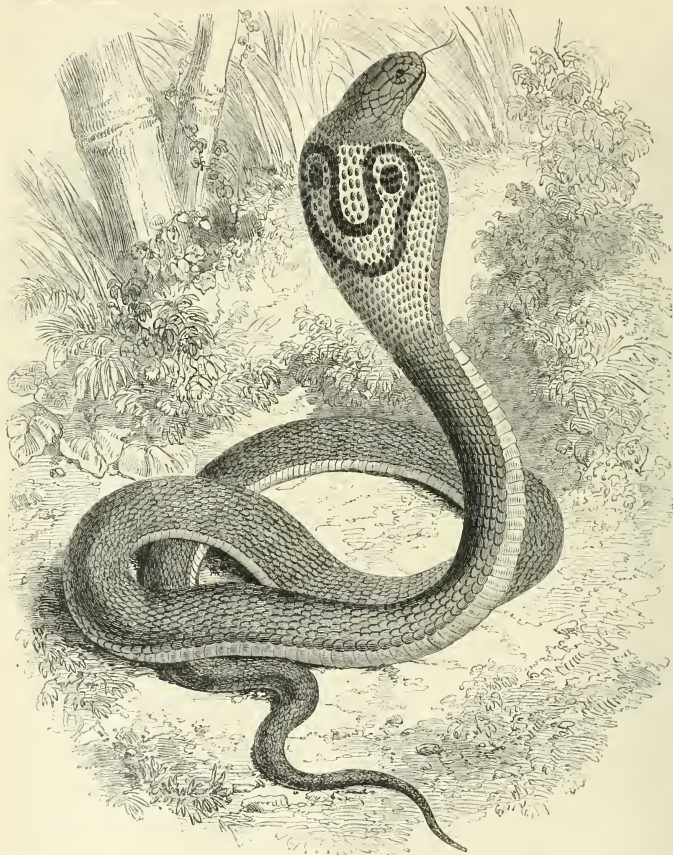
On taking his hand from the hilt, the juggler

fixed to it a little machine, from which a firework that emitted blue flames encircled his head, and imparted a diabolical aspect to his brown face; and on withdrawing the blade, blood was seen on some parts of it, showing that its introduction was not effected without violence. To this feat he had been accustomed from his earliest years, having from the first been taught to introduce elastic instruments, till he came at last to swallow the iron sword in question. Forbes considers that "the great flexibility of their joints, the laxness of their fibres, and their temperate mode of life, render them capable of having considerable violence done to the fleshy parts of their bodies without any danger of the inflammation and other bad effects which would be produced in the irritable bodies of Europeans: witness their being whirled round on the point of a pole, suspended by a hook thrust into the fleshy part of their backs, without experiencing any fatal consequences. There is, therefore, no great wonder if, by long habit in stretching up their necks, they are able to bring the windings of the stomach into a straight line, or nearly so, and thereby slide down the sword into the latter organ without so much difficulty."

What is called the "bamboo-trick" is thus narrated by Dr. Norman Macleod:—

"While the tom-tom was beating and the pipe playing, the jugglers were singing all the time in low accents, smoothing a place in the gravel, three or four yards before us. Having thus prepared a bed for the plant to grow in, he took a basket and placed it over the prepared spot, and covered it with a thin blanket. The man did not wear a thread of clothing, except a strip round the loins. The time seemed to have come for the detective's eye. So, just as he was becoming earnest in his song, and while the tom-tom beat and the pipes shrilled more loudly, I stepped forward with becoming dignity, and begged him to bring it to me. The juggler cheerfully complied. I examined the basket; it was made of wicker-work. I then examined the cloth covering; it was thin—almost transparent—and certainly there was nothing concealed in it. I then fixed my eyes on his strip of clothing with such intentness that it was not possible it could have been touched without discovery, and I bade him go on. I felt perfectly sure that the

* "Oriental Memoirs."



THE COBRA DI CAPELLO.

trick could not succeed. Sitting down, he stretched his naked arms under the basket, singing and smiling as he did so; he then lifted the basket from off the ground, and behold, a green plant about a foot high! Satisfied with our applause, he

went on with his incantations. After having sat a little, to give his plant time to grow, he again lifted the basket, and the plant was two feet high. He asked us to stay a little longer, that we might taste the fruit. But on being assured by those who had

seen the trick performed before, that this result would be obtained, I confessed myself done, without the slightest notion how. I examined the ground, and found it was smooth and unturned. Apparently delighted with my surprise, the juggler stood up, laughing. One of his companions then chucked a pebble to him, which he put into his mouth. Immediately the same companion, walking backwards, drew forth a cord of silk, twenty yards or so in length. But this was not all the discharge; for the juggler, with his hands behind his back, threw forth from his mouth two decanter-stoppers, two shells, a spinning-top, and several other things, and followed by a long jet of fire."

Bruce tells us that at Madras he had seen a female juggler who, in his own house, had frequently converted a stone into a mango-tree. Taking a plain round pebble from the seashore, it was placed by her in an earthenware dish filled with earth, which was then watered and covered by a cloth. Those spirits by whose aid such wonders can be wrought are then invoked; the cloth was lifted, and a tiny green plant was seen just emerging from the earth. The latter was again watered, again covered, and the spirits were invoked anew. On the cloth being removed a second time, the little tree was found to be grown, and well-stocked with bright-coloured mangoes—the whole process occupying only a quarter of an hour; but it is nevertheless true, adds Bruce, that an English juggler can fry pancakes in any man's hat.*

The magical mango, or orange-tree, is one of the stock tricks of the Indian juggler; and Dr. Francis Buchanan tells us that in Canara, Mysore, and Malabar, this miracle may be witnessed any day

* "Scenes and Sights in the East."

for twopence English; though, oddly, he does not seem to credit it himself.*

Another set of singular tricksters are the snake-charmers, who, according to Johnson, are low caste Hindoos, wonderfully clever in catching snakes, as well as in the practice of the art of legerdemain. They pretend to draw them from their holes by a song, or the dull music of an instrument like an Irish bag-pipe; but he tells us this is all done

to deceive; for if ever a snake comes forth at the sounds given, it is certain to be a tame one, deprived of its venomous teeth, and put there for the purpose. These snake-charmers are very expert in the first branch of the trade—that of catching the snakes. They can discover the hole of the reptile with equal ease and certainty, and by digging into it, can seize the animal by the tail by one hand, and draw the body through the other with extreme rapidity, till the finger and thumb close round the neck. The venomous fangs are then extracted, and the creature has to commence its mysterious course of instruction.

The so-called

chamer is always provided with hot iron to sear the flesh in case of being bitten. "A man," says Johnson, "exhibited one of his dancing *cobra-d'aspell* before a large party. A boy about sixteen years old was teasing the reptile to make it bite him, which it actually did, and to some purpose, for in an hour after he died of the bite. The father of the boy was astonished, and protested that it could not be from the bite; that the snake had no venomous teeth, and that he and the boy had often been bitten by it before, without any bad effect. On examining the snake, it was found that the former fangs were replaced by new ones, then

* "Tour through the South of India."



BAYADERE OF MEWAR.

not far out of the jaw, but sufficient to bite the boy. The old man said he never saw or heard of such a circumstance before.*

There are several passages in Scripture, particularly in the 58th Psalm and the 8th chapter of Jeremiah, which allude to the commonly-received Indian idea that these reptiles may be rendered docile by certain charms; and Dr. Shaw tells us that the same idea prevails yet in Barbary. This serpent-charming may be but a remnant of that ancient form of serpent-worship, which once existed in many parts of the world, from some dim tradition of the serpents of Eden and Aaron's rod, which, as the *jormugandr* of Scandinavia, formed the emblem of eternity, as a circle, and is one of the wildest fictions of the Edda—

"That sea-snake, tremendous curled,
Whose monstrous circle guards the world."

A superstition, a remnant of which was the *Glain Neidr*, or adder-gem of the Welsh Druids, and is still to be found in Scotland, in the form of the knot-work on Celtic crosses and Highland dirk-hilts; while among the Romans, the circle was the emblem of eternity, and hence the rings bestowed to this day upon bishops and brides; and from this ancient, and once prevalent idea, it is that so many instances of serpent-worship are to be found in India, especially among the Nagas, on the south-eastern hills of Assam, who are the most savage of Indian tribes, and whose name is derived from *nag*, the Hindoo word for a serpent, being descendants of a Scythian horde called the Nagshuk, or snake-born race. They are athletic savages, whose faces and bodies are tattooed in a frightful manner, by pricking the juice of the beladonna into the skin in a variety of fantastic and snakey figures. Negapatam, on the Malabar coast, still signifies the city of the serpents, which abound there; and Nieuhoff tells us that in his time the natives deemed it an inexpressible crime to kill one.

Almost every European stranger in India is still entertained by an exhibition of dancing snakes. The cobra-di-capello, or hooded serpent, is a beautiful reptile in appearance, but one of the most venomous of the coluber class, as its bite proves mortal in less than an hour. Near the head it has a curious hood, which it expands or contracts at pleasure, hence it is named the hooded snake; and of this genus are those which are carried in baskets throughout Hindostan, and thus procure a maintenance for a set of wanderers who play a few notes on a flageolet, to which the snakes are skilfully trained to keep time by a graceful motion

* "Sketches of Indian Field Sports."

of the head, erecting it about half their length from the ground, and apparently following the music with gentle curves, like the undulations of a swan's neck. At times, twenty of these reptiles may be seen dancing thus, with hundreds of natives looking on in admiration. When the music ceases, the snakes become motionless, and are instantly consigned to their baskets, on the plea that they might become perilous to the spectators. In Turkey, Arabs make the same exhibition of dancing snakes, but there are no cobras, such as those shown by the snake-charmers of British India.

Another wandering class in this remarkable land are the gipsies, who exist in considerable numbers, with all the characteristics which belong to that wild and singular race in every part of the world where they are to be found. "The affinity, nay, almost the identity of language, proves that the dark-eyed wanderers who frequent the lanes, commons, and heaths of England, sprang originally from Hindostan, and ought long since to have settled the dispute about their origin. Of course, the language of the English gipsy is much mixed and corrupted, but any one familiar with Hindostanee can converse with them in that idiom."

The gipsies of India are continually moving from place to place, following all kinds of avocations, save those which require hard labour. They seldom have houses or fixed habitations of any kind, and have but vague ideas of honesty. There are different varieties of the class in India, but the two principal divisions are the black and white gipsies—a difference which does not arise so much from complexion as from certain differences in their habits and pursuits.

Two other classes of the vagrant tribe are the Kangjars and Chamars. The former, says Montgomery Martin, prey upon birds of every kind, which they catch with a spike fastened to a long rod. They reject beef, but eat crocodiles, or whatever else comes in their way. The men gather peacocks' feathers for sale, and make ropes of the grass called *sabe*, which seem to be the principal exertions they make for procuring food. Their women are the only persons who tattoo the female Hindoos. They worship, he continues, a goddess called Bibi (a Persian word for lady), and a god named Porandhami. They offer sacrifices, and their priesthood is hereditary. They usually sleep in portable sheds, but in Patna they have a few shops, where they sell feathers and the grass ropes; the owners have some little capital, and employ their brethren to collect.*

* "Eastern India."

The latter tribe, the Chamars, usually frequent deserted caravanserais or old ruins, and are the lowest class of Hindoos. They are the preparers of leather, and as such are pariahs, outcasts under ban, and never permitted to abide in towns or villages. Yet they are too numerous to be all occupied in the preparation of leather, hence they act as porters and labourers more than any other class; but they cannot serve as soldiers. They eat curious and all kinds of unclean and unwholesome food, and have a degraded and inferior aspect. In the south of India they are generally regarded as a great fragment of the aboriginal race; but in the north, where they are less numerous, they do not betray so much personal inferiority, and when in good circumstances are personally quite equal to other Hindoos. Some of these northern Chamars have made good soldiers, and they fought well in the war against Tippoo; but no virtue, no bravery, no merit, can induce the higher or purer castes to associate with them.

"None are to pray, to sacrifice, to read, or to speak to the hapless men," says Forbes; "none are to be allied by friendship or by marriage, none to eat or drink with them; they are to be for ever excluded from all social connections, to wander over the earth, or to dwell at a distance from the pure, deserted by all good men and trusted by none; never to be received with affection nor trusted with kindness; but to be branded with infamy and shame, the curse of heaven, and the scorn and hatred of all men of pure caste."*

The Nautch girls of India, who, though called dancers, are rather pantomimists and posture-makers, form a distinct body in society, and have rights and immunities which are fully recognised and protected by the law. A Nautch is an indispensable part of every entertainment, and of the modesty of it accounts vary very much.

According to the missionary Rhenius, in 1817, he found the dancing of the girls at the yearly festival in Conjeveram indecent; but Mrs. Ellwood says nothing of this in her account of a Nautch at Bombay. "The girls," she says, "were magnificently but not tastefully dressed, in trowsers and petticoats so immensely full, that they would far exceed those of the most fashionable lady of the present day. . . . They were for a long time employed in coquettishly arranging their costume and in playing with their ankle ornaments. At length they began, not to dance, but to move gracefully and slowly, throwing their arms about, and waving their drapery, which they twisted around them or let fall in becoming folds,

whilst the musicians behind made a tremendous, though not inharmonious, noise with their vinas, which are like a guitar, consisting of a long board, on which are placed strings of iron, with hollow gourds at each end as sounding-boards, and their tom-toms, or small drums, beaten with the hand."

Many of these dancing girls are extremely delicate in their persons, soft in feature, and symmetrical in form; dedicated from childhood to this profession, they preserve in general a modesty and decency in their demeanour, and their dances require the utmost attention, from the dancers' ankles being hung with bells attached to their gold or silver anklets, which ring in concert with the music. Their motions are meant to express, with the song or music, love, hope, jealousy, and other passions, which can all be understood, even by those who are ignorant of Hindostanee. Another class of dancing girls, quite apart from these, are those who are dedicated to the Hindoo temples. These are supplied by their parents, who are taught that the presentation of a beautiful daughter to the Deity is highly acceptable. All these dancing girls, of every kind, are generally gorgeously attired, and their persons are redolent of perfume. They scent their long black hair with oil of cloves, attar of roses, and the like, and they frequently wear strongly-scented flowers.*

They are permitted to eat meat of every kind, except beef; they may even drink of spirituous liquors, and they frequently have accompanied Asiatic armies to the field. No ceremony or festival of any kind is considered complete without their presence, and every great temple has its own set of dancers attached to it. Dr. Buchanan tells us that there were 100 of these girls in Conjeveram in 1809. Their most graceful measure is one called "The Kite Dance," the air for which is slow, and to which they imitate the gestures of a person flying a kite. The attitudes incident to this are favourable to Oriental grace, while the upward direction of the eyes displays the finest features of the Nautch girls to the best advantage.

The tumbling women of India—a land where all kinds of professions have been carefully separated from each other since time immemorial—form a class quite distinct from the dancers. "The dancing girl, so long as she continues in the temple," says Bruce, "is professionally devoted to unchastity by religious sanction; for with the Hindoo race, whether they do well or do evil, or whatever they do, they do all for the glory of their gods. On the other hand, the tumbling woman, so long as she continues one, is bound

* "Oriental Memoirs."

* Forbes.

to vestal purity. According to learned Indian authorities, the tumbling girl belongs to a distinct caste of her own." She is in a state of probation previously to becoming a dancer, and purity is strictly enjoined till their places can be supplied by other girls. Thus, says the writer before quoted, one of these females, in the course of a brief life, may pass through three conditions in the fulfilment of her mission: first, professional purity as a tumbler; religiously enjoined impurity while a dancer at the temple; and, thirdly, virtue again, when she becomes a wife, for (he adds) there is no instance on record of a dancing girl ever breaking her marriage vows.*

Before quitting this subject, we may here refer to the Fakirs, Dervishes, and other devotees of British India. It was about the year 1320 that many pious Hindoos, who lived upon charity, obtained a reputation for sanctity by the length of their pilgrimages and the severity of their penances. Among these were the Fakirs, who, through various means, of which cunning was not the least, held, and still hold, over the people, an almost unlimited influence. Those of the Senessee tribe are a set of mendicant philosophers, who live on the charity of all the other Hindoos. They are entirely nude, and many of them are robust and handsome men. They admit proselytes from other tribes, especially youths of intelligence, whom they take great pains to initiate in their mysteries. They often unite in large armed bodies, for pilgrimages to holy rivers and sacred temples; but as the provinces through which these assembled saints marched were always laid under contribution by them, they have often caused infinite trouble, and once put to rout the army of Aurungzebe; and we have related in its place how an army of these fell on Bengal in the days of Warren Hastings. They reside in holes or caves, or under banyan trees near the temples, and imagine that the expiation of their own sins and those of others consists in the most rigorous penances and mortifications. Some make a solemn vow to remain for life in one position; others undertake to drag heavy chains or cannon balls, or to crawl on their hands and knees for years upon years; while some will roll their bodies naked from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges, to collect money to build a temple, or to atone for sin.

Some will swing for life before a slow fire, with an Indian sun blazing daily overhead. "I have seen a man," says a writer, "who had made a vow to hold up his arms in a particular manner above his head, and never to suspend them until he had totally lost the power of using them. He was one

of the Gymnosophists, who wear no kind of covering, and seemed more like a wild beast than a man; his arms, from having been so long in one posture, were become withered and dried up, while his outstretched fingers, with nails of twenty years' growth, had the appearance of extraordinary horns; his hair, full of dust and never combed, hung over him in a savage manner, and, except in his erect position, there was nothing human about him. . . . I saw another of these devotees, who was one of the Phali worshippers of Siva, who, not content with wearing or adorning the symbol of that deity, had made a vow to fix every year a large iron ring into the most tender part of his body, and thereto to suspend a heavy chain, many yards long, to drag on the ground. I saw this extraordinary saint in the seventh year of his penance, when he had just put in the seventh ring, and the wound was then so tender and painful that he was obliged to carry the chain upon his shoulder till the orifice became more callous."

Stavorinus describes them as going entirely naked, and carrying a thick club, the end of which is wound round with rags of various colours, adding that they strew their hair, and often besmear their whole body with ashes, and are not allowed to marry. He saw a Fakir at Surat, who had imposed upon himself a silence of twelve years, ten of which had elapsed. He was covered with a white dust, made from the ordure of the sacred cow, and in his hut was a niche, containing a four-armed idol, carved out of black shining stone.* Tavernier mentions that some lay fire on their heads, and burn the scalp to the bone; and that some will bury themselves in a ditch for nine days, without tasting food or water. D'Herbelot reckons that in his time there were 800,000 Mohammedan Dervishes or Fakirs, and 1,200,000 idolatrous ones in India. The terrible exhibitions of self-torture are yearly becoming less: in many places they have disappeared. Hence devotees, stripped to the skin, are no longer seen rolling on the earth, even from Trichinopoly to the great hill temple of Pylna, a distance of a hundred miles; and we no more encounter the revolting spectacle of female devotees lying by the highway, covered with self-inflicted wounds; and the armed Senessees and other fanatical vagabonds, who were wont to traverse the country in perilous bands, varying from hundreds to thousands, adding assassination and pillage to every other conceivable crime, are now, thanks to British rule, to our numerous garrisons and well-ordered native police, only to be found in the history of the past.

* "Scenes and Sights in the East."

* "Voyage to the East Indies," vol. i.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—THE BATTÁ DISPUTE.—FINANCIAL AND OTHER REFORMS.—THE OPIUM TRADE.

LORD AMHERST'S successor in the administration of India was Lieutenant-General William Cavendish Bentinck, G.C.B., Colonel of the 11th Light Dragoons, second son of William, Duke of Portland, during whose tenure of office the dreadful society known as the Thugs was suppressed, and the odious act of suttee was abolished. His former Indian career, as Governor of Madras, had not been a fortunate one, as he had been abruptly deprived of that office in 1807 by the Directors, whose resolution declared that, "although the zeal and integrity of the present governor, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of the Court's approbation, yet, when they consider the unhappy events which have taken place at Vellore, and also other parts of his lordship's administration, which have come before them, the Court are of opinion that it is expedient, for the restoration of confidence in the Company's government, that Lord William Bentinck should be removed."

Of this measure he complained bitterly at the time, asserting the Vellore mutiny could in no way, directly or indirectly, be imputed to him. "I have been severely injured in my character and feelings," he continued. "For these injuries I ask reparation—if, indeed, any reparation can atone for feelings so deeply aggrieved, and a character so unjustly compromised in the eyes of the world. In complying with my demands, you will discharge, if I may venture to say so, what is due no less to your own honour than to mine."

The Court only responded by platitudes and verbose resolutions about the violation of caste, and ultimately by an apology which was by no means satisfactory; and though for some years afterwards he was employed by the king in the cabinet and field, his thoughts were ever turned to India, and his ambition was to tread its soil once more, with a higher office than that of which he had been deprived. In 1809, amid the operations incident to the battle of Corunna, at the head of the 42nd Highlanders and the 50th Regiment, he bore the brunt of the action on the right; in 1812 he commanded, with honour, the British army in Sicily, and in 1814 reduced Genoa. When the Marquis of Hastings retired he became a candidate for the office of Governor-General; and on the preference of Lord Amherst he did not allow his

claims to be forgotten, and when the office became again vacant he succeeded in obtaining it.

"The appointment was, in itself, a great triumph to Lord William Bentinck, as it was impossible to resist the inference that if he was fit to be Governor-General he ought not to have been dismissed as unfit to be Governor of Madras; but for a time it seemed doubtful if the appointment would prove more than a barren honour." He was appointed in July, 1827. In the following month the death of Canning caused a change of ministry. The latter might, had they chosen, have annulled the appointment, and put in force the royal right of recall; but they adopted the nobler course, and Lord William Bentinck was permitted to sail in February, 1828, and on the 4th of July assumed the government, on his arrival at Calcutta.

Though all kind of warfare had ceased, and the vast peninsula was—for the first time, perhaps, in its history—tranquil, Lord Bentinck found that he had to face circumstances calculated alike to test his nerve and judgment, in confirming the systems of reform already initiated in the government of India, when, on his arrival, the provisional authority, which had been exercised by Mr. Bayley, of course ceased. A large addition had been made to the debt of the country (the revenue of which was more than a million short of its expenditure), the result of the Burmese and Bhurtpore wars. In short, in the three years previous to his arrival, the public debt of India had swelled to £13,007,823 sterling,* and a policy of retrenchment became absolutely necessary. The Directors assumed that the scale of expenditure in 1823-24 was a fair standard, and Lord Bentinck was prepared to give practical effect to their view; and this he did to an extent calculated to excite the greatest discontent among all parts of the community, but more particularly the army. Hence murmurs were heard on all sides. More than one Governor-General had been instructed by the Court of Directors to abolish several military allowances, known as "batta," "half-batta," "tentage," and so forth; but all had shrunk from the odium and probable peril of doing so.

Lord Bentinck resolved to obey his orders, and those for "half-batta" were issued on the 9th of

* Finance Report, 1832.

November, 1828, under circumstances which must have made him doubt their expedience, as the rupees saved were not worth the good spirit which was sacrificed, and which some men think has never yet been properly recovered, while others are of opinion that the discontent culminated at last in the then remote Mutiny. Viscount Combermere, the Commander-in-chief, protested as strongly as he possibly could against it, and resigned office rather than enforce the order.

The two civil members of the Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. W. B. Bayley, both men of ability and of ample Indian experience, were of opinion that the interests of the Company, and of the British empire there, could neither be saved nor served by means of petty savings.

The chief command of the Anglo-Indian army now devolved upon Major-General Sir Edward Barnes, who, in Spain, in France, and the field of Waterloo, had borne his part as a gallant soldier and able leader, and who, as Governor of Ceylon, had displayed considerable powers as a diplomatist; but when he resigned, in 1833, on the Government of Earl Grey and the Reform party seeming firmly established, Lord William Bentinck added the functions of Commander-in-chief to those of Governor-General.

Sir Charles Metcalfe requested that his sentiments concerning the half-batta should be recorded, in hope that the order might be rescinded. This eminent civilian gave it as his opinion, founded on twenty-eight years' experience, "that the allowances of officers on full batta are barely sufficient for their proper support in their several ranks, and do not admit of any reduction without great suffering." The whole amount of the actual saving, which excited such clamour and discontent, fell short of £20,000, and this could only be gained by curtailing the incomes of junior officers, whose

allowances were notoriously unequal to their support, and breaking what was called "the compact of 1801," which gave full batta as a compensation for those quarters which officers had been obliged to procure at their own expense, build, or purchase at a sale. The hardship of all this was laid before the Governor-General, who could but plead that he was acting in obedience to orders from Leadenhall Street; but the gentlemen there took higher ground, and after denouncing the tone

and tenor of the memorials as inconsistent with military subordination, ended the subject, so far as they were concerned, by declaring their resolution to have the order enforced. "No one was so great a sufferer by it as the Governor-General himself, since it subjected him, at the very commencement of his administration, to a degree of unpopularity of which he was never able afterwards to disencumber himself. The prejudice with which he had thus to struggle was not more unfortunate than it was unjust, since he had acted only ministerially in the matter, and rather in opposition to his own opinion than in accordance with it."

The only stations to

which it was first made applicable were Dum-Dum, the great artillery barrack near Calcutta, Berhampore, Dinapore, Barrackpore, and Ghazipore. A much wider application was at first intended, and would have been applied; but the home authorities had a wholesome fear of that discontent which was spreading fast through the entire army.

Still further to carry out their views of retrenchment, Lord William Bentinck, soon after his arrival, appointed two committees, a civil and a military, each consisting of three members, one from each presidency, to sit at Calcutta, for the institution of a complete inquiry into every branch of the Indian service, in order to secure efficiency combined with economy. The military committee found that their work had already been done by



NAUCH-GIRL OF ULWUR.

the great reductions that had been made in the number of troops and their allowances, by means of which retrenchment had been made to the extent of more than a million sterling; but the civil committee succeeded, yet only after some years of assiduous labour, in effecting reductions to the amount of about half that sum—the total aggregate being £1,553,991.

While diminishing expenditure on one hand, it was equally necessary to obtain some positive increase of revenue on the other; and some of the methods employed were as follows:—Under native Indian rule, officials in public establishments frequently obtained the privilege of exemption for their estates, or certain portions thereof, from government assessment. In most of these instances, the exemption was declared to be perpetual, but in actual practice it was never so, as one sovereign arbitrarily recalled or quietly disregarded the gifts or grants of his predecessor; and such was more particularly the case while the Mogul Government was in its zenith. When it became dismembered, exemptions were given by those who had no right to grant them, and, in many instances, forged documents were resorted to.

Thus, when the British Government first began to assess the land, as it gradually fell under their care and dominion, being quite in the dark and disposed to be lavishly liberal, they had laid it down as a rule of policy to recognise as valid, all exemptions of a date prior to their obtaining the dewanee; and thus many a grant, unsupported by a sufficient title, was admitted as valid, and this led to a vast increase of forged documents to evade the taxes; but for a time only. The concoction of these fictitious titles soon became so

apparent that the collectors were ordered to investigate them and decide upon their validity for being rent-free.

"If the decision was adverse, and confirmed by the Board of Revenue, the land was forthwith assessed at the usual rate, reserving to the proprietor a right of appeal to the ordinary court; but this enactment proved an imperfect remedy, and even caused some injustice.

The accumulation of undecided cases in the courts of law led to almost interminable delay, while a per-centage, allowed to the collectors on every case of resumption, converted them into interested parties, and so far deprived them of the character of impartial judges. To remedy these defects, a new regulation was made shortly before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, and was afterwards carried into full effect with his concurrence. It empowered the Governor-General to appoint special commissioners to decide on all cases of appeal from the decision of the collectors in regard to exemptions, and removed from the collectors themselves the temptation



WATER-CARRIERS OF CALCUTTA.

to partiality, by depriving them of the per-centage on resumption. Under this last enactment a considerable addition was made to the public revenue by the assessment of lands which had previously escaped."

The revenue derivable from opium was another means of adding to the government finances. The production of this drug in Bengal was a perfect monopoly, as no cultivator was permitted to grow it, save on account of the government, which made advances in anticipation of the crop, the whole of which was thus taken at a fixed rate per pound weight, and being afterwards sold at a high profit, caused a great increase to the revenue. During

the turmoil in Central India, consequent on the Pindaree and Mahratta wars, the Bengal monopoly was not subjected to much competition from native states; yet when, in consequence of perfect peace, it became practicable, not only to raise opium with success throughout Malwah for home consumption, but to realise great profits by the transmission of the surplus to Kurrachee in Scinde, and from thence to the Portuguese settlements for final shipment to China, various measures were suggested to recover the diminished opium profits of the Company.

To prohibit the culture of the poppy in all districts, except those where the Company's monopoly was fully established, seemed the most effectual remedy, but the enforcement of such an enactment was impossible; hence a virtual monopoly could only be secured by coming into the market as purchasers, and thus buying so largely as to leave none in the hands of native dealers, save that which was necessary for home consumption. But, as might easily have been foreseen, the effect of this absurd arrangement was only to raise the price and increase the demand, while enlarging the area of cultivation; so the next device was to give the rulers of native states an interest in the repression of the opium traffic. With this view, the Company succeeded in binding most of them by treaty to restrict the culture of the poppy, in consideration of an annual sum paid them; which only led to opium smugglers moving about in well-armed bands, till the opium treaties became such a fertile source of disquietude as to make the British supremacy detested on one hand, while, on the other, they failed to accomplish the intended object. Holkar, and most of the lesser Rajahs of Malwah, tempted by the annual subsidy, entered into these treaties; but Scindia, and the Rajahs of Jeypore and Jodpore, flatly declined to do so. Thus there were vast tracts of country where the opium plant was freely cultivated, and where dealers in it could traffic without interruption; and the futility of all restriction is evinced by the fact that, while the export of opium from the Portuguese settlement of Damaun did not exceed 600 chests in 1827, in 1828 it exceeded 4,000.

Lord Amherst had early seen the expedience of rescinding treaties which proved only inoperative and oppressive. Mr. Bayley, during his brief tenure of office, proposed their abandonment, and to this option Lord William Bentinck gave effect after his arrival. To provide for the anticipated defalcation of revenue, it was proposed to return to the old negative plan of buying up the surplus produce; but a far wiser one was suggested by the

able Sir John Malcolm, when Governor of Bombay, and it was finally adopted by Lord William in Council, in July, 1830. "The transit of Malwah opium to Kurrachee, through a country, great part of which is absolutely a desert, was at once circuitous and expensive, whereas the transit to Bombay was short and easy. Founded on this difference, the new plan simply was to leave the culture of the poppy in Malwah free from all restrictions, except those which the native princes might be pleased to impose for their own benefit, and allow the opium to be transmitted for sale or export to Bombay, subject only to a payment per chest calculated not to exceed the additional expense which must have been incurred before it could have been conveyed to Kurrachee, and finally shipped at Damaun. This plan, which, if such a traffic is to be carried on at all, is the least objectionable that could be devised, is still in force."

In 1831 the opium passes gave a revenue of only £16,642; the following year it rose to £125,230, and it has been increasing every year since in the same proportion.

In one matter of proposed military reform the Governor-General caused unintended discontent about the end of his administration. By a general order he abolished flogging in the native army, though, in this matter, his powers did not extend to the royal troops; but this, however, he did not do until on the eve of leaving India. Doubts were entertained, even by those who were no advocates of this brutal and degrading punishment (which was first introduced into the British armies by William of Orange), and who reprobated the excess to which it was carried in those days, whether the entire mass of the Indian army, European as well as native, was not seriously injured by this regulation and distinction. For confinement, it has been said, the sepoys cared little, or for any other punishment which was substituted for the lash, in a land where cruelty and torture had long been a science; but the British soldier felt himself doubly degraded when he saw that, while he was amenable to such an expiation, the black soldier was sacred from it; and the frequent acts of insubordination that were shown in subsequent years, even before the great revolt of 1857, were not without creating a painful alarm in Britain, as well as in India; and these were attributed in good part to this one-sided reform of Lord William Bentinck.

In 1827, before Lord Amherst quitted India, nearly all the civil suits instituted throughout the Bengal provinces were decided by native judges. In consequence of this, Lord William Bentinck

extended the experiment which he has generally received the credit of having originated. By law, all British subjects were competent to serve on juries in India; custom had pronounced, however, that half-bloods were not British subjects, and law sanctioned the anomalous decision. It was for Lord Amherst to redress this grievance; and in 1826 it was decreed that "all good and sufficient residents" were competent to serve as jurors, with the restriction that Christian jurors alone could try Christians. The object of Lord William Bentinck was not so much to increase the number of native judges as to enlarge their jurisdiction, and improve their position by the augmentation of their salaries, thus adding to their respectability and affording some guarantee for their integrity.

In October, 1828, the conduct of Maun Sing Rao Patunker, whom we have mentioned before, called for the services of Scindia's Reformed Contingent. This restless individual was no sooner expelled from one place than he established himself in another; and now, instead of proceeding, as had been stipulated, to the Deccan, he had taken possession of Oojein, and set the Government at defiance. The contingent was ordered to assemble there, with the Gwalior detachment, the whole being under the command of Captain Stubbs, with some field and battering-guns. Maun Sing Rao was to be allowed a reasonable time to accept the terms offered to him, after which Captain Stubbs was to drive him out of Oojein. On the 20th of October he took up a position against that place, while posting parties about it to repress the plunderings of Patunker, which were carried on in a very atrocious manner, and the fighting began on the 28th by the

latter attacking some of these parties, who repulsed him. On the following day, Captain Stubbs gained possession of several large houses and a gateway that led to Patunker's position or residence, which was captured. On the 2nd of November, Captain Stubbs pushed forward his batteries, and hemmed Patunker so closely in Scindia's palace, that he was compelled to abandon it in the evening, and encamp on the opposite side of the river. In achieving this, the losses of Stubbs were 159 men. Patunker had pillaged the people of Oojein to the extent of one lac and 20,000 rupees, which he was now compelled to refund, and to surrender his fort of Powahghur; after which, Captain Stubbs, who received a gratuity of 25,000 rupees, marched his troops back to Gwalior and their former stations.*

The year 1829 saw Lord William Bentinck actively employed in visiting the eastern provinces of Bengal, and those along the eastern shore of the bay. This resulted in the abrogation of the separate government of Prince of Wales' Island, which, with its dependencies, was annexed to the government of Bengal. In this year he invited native gentlemen of all degrees to meet him, and make known their ideas on the condition of India; and this invitation was also extended to all European residents. He invited the suggestions of all who had any ideas to urge for the promotion of native industry, for the improvement of commerce by land and water, for the amendment of defects in existing establishments, the encouragement of education and diffusion of knowledge; in short, for the advancement of the general prosperity of the British empire in India.

CHAPTER VIII.

ABOLITION OF SUTTEE.—SUPPRESSION OF THE THUGS AND DACOITS.—THE OVERLAND ROUTE ESTABLISHED.

THE Court of Directors had long been anxious for the abolition of suttee—that revolting custom, practised by widows, of burning themselves alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands; and in 1824 they had declared their conviction of the practicability of putting down the barbarous superstition, "or at least of the safety with which it might be prohibited;" and to the firmness and humanity of Lord William Bentinck—in spite of the timidity and religious indifference of those

around him—this great reform must be attributed; yet one of the sources of the dreadful revolt of 1857 is to be found in the resentment which the abolition of the ancient custom awakened in the mind of heathen India, which never forgave this interposition on the side of humanity; and the Brahmin women, in whose interest it was made, never pardoned it.

They still believe that their condition is less

* "Services, &c., of Scindia's Contingent," 1839.

honourable since the abolition of suttee, and they have inculcated hostility and bitterness in consequence to their sons. When the laws of Menou were framed, this custom was unknown; for by them, it is expressly stated, the king is to be the guardian of all widows and unmarried women. Hence the suttee, though a very prevalent practice, was never universal, and the victim generally acted of her own free will, and often in opposition to the wishes of her relatives. But this was not always the case, especially among families of rank and great Brahmins, who were sometimes desirous of enhancing the solemnity of funeral rites by the fires of a suttee. This horrible rite, called so from *Sati*, the Sanscrit word for good, is described by the Greek writers, in the days of Alexander the Great, as an ancient custom in their time; and Diodorus Siculus relates an instance of one which occurred in the army of Eumenes, 300 years before the Christian era, and ascribes the zeal for this kind of immolation to the infamy which attached to those widows who refused to conform to the custom of burning themselves with the bodies of their dead husbands.

The Emperor Ackbar made a law to protect women from a fate so horrible, and personally saved the life of one lady, by riding some hundred miles to arrest the sacrifice. She was the daughter-in-law of the Rajah of Jodpore, who demanded of the reluctant widow this awful proof of her affection for his son; but the opportune arrival of Ackbar prevented the fire being kindled, to the joy and gratitude of the widow, and the disappointment of the rajah and the priests, who deemed that he had baffled an act of merit and holiness.

It is stated that, in the year 1817, no less than 705 widows underwent self-immolation in the Bengal Presidency alone. In 1821, during the administration of Hastings, a bold blow was struck at suttee, by arresting and trying for murder, before a British court of justice, a man who had assisted at one. The most minute account of a suttee is that given by the Dutch admiral Stavorinus, on the banks of the Ganges, in 1768. "What surprised me most," he says, "was the tranquillity of the woman, and the joy expressed by her relations and the spectators. The wretched victim, who beheld these preparations making for her cruel death, seemed to be less affected by it than we Europeans who were present."* Colonel Wilks, and some others, though humane men, have treated the suppression of widow-burning as a direct interference with Hindoo religious liberty; and even Bishop Heber seems to have felt something of this.

* "Voyage to the East Indies."

Opinion, at first, was much divided on the subject, and the utmost length to which our highest authorities in India were disposed to go, was to make some experiment in the conquered and ceded provinces, where the practice was still rare, and, in the meantime, not to interfere with Bengal, where hundreds perished in the funeral pyres annually. Lord Amherst, while asserting that only a dread of evils infinitely greater should make us tolerate the barbarity for a single day, could only "recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge among the natives for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition."

His adherence to these views deprived him of the honour won by Lord William Bentinck, who, despising the alarm and clamour of those who upheld this abomination as meritorious and holy, had a regulation passed in Council on the 4th December, 1829, in which it was expressly declared that, after its promulgation, "all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindoo widow, by burning or burying her alive, whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and shall be liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court of Circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of the case, and the degree of guilt established against the offender; nor shall it be held to be any plea in justification, that he or she was desired by the party sacrificed to assist in putting her to death."

None of the evils dreaded followed the proclamation of the new law, which, when the temper and nature of the Hindoos are considered, ought ever to be deemed an act of the highest moral courage. Even Sir Charles Metcalfe openly expressed his apprehensions of inflaming the fanaticism and passions of the multitude; and though the forebodings of all were gloomy, the opposition of the Hindoos only took the form of petitions, which were poured in upon the Governor-General and, as he proved inflexible, the petitioners carried their complaints before the Privy Council. "Here the singular spectacle was presented of Hindoo natives appearing as appellants in support of an abominable superstition, while the Court of Directors appeared as respondents. After a full discussion, the Privy Council set the question as to the legality of the abolition of suttee at rest by dismissing the appeal. Humanity thus gained a decided victory over blind superstition, and a lesson was furnished which, if succeeding Indian administrations had duly profited by it, would have been followed by many similar triumphs."

The abolition of female infanticide—a later reform,

to be treated of in its place—caused an equally great opposition to European rule on the part of the women of heathen India. The removal, by murder, of a portion of the females of a family, left a larger marriage-portion to the survivors than can now be afforded. Hence the women, forgetting that they might have perished but for the abolition of the atrocious custom, regard the British as having, by an intrusive philanthropy, deprived them of fortune, and impaired the social condition of the Hindoo people.

It was during the administration of Lord William Bentinck that Thuggee and Dacoitee were suppressed by the strong arm of British law; and in treating of the first of these, we open a page in the history of the world fearful beyond all the ordinary records of crime; but the doings and characteristics of this dreadful community will be best illustrated by a few authentic anecdotes concerning them.

The date of the rise of this secret society of stranglers cannot be assigned with accuracy. Originally they were Hindoos, and of one caste, by whom Mohammedans were first admitted as proselytes, after which, restrictions were removed in succession, till all castes, even the lowest Chandala, was admissible as a Thug. They traced their origin back to the time when gods dwelt on earth, and adduced the sculptures in the rock-hewn temples of Ellora—believed by them to have been the work of demons who knew the secrets of all the trades on earth—as evidences of their antiquity. There, they said, all the dread secrets of Thuggee are depicted; the inveigler sitting on the same mat with the unconscious traveller, worming out his secrets and winning his confidence—stranglers and their victim; then the body being dragged to the grave which the sexton Thug is digging with the holy pick-axe. These wretches believed that they pleased and propitiated heaven by the murder of their fellow-creatures and the appropriation of their goods. Their existence was quite unknown to our Government in the first years of the present century; but between 1826 and 1835, no less than 1,562 of them were apprehended and executed in different parts of British India. Many became approvers, and by their aid our officers were enabled to seize or break up the various bands.*

The legend of Thuggee is as follows:—In remote ages, a gigantic demon infested the world, devouring mankind. The goddess Kali, to rescue the entire human race from destruction, attacked the demon and cut him down; but from the blood that dropped there arose other demons, whereupon the goddess created two men, whom she provided

with handkerchiefs, and taught to strangle the brood of demons without shedding a drop of their blood. This being achieved, she then bade them to strangle men as they had strangled the demons. Hence the order of Thugs, who were at first aided by Kali in person, as she undertook to remove the bodies of the victims if her operations were not observed. A novice, however, on looking back, saw her devouring one of the corpses, which so displeased her, that, henceforth, they were left to dispose of the victims themselves.

So totally ignorant were our authorities of the existence of the Thugs, that when—soon after the storming of Seringapatam—a whole band were captured near Bangalore, they were punished as Dacoits, and no suspicion arose that they were anything else. The profession was hereditary, though strangers were from time to time initiated with great caution. After the process, in which *goor*, or coarse sugar, was used as a kind of sacrament—an embodiment of Kali herself—the beginner was allowed to try his “prentice hand” on the throat of some sleeping traveller. “Let any one taste that sugar!” exclaimed one, when about to die, “and he will be a Thug, though he know all the trades and have all the wealth in the land!” “My father made me taste that fatal *goor*,” said another, “when I was yet a mere boy, and were I to live a thousand years, I should never be able to follow any other trade.” A *roomal*, or handkerchief, properly noosed, was received with reverence by the assassin from the hands of the *guree*, or priest, who was entitled to the coin found in the pockets of the first victim, and a feast of comfits followed.

The implement of interment, a pick-axe, was an object of profound veneration among the Thugs; it was fabricated with care, and consecrated with many ceremonies. Assassinations were carried on thus:—They waited at the caravanserais, or lingered about the roads in quest of travellers. Emissaries were employed to collect information of their movements; children, and even handsome women, were initiated into their horrid practices, the object being to gain the confidence of the unwary to join their party, and then a favourable opportunity was taken to murder them. On a sudden, a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, was thrown round the neck of the unsuspecting stranger, and tightened till he was suffocated. Every one of his companions would be murdered in the same way, and the bodies, after being plundered, were carefully buried. Possessing the most ample means for gaining extensive information, they contrived to murder, in general, only those who were not likely to be inquired for or soon missed, and whose disappearance might

* “Illustration of the Hist. and Practice of the Thugs,” 1838.

be accounted for by voluntary flight. Thus, a poor soldier was a safe victim, as absence from his regiment would be attributed to desertion. A servant intrusted with money was another, the conclusion being, when no trace was found of him, that he had betrayed his trust and run away.

After death was complete, the sacred pick-axe was called into play. A hole, about three feet deep, received the unfortunate, who was then buried with his face downwards, his corpse being first mangled, to expedite decomposition and prevent its inflation, which, by causing fissures in the earth, might attract wild animals and reveal the body. If haste or alarm did not permit interment, it was flung into the nearest well or tank. An effusion of blood was avoided, and an impenetrable veil of darkness was thrown over all their atrocities.*

During the attack every possible precaution was taken to guard against surprise; scouts were placed in every direction, and should any one approach without being previously seen, the nearest of these would throw himself on the ground in a pretended fit, and thus attract attention till the body was concealed. If this failed, it was covered with a cloth, and the murderers feigned to be lamenting the death of a friend. They have been known to travel for days with the person they purposed to murder, till a sufficiently favourable opportunity occurred. If the booty obtained was not equal to their expectations, they often vented their rage in shamefully outraging the corpse. In some districts, where wells are numerous in the fields, the discovery of bodies—such as when, in 1810, thirty were found thus—led to the detection of several bands of Thugs, who never scrupled in the end to cut down or stab any one who escaped—which was but seldom—the grasp of the stranglers.

Though murder was the creed of these wretches, indiscriminate slaughter had some curious restrictions, and they deemed it unlucky to kill certain classes and castes; washerwomen and poets, oil vendors, musicians, smiths, carpenters, and Ganges water-carriers, were among the protected classes; and, as a rule, the Thugs never took the life of a woman, even with the temptation of great booty; and then a Mussulman was procured to commit the deed. One, who turned informer, tells thus the tale of temptation resisted by the aid of beauty:—"My cousin and I were with a gang of 150 Thugs, on an expedition through Rajpootana, thirteen years ago, when we met with a handmaid of the Peishwa Bajee Rao, on her way from Poonah to Cawnpore. We intended to kill her

and her followers, but we found her very beautiful; and after having her and her party three days within our grasp, and knowing that they had with them property to the value of a lac and a half of rupees, we let them all go. We had talked with her, and felt love towards her, for she was very beautiful." The booty gained was sometimes considerable, for cases are recorded in which sometimes twenty thousand rupees were taken by the extermination of a whole caravan of merchants. No estimate can be formed of victims who, during successive ages, fell by the hands of these secret murderers. We have said that, between the years 1826 and 1835, 1,562 Thugs were discovered and tried. "Taking the average time during which each of these Thugs had been employed in murdering to have been twenty years, and supposing that each man of a gang killed one victim a year, which is far below the truth, probably, the conclusion we must arrive at is that 1,000 to 1,500 people annually lost their lives by Thuggee."

Besides those who murdered on the roads or in Thug villages, where all the inhabitants were children of Kali, there was a separate branch of the same dreadful order, who plied their avocation on the principal rivers. They assumed the garb of boatmen, and had always the cleanest and most inviting passenger-barges at the principal ghauts. Some of the gang, well dressed, and passing for respectable travellers, took to the adjacent roads, and drew customers to their confederates' boats, pretending to be going up or down the river, and begging those whom they met to join them in a boat and share the expense. Then the traveller might put off in a boat apparently well filled with passengers, every man of whom was a Thug!

When the boat had proceeded some distance, they would fall upon him, strangle him, break the spine to guard against resuscitation, and, after stripping the body, throw it into the water, and continue their course to the next ghaut as if nothing had happened. A cow was always a protection to a traveller, but this superstitious impediment was sometimes removed by artifice. A party of Thugs projected the murder of fourteen persons, some of whom were women; but the victims had with them a cow. They were persuaded to sell it to the Thugs, who piously presented it to a Brahmin, and within a few hours after, the whole party were strangled in quick succession. All these operations were facilitated by the adoption of words and signs, secret as those of Masonry, and yet peculiarly their own. In Western India the subordinate chiefs and officials not only connived at these crimes, but shared in

* "Illustration of the Hist. and Practice of the Thugs."



THUGS IN THE GAOL OF AURUNGBAD.

the spoils; and even native bankers in Bombay and elsewhere did not scruple to make advances on the security of the pillage which they knew could be obtained only by murder, and some merchants regularly paid their visits to Thug villages, when the gangs engaged on distant expeditions were expected to return. The occupation of the Thug came to him, generally, by descent; and hence the domestic hearth of each was a school for murder. Yet, according to Dr. Spry, the eminent Scottish phrenologist, who examined many of their skulls, the alleged organ of destructiveness was not a predominant one among them.

To Captain Sleeman was assigned the task of punishing and suppressing these gangs as fast as they could be discovered. That officer organised a body of sepoys, as a detective police, at Saugor, the head-quarters of the commission. Arrests were then made; others were invited to turn approvers; link after link was added to the chain of evidence. The whole of the ghastly network was exposed, and amid the gangs the work of retributive death went on unsparingly; and in many instances they hanged themselves.* And now, happily, Thuggee, as an organised fraternity of assassins, no longer exists in British India.

Dacoitee, another form of crime that somewhat resembled it, and only less atrocious as simple robbery alone was contemplated, was, about the same time, nearly suppressed. The Dacoits formed an organised fraternity, and belonged to certain castes who deemed pillage their hereditary privilege and destiny, and to this they trained their children. When, after a number of imaginary religious observances, they deemed the omens were propitious, they set forth in gangs, variously disguised. Their principal weapon was a spear, the head of which they carried about them concealed, while they used the shaft as an ordinary walking-staff. Their object of attack was less travellers than some rich mansion, or perhaps a whole village, where, by previous inquiry, it was known that a rich booty might be won.

On arriving near it, they separated for a time to lull all suspicions; but night beheld them all together at some appointed rendezvous, from whence they would suddenly rush forth, with spears glittering and torches blazing. So well were their measures concerted that resistance was seldom possible, and thus the work of plunder went on with speed and without interruption. If any luckless victim attempted concealment, he only drew torture on himself. These midnight raids, com-

mitted as it were in defiance of the Government, could not remain unknown; but from the corruption of the native officials, who shared in the spoil, conviction could seldom be obtained, till, under the pressure of British rule, Dacoitee was compelled to succumb at last. Though it was understood to be sparing of bloodshed, it was at one time carried on with dreadful barbarity; and after tortures of the most excruciating kind had been employed, the victims were often hewn to fragments, and these were hung as bloody trophies on the nearest trees.

"Whether from natural temper or habit, cruelty in its most savage form does not seem to be viewed by the Hindoo with any great degree of abhorrence," says a writer. "When he cannot be charged as an actual participator in the crime, he speaks of it in a way which shows that he is neither indignant against him who commits it, nor feels much pity for him who suffers by it. The doctrine of fate, carried to its absurdest extreme, destroys all moral distinctions, and reconciles him to every abomination as soon as he gives it the name of destiny. With this for an excuse, the Dacoit robbed and the Thug murdered without any feeling of compunction. Human life, too, was regarded with comparative indifference, and the loss of it, therefore, did not seem an evil of any great magnitude. If extinguished by natural causes, there was little occasion for survivors to lament it; if taken away by violence, it was viewed as an expiation which some god had appointed; and thus the crime of murder was palliated by the imagination of some other crime of which it was presumed to be the just punishment. Suicide was, in the same way, not only justified, but deemed meritorious; and the wife who lost her husband was deluded into the belief that she could not survive him without dishonour."

In addition to suppressing these dreadful crimes against society—Suttee, Thuggee, and Dacoitee—Lord William Bentinck was a great friend to the diffusion of knowledge among the Hindoos, and under his auspices many schools were instituted in various parts of India, where the pupils were provided with translations of British works on history, geography, mechanics, and branches of useful knowledge; but in the year 1835 it was resolved that the English language should be the medium of instruction throughout the country; and since that time it has been studied at the more remote courts of Hindostan, and English tutors have been engaged to educate the sons of some of the rajahs. Runjeet Sing consented to the establishment of an English school in his

* Spry's "Modern India,"

capital, Lahore, and many of the princes of Rajpootana followed his example.

One of the great events of the Bentinck administration was the successful application of steam to the voyage between Europe and India, and the subsequent establishment of the regular route by Egypt. A vessel called the *Enterprise*, under steam and canvas, had made the first trial voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, but not satisfactorily. She left Falmouth on the 16th of August, 1825, and did not reach Diamond Harbour, in the Hooghley, till the 7th of December. A route by the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf was then attempted, after which it was ascertained that the ancient line across the Isthmus of Suez, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, was entitled to the

preference; and an old work, written by Colonel James Capper, H.E.I.C.S.,* tells us that it was the most frequented route to India in ancient times; but after the discovery of the way round the Cape, was neglected by most European nations. The first steam voyage by this line was made by the *Hugh Lindsay*, which left Bombay on the 20th of March, 1830, and arrived at Suez on the 22nd of April, an interval of thirty-two days. In her next voyage she reduced the period to twenty-two days; and in 1836, the Government of Bombay congratulated the Court of Directors on the arrival of despatches from London in sixty-four days; and since then, as is universally known, the distance has been performed in less than half of that time.

CHAPTER IX.

COLLISION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SUPREME COURT AT BOMBAY.—THE FANATICS OF SEYD AHMED.—INSURRECTION AMONG THE KOLES, ETC.

MANY of the improvements which had been so wisely introduced into the public departments of Bengal had been imitated at Bombay, the chief merit of which was due to Mountstuart Elphinstone; but it was singular that, under the able government of Sir John Malcolm, an attempt had been made to retrograde rather than advance. The blame of this lay neither with him nor his council, but with the judges of the Supreme Court, who entertained extravagant views of their jurisdiction, and sought to stretch it, as had been done at Calcutta in the days of Sir Elijah Impey.

At Bombay the law of England was then administered by a single judge, called a recorder, who performed his duties efficiently enough; but, as the supreme courts of the two other presidencies had each three judges, it was thought, for the sake of uniformity—other reason there was none—that Bombay should have an equal number. Hence, in 1823, the recorder's court was abolished, and a supreme one formed, to consist of a chief justice and two puisne justices. The jurisdiction possessed by this new court was precisely the same as that of the other two, and its powers were expressly restricted to British subjects in Bombay and its dependencies, or to natives who were in the service of the Company, or others who had agreed

in writing to refer their disputes to this tribunal. But now Sir Edward West, lately recorder, appointed chief justice, early manifested a resolution to make the most of his promotion, and with the concurrence of his colleagues, who were animated by the same ambition, advanced claims to a jurisdiction which Sir John Malcolm had to resist.

While admitting that their powers over the natives were limited by the Crown, they managed to discover flaws that gave them more extensive influence, particularly in one clause, by which they were to "have such jurisdiction and authority as our justices of the Court of King's Bench have, and lawfully exercise, within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances will admit." This they interpreted, or stretched, as meaning a jurisdiction over all the king's subjects, native or British, without distinction, and without reference to territorial limitation; and cases to test the validity of this occurred ere long.

A young Mahratta of distinction, named Moro Ragonath, had been left under the guardianship of his grand-uncle, Pandurang Ramchunder, who resided at Poonah, and was a kinsman of Bajee Rao, the late Peishwa. Moro was married, and the relatives of his wife, for reasons of their

* "Observations on the Passage to India," 1784.

own, were anxious to keep possession of his person; he, being but a youth, presented a petition to the new Supreme Court, setting forth that his life was in peril, and praying for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The three judges at this time were Sir Edward West, Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, and Sir John Peter Grant, and they issued a writ to bring up Moro Ragonath from Poonah to Bombay; but, singularly enough, the first-named judge died on the 18th of August, 1828, the second on the 13th of the following October, and Sir John Peter Grant occupied the bench alone.

As the last who had taken his seat upon it, he might have pleaded the novelty of his position for avoiding a collision with those in power; but so far from complying with a request from the governor to delay, Grant (a Scottish advocate, and somewhat obstinate man) denounced this request as an interference with the course of justice, and actually made it the chief ground of a petition to the Crown, praying the king "to give such commands concerning the same as to your Majesty's royal wisdom shall seem meet, for the due vindication and protection of the dignity and lawful authority of your Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay."

The government had already declined to execute the writ of *habeas corpus*, on the ground that neither the grand-uncle nor the nephew were amenable to the Bombay Court, and had subsequently intimated their resolution not to permit writs of that nature to be issued in such instances, adding this: "The grounds upon which we act have exclusive reference to considerations of civil government and of state policy; but as our resolution cannot be altered until we receive the commands of those high authorities to which we are subject, we inform you of them; and we do most anxiously hope that the considerations we have stated may lead you to limit yourselves to those protests and appeals against our conduct, in the cases specified, that you may consider it your duty to make; as any other conduct must, for reasons already stated, prove deeply injurious to the public interests, and can, under the resolution taken and avowed by government, produce no result favourable to the immediate or the future establishment of the extended jurisdiction you have claimed."

So far from appeasing Sir John Peter Grant, this letter would seem simply to have exasperated him; and being now left to his own judgment, he adopted the extraordinary course of closing the court, on the plea that it was useless to keep it open while he was powerless to enforce his decisions. On this, the governor immediately issued a

proclamation, announcing his resolution to protect the property and persons of the inhabitants of Bombay, and summoning all classes to assist him in alleviating the evils consequent to the act of Sir John Peter Grant. The latter now shrunk from the effects of his own impetuosity, and reopened the court, after keeping it closed from the 21st of April to the 17th of June, 1829. After an appeal had been made to the Privy Council, it was authoritatively and finally determined that the Supreme Court of Bombay had entirely mistaken the limits of its jurisdiction, "and with equal rashness and ignorance endeavoured to substitute mere tyranny for law."

About this time the government of Lord William Bentinck was troubled by the proceedings of a fanatical sect near Calcutta. It chanced that a Mohammedan, named Seyd Ahmed, formerly a sowar, or trooper, in the service of Ameer Khan, assumed the character of a religious reformer, and avowed his resolution to purge the religion of the Prophet from all the errors that had been engrafted on it by the followers of Ali. He gained many adherents, though a very illiterate man, and soon became strong enough in the Punjaub to excite the alarm of the Sikhs. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and on returning to the upper provinces by the way of Calcutta, proclaimed a holy war, and so many Mohammedans flocked to his standard from Delhi, Lucknow, and elsewhere, that he speedily found himself at the head of 40,000 men; but Runjeet Sing, at the head of his Sikhs, overthrew and slew him in battle in 1831. But the sect he had formed took deep root; and having lost none of its fanaticism by his death, soon rendered itself obnoxious to Mussulmans and Hindoos alike, stigmatising them both as impure. Fierce quarrels were provoked, and bloodshed ensued; and at a place called Baraset, near Calcutta, a colony of the sect fell into deadly feud with the rest of the inhabitants, and an open rupture took place.

In the quarrel the zemindars had taken part against these followers of Seyd Ahmed, and were charged before our magistrates with partiality; but too impatient to wait for justice being done, under the leadership of a fanatic, named Titoo Miya, they commenced a war against the Hindoos. Having polluted a temple by smearing it with the blood of the sacred cow, they proceeded to commit what were deemed more dreadful enormities, by maltreating the Brahmins, and forcing morsels of beef down their throats. After this they became bolder than ever; villages were pillaged and burned down, and all who resisted were mercilessly put to death, till two battalions of sepoy and some light

cavalry came up with them on a plain near the Hooghley.

There they had set up a stockade, behind which, after being driven from the field, they retired, and fought with desperate courage, till about 100 of them were shot down and 250 taken prisoners. The rest fled; and though they made several attempts to rally, they were too thoroughly intimidated to hazard a new conflict. To this day, however, the fanatics of Seyd Ahmed are numerous, among even the more educated Mohammedans in India; and would, had they the power, propagate their creed by force of arms.

In the end of the same year, 1829, serious disturbances occurred in Assam and those districts which had been recently conquered from the Burmese. A body of mountaineers, named the Singphos, having crossed the hills on the north-east, entered Assam early in 1830, to the number of 3,000, and before they could be checked, committed great outrages. According to Captain Neufville,* these Singphos are divided into twelve classes, which are named under their respective chiefs. They are a warlike people of Indo-China, occupying a tract of country 2,800 square miles in extent. Their religion appears to be a mixture of all the various idolatries and superstitions of the natives with whom they have intercourse. They have no fixed principles common to the whole tribe. Their ostensible worship is that of Gaudama, whose temples and priests are to be found in all their villages. They have nothing approaching to what we call government, each chief being independent. They are people of a tawny complexion, with a cunning expression of countenance, long lean bodies and short legs, and in disposition are cruel, implacable, and treacherous, practising polygamy without restraint.

On bursting into Assam, their chief objects seemed to be the acquisition of plunder and Asamese slaves, but when once stoutly encountered they were incapable of offering much resistance, being the merest savages and very rudely armed; their presence, however, gave encouragement to other disaffected tribes, and an attempt was made to surprise our station at Rungpore, an extensive fortress, the ancient capital of Assam, situated on an island in the Dikhs. The bridge by which it is approached, and which was built ages ago, is a monument of the skill of the artificers who constructed it. The attempt did not succeed; but the frequent repetition of incursions at last induced government to attempt a more effectual remedy, by reinstating an ex-rajah in part of his territory, on

condition of his keeping peace in the district and paying us tribute.

Still further to the south, among the Kasya Hills, a revolt, accompanied by elements of dreadful outrage, developed itself. Nungklow, a place situated midway between Assam and Sylhet, had been obtained by the Company through an amicable treaty with Tirat Sing, who was said to be chief of the Kasyas. The intention was to convert it into a sanatory station, for which its climate and elevation—fully 5,000 feet above the level of the sea—seemed to adapt it well; and with this view, and to open up a communication between Sylhet and Assam, a series of roads were commenced across the mountains. The inhabitants, who began to have fears for their independence, resented these operations, and alleged that Tirat Sing, who was only one of many chiefs, had disposed of their common territory without authority to do so. The mountaineers resolved to regain by force the district we had acquired, and accordingly, in April, 1829, a large body of them, led by Tirat Sing (who acted, perhaps, under compulsion) and other chiefs, suddenly appeared in arms before Nungklow.

Lieutenants Beddington and Burlton, with a Mr. Bowman and four sepoy, who were the only persons of the Company's service there, having been invited to a conference, the first-named officer went without suspicion, but was barbarously murdered the moment he arrived; his companions, after gallantly defending themselves in a house they occupied, shared his fate, with the exception of one sepoy who effected his escape. There now ensued a desultory warfare, which lasted, with but little interruption, till the end of 1832, when the chiefs submitted, and Tirat Sing was sent as a prisoner of state to Dacca. In Gentiah and Cachar some of the native rulers attempted to revolt, but were more completely crushed; and in the Tenasserim provinces, some of the ousted Burmese governors, incited by the slenderness of the forces placed there for their protection, conspired to seize Tavoy and other towns, and were at first successful.

At Tavoy, a town celebrated for the manufacture of Burmese musical instruments, Mung-da, its former governor, appeared suddenly, at the head of 500 men, and driving out a detachment of the Madras Infantry, obtained possession of the town. At Mergue, possession was gained more easily, as an officer there, with fifty men, gave way without opposition. Reinforcements soon came, and all the places were re-taken; but tranquillity was doubtful, as the Governor of Martaban was known to be

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvi.

at the bottom of these movements, and would, no doubt, have renewed them, had he not been murdered for some reason, by order of the Viceroy of Rangoon.

arms, and were with difficulty prevented from marching on the capital, which stands on the east bank of the Mahanuddy, and contains a fort and several Hindoo temples. Their weapons consisted

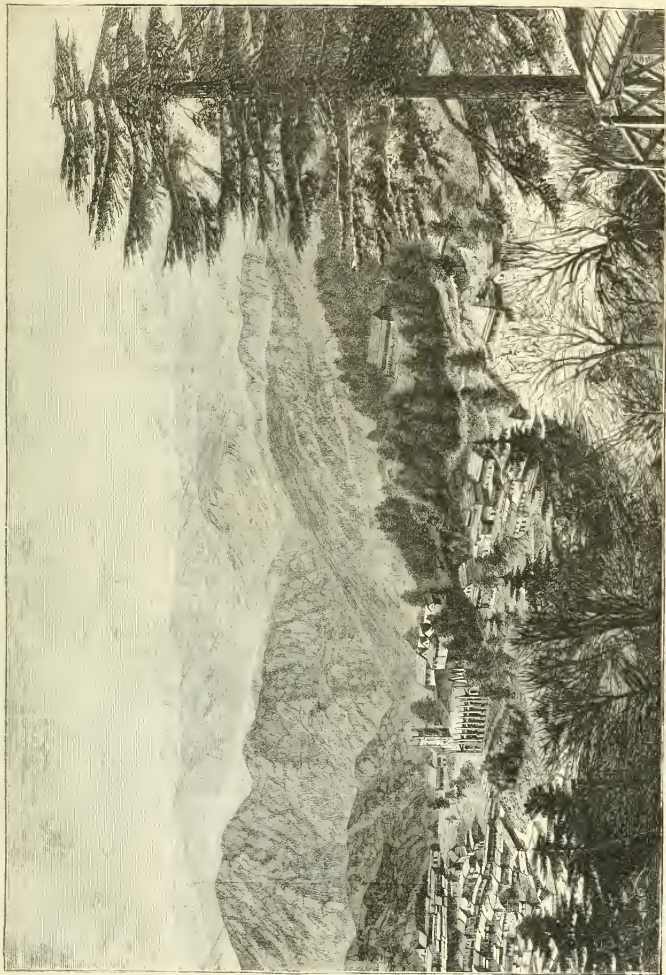


FAKIRS WOUNDING THEMSELVES.

The next source of annoyance was an insurrection among the Koles. Towards the end of 1829, the people of that tribe inhabiting the district of Sumbulpore, in the Gundwana—a place, though swampy, yet rich in rice, cotton, diamonds, and gold-dust—being dissatisfied with their ranee, who had rendered herself unpopular by dismissing from office all the relatives of her late husband and conferring their places upon her own kindred, rose in

of bows, arrows, and battle-axes, with spears and swords, and a few matchlocks. In this petty campaign, Wheeler, afterwards a famous general in the catastrophe of the great Mutiny, served as a captain with the 34th B. N. Infantry.

Peace was, however, restored by the interference of the British agent and the deposition of the ranee, who had been so devoid of prudence; but this was barely achieved when a revolt, of a much



VIEW OF SIMLA, WESTERN HIMALAYAS.

more formidable character, broke out among several small tributaries of the Company, occupying a wild district lying between the sources of the Nerbudda on the west, and the tracts of Burdwan and Midnapore on the east, usually known collectively as Chota Nagpore. Its aboriginal inhabitants consisted chiefly of wild Koles and Dangas, mere savages, whose subsistence was the chase, though, in some of the lower districts, agriculture was practised by a few of the native inhabitants, but more generally by some new settlers, brought by the zemindars of Bengal and Behar. Naturally enough, the latter were viewed with jealousy by the Koles, many of whom had been dispossessed of the soil to make way for them; and the more regular form of government which the Company was introducing was viewed with equal mistrust by the chiefs, who found their old wild freedom of action impaired thereby; thus, a universal revolt of all classes took place, and on the emigrants fell the first brunt of its fury. A thousand of them were barbarously murdered, their goods were pillaged, their villages burned, and fields laid waste.

The insurgents were in arms in thousands before any strong measures were taken to crush them; and this was the more regretted, because they were ultimately put down with ease.

In Madras there were also serious disturbances. It had been considered questionable policy in the Marquis of Wellesley re-establishing the ancient kingdom of Mysore; but the evils apprehended took no solid form while the administration was conducted by Purnea, under whom the country attained undoubted prosperity; but on his retirement in 1811, a change took place, and the rajah, determined to be his own master, conferred the office of dewan on Linga Raj, a creature of his own, but destitute of either influence or talent. Large sums from the revenue were now bestowed on the Brahmins, who took every advantage of his superstitious veneration for them; and, otherwise, the treasures which the thrift of Purnea had accumulated, were squandered on worthless parasites. Foreseeing the consequences of this, the Madras

Council repeatedly remonstrated with the rajah; and to enforce reform, Sir Thomas Munro paid him a visit in 1825. Great promises were made, but the moment he took his departure, the misgovernment became worse than ever.

The collectors, persisting in their over-exactions, were resisted, and sometimes murdered by the infuriated ryots; a spirit of insurrection was thus spreading fast, and this, while the rajah looked helplessly on, threatened to carry mischief into British territory.

Revolt took an organised form in the district of Bednore, on the east side of the Western Ghats, where Ram Rao, one of the rajah's creatures, had been guilty of the greatest oppression. By 1830 the rising was general, and after various attempts at accommodation had failed, an appeal to the musket became necessary. The Mysore troops were marched to Bednore in force, accompanied by three battalions of Madras Infantry and two companies of H.M. 62nd Regiment, with a squadron of native cavalry.

The ryots seemed well-disposed to return to their homes, on the promise of having their grievances redressed; but a new element of strife appeared in the form of a rival rajah, who, though a pretender, declared himself to be the lineal descendant of the ancient princes of Bednore. Encouraged thus, the revolt became so formidable, that Colonel Evans, the officer in command of the troops sent for its suppression, was compelled to fall back on Sheemoga. He advanced again, with better success; and after large arrears of revenue had been remitted, and other necessary concessions made, peace was fully restored. But such had been the extent of the danger, that it was necessary to take precautions for the future; and under a clause of the treaty of 1799, which empowered the Company in certain emergencies to assume the government, the luckless rajah was deprived of all political power, and converted into a mere pensioner; while the administration of Mysore was placed completely under a British Commission and four assistants.

CHAPTER X.

THE REVOLUTION IN COORG.—BURNES' EMBASSY TO CABUL.—LORD BENTINCK'S MEASURES IN REGARD TO THE NATIVE STATES.

THE Rajah of Coorg at this time, Vira Sing Rajendra by name, was a somewhat degenerate descendant of that prince who had so heroically maintained his independence against Hyder and Tippoo. By some, Vira Rajendra has justly been called a mere barbarian; yet a writer from Bangalore, in 1815, tells us that he was extremely fond of the English, was hospitable, that he had brought the manufacture of swords and fire-arms to the greatest perfection, and that a "Joe Manton," made by him at Coorg, equalled in perfection anything turned out by the celebrated gunsmith of that name.* He was accustomed to give way to fits of blind fury; thus, often the officers of his army and the members of his court were ordered off for summary execution. Even his own kindred were not spared; and out of one pit, in a jungle (when, at a subsequent period, his atrocities were inquired into), there were dug the bodies of seventeen of his victims, among whom were his own aunt, the child of his sister, and the brother of her husband.

To this cruelty he added other passions equally detestable; and his sister, Dewah Amajee, escaping with difficulty from his brutality, took refuge with her husband in British territory. Prior to all this he had been augmenting his troops, and manifesting such decided hostility to the Company, that, on the latter protecting the two fugitives, he threw off all restraint, and bluntly refused to listen to any proposal for the peaceful adjustment of certain misunderstandings produced by his misconduct, unless these two unhappy creatures were surrendered, that he might put them to death. As this terrible demand could not be complied with, in the April of 1834 Lord William Bentinck issued a proclamation, declaring that the conduct of the Rajah of Coorg had rendered him alike unworthy of our friendship and protection; that he had received and encouraged our enemies; assumed an attitude of hostility; addressed to the Council at Fort St. George and the Governor-General letters replete with insult and invective; for which, and for many other reasons, he was no longer to be considered Rajah of Coorg; and that the army which was about to march against him "would respect the property and persons of all who were peaceably disposed; and such a system of government would

be established as might seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people."

The whole plan of the intended campaign was framed by Major Steele, who had been Quartermaster-General of the Madras troops in Ava, and it was most judicious. The main body was to attack in two columns, one led by Brigadier Lindsay, the other under Colonel Stuart; Colonel Foulis was to attack from the westward, Colonel Waugh from the north, and Colonel Jackson was to make a reconnaissance from the north-west. The head-quarters assembled at Periapattam, and the rapidity of their movements was such that the rajah sent flags of truce to all the columns, and thought of nothing but giving in.*

The obstacles presented by the nature of the country were more formidable than the weapons of the enemy, and in more than one instance, where proper advantage was taken of them, the invaders were not only unable to advance, but were compelled to fall back; and this was more particularly the case with the divisions advancing from the north and west. In one of these affairs, a brave and noble old officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Mill, of H.M. 55th Foot, was slain; and a mistake was made by attacking in front a stockade at Bukh, which was ultimately carried by a more powerful assaulting force, under Major Bird, of the 31st Native Light Infantry, but not without loss. An officer who was present thus details the attack:—

"Heriot, about this time, received his first wound: being shot through the right leg, he fell, and was carried to the rear by his own men on their shoulders, when he received a ball through his left arm, which was laying across his breast. Colonel Mill was, towards the termination of the combat, shot through his lungs, the ball passing clean through his body. He sunk his head on his chest, called for two or three of his officers by name, spoke to them, and died. Young Babington, of the 31st Light Infantry, who during the day had displayed the highest zeal and intrepidity, was shot near the barrier-gate by a jingall ball entering his breast and passing through his body. He fell, mortally wounded, near to his commanding officer, Major Bird, with whom he held some conversation, grasped his hand, and panting for breath, said,

* *Scots Mag.*, 1816.

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, 1834.

"Farewell; I am dying!" He expired in a few minutes."

By this time there was a roar of musketry all round the stockade, which was a magnificently-constructed work of great strength, having a deep ditch and powerful barrier-gate. "How the major himself escaped," continues the narrative, "is almost miraculous, exposed as he was to the whole brunt of this murderous fire. Surrounded by the dying and the dead, he had for nearly four hours escaped unhurt; at length he received a severe blow on the forehead, which knocked him over—happily, it was a spent ball, and occasioned him no material injury. Lieutenant Robertson, who commanded the grenadiers of the 55th, received a charge of small pieces of iron in his right hip. Captain Warren, of the 55th, was wounded in the leg; ball extracted. The unexampled loss of H.M. 55th was distressing: thirty-one killed and sixty-eight wounded, out of 250 who were engaged. The loss of our own corps, the (31st) Light Infantry, was also considerable."*

On the 6th of April, Brigadier Lindsay's column took possession of the town and fortress of Mercara, with the palace of the rajah, who in four days surrendered unconditionally, and, after a short imprisonment, received better terms than he merited, and was sent to Benares, in possession of an ample pension. Linga, the dewan, was found in a jungle, hanging by the neck from a tree. In establishing the future government, the heads of villages were assembled at Mercara, and invited by Brigadier Lindsay to give free utterance to their wishes; though there could have been little sincerity in this apparently frank proceeding, as the complete annexation of Coorg had been previously determined on. The formal assent of the village chiefs was easily won, and Coorg has ever since remained an integral portion of the British Empire, conformably to a minute drawn up at Bangalore.

Prior to these events, Lord William Bentinck made a tour of the upper provinces. Leaving Simla in October, 1831, he entered the territories of the protected Sikhs, and halted at Raipur, on the banks of the Sutlej, where that river quits the mountains and takes its winding way through the plains of Hindostan. There he was met by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, as he was named, who made professions of the greatest friendship, "having then a fresh and lively recollection of the great English dray-horses and other presents which Lieutenant Burnes had carried to him a short time before" from his Majesty King William IV.

The Governor-General had with him, in addition to his body guard, two squadrons of H.M. 16th Lancers, under Major Cureton, two of Skinner's Horse, H.M. 31st Foot, and two battalions of sepoy. In Runjeet's camp were 16,000 of his best soldiers; and he presented ours with 11,000 rupees.* The adventurous Scotsman, Burnes, during a recent stay at Simla, and this ill-omened meeting, contributed not a little to the frightful events in Afghanistan, with which his name will ever be associated. He had ascended the Indus from its mouth, between Cutch and Scinde, as far as Lahore, and though he had ascertained that, for the extent of 1,000 miles from the sea to Runjeet's capital there might be uninterrupted navigation, and that, by the agency of steam, that noble river might become commercially most valuable—if the fierce Ameers of Scinde, who held its banks, and held them in anarchy, could be reclaimed; and if the countries to which the Indus gave access could become the abodes of peaceful and industrious races, whose wants could be supplied by the markets of European commerce. Lieutenant Burnes, however, being somewhat vain of the unusual voyage he had performed, supposed that by merely dispatching a few steam-vessels, or forming a treaty or so with some of the warlike but poor barbarians who dwelt upon the banks, a profitable trade would soon follow; and that rather than lose the chance of this, the Company ought to incur any risk. The ardent mind of this young officer was filled with brilliant visions of the large additions that would be made to our influence, wealth, and geographical knowledge; and, judging from the remarks in the preface to his travels,† these hopes seem to have soared far beyond the waters of the Indus and those of the Punjaub, among the savage passes and pastoral hills of the fierce Afghans and savage Khyberes, even to the wilds and deserts that lie between India and the Caspian Sea; and he records that his schemes were warmly encouraged by Lord William Bentinck.

Influenced thus, Burnes, with a small party, descended the Sutlej, and crossed the ancient Hyphasis, near the spot where Alexander the Macedonian halted, and where Lord Lake encamped, and then by Peshawur and the pass of Luta-Bund, he proceeded to the mountain city of Cabul, in the great Balahissar of which, Dost Mohammed Khan reigned without a competitor—the same Dost whom it was afterwards the destiny of Burnes to depose. He received him with great hospitality; and it was during his stay in Cabul,

* "Hist. Rec. 16th Lancers."

† "Travels in Bokhara," 3 vols., Lieut. Alex. Burnes.

and his travels in the adjacent country, that he contracted his rather unsound plans for the management of the fiery clans of Afghanistan. By giant mountain ranges, over broad rivers, and through wild deserts, by Balkh, among the Turcomans, by Bokhara, or Usbekistan, Kurshee, Shurrukhs, and Astrabad, the persevering Scot proceeded, till he reached Teheran, the capital of Persia; and as he and his little party had succeeded—by means of the friendly assistance of the chiefs of the different nations through which they passed, and by joining various caravans—in crossing the waste deserts of Tartary, he, perhaps, not unnaturally concluded, that the combined Russian and Persian armies might overcome these difficulties with greater ease, and by the mountain passes of Afghanistan reach the plains of British India.

In consequence of all this, Lord William Bentinck sent Colonel Pottinger to effect a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde. These men were little better than the chiefs of the Pindarees had been. They gladly accepted the presents and promises given them, and concluded with the colonel a treaty, by which the Indus was to be open to our trading-vessels if trade could be found, for certainly none existed then. Thus we were brought into direct communication with the lawless and rapacious Ameers of Scinde; the consequence was only to rouse the jealousy and alarm of Runjeet Sing, of Lahore.

In regard to some of the native states, confusion began to be developed, for the avowed British system of non-interference, while professed in theory, was frequently relinquished in practice. The course thus pursued by us was neither steady nor consistent; and with good reason, native princes complained that, on one hand, they were not permitted to manage their own affairs, and on the other, were never furnished with the means of reform when necessary; hence the condition of certain Mohammedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot states became somewhat restless and unsettled. To take them *seriatim*, we shall begin with the dissatisfaction of the King of Delhi.

There, the representative of the Great Mogul still endeavoured to display a shadowy kind of royalty, and to complain in bitterness of heart concerning the encroachments that were yearly made upon it. While, on one hand, taking ground on the subject of regal rank, on the other, he had to sue as a petitioner on the bounty of the Company for an increased allowance. The rentals of certain lands had been assigned to him; and as the value of those estates increased by improvement, he naturally enough supposed that his income would

be increased in proportion. The Company would willingly, perhaps, have given him the surplus, but wished him to receive his allowance, not as a royal right, but as the fee to a pensioner. Smarting under this new humiliation, he resolved to ignore the Governor-General; and appealing to the authorities at home, sent to Britain Rammohun Roy, a celebrated Brahmin of the highest caste, who had, however, lost it by throwing aside the superstitions of Hindooism, and in 1814 had endeavoured to extend among his people the knowledge of one true God; but by accepting that form of Christianity known as Unitarianism, he was never successful as a religious teacher. His appointment as envoy of the King of Delhi was kept in profound secrecy from the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck and his Council; hence, on his arrival in London in 1831, on presenting his letters of authority, they were declared insufficient to justify his recognition as the envoy of the Mogul's heir. From the new and enlarged views he was supposed to have adopted, he received much attention from some parties; but he never returned to India, as he died of fever at Bristol in 1833.

The King of Delhi did not advance his interests in any way by this secret move, but gave deep umbrage to Lord William Bentinck, who, when making a tour through the upper provinces, made the king fully aware of this, by declining all interchange of compliments or visits. And now his capital became the arena of a shocking crime. The Nabob of Ferozepore, Ahmed Buksh Khan, on his death, left the succession to his eldest son, Shumsud-deen-Khan, setting apart the district of Loharoo for two younger sons. The eldest objected to this curtailment of his inheritance, and the Governor-General rather unwisely forgot the usual policy so far as to decide that he should have Loharoo when allotting pensions to his brothers. Aware that this decision was opposed to the system of non-interference, Mr. Fraser, our commissioner at Delhi, had it postponed—a measure which so greatly enraged Shumsud-deen-Khan, that he had that unfortunate gentleman shot dead in the streets of Delhi.

The assassin and the nabob were both brought to trial: the guilt of both was fully proved, and both were executed as common malefactors; but so deep was the disaffection to British rule, that they were viewed as martyrs by the whole Mohammedan population.

Meanwhile, the complaints of misgovernment in Oude were becoming louder than ever. In the reign of the last nabob, Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder, the favourite dewan had been Aga Mir; but the

influence he possessed over the former procured him the secret hatred of the heir-apparent; and the nabob foreseeing the ruin that, in the event of his own death, would overtake the favourite minister, endeavoured to effect a conciliation between him and his son, by inducing the Governor-General to guarantee the former safety in his person and property. By the opportune offer of a loan of a million sterling to the Company in perpetuity, at five per cent. interest, the desired guarantee was obtained; and, at the same time, the nabob arranged that the interest should be paid to his dependents, among whom Aga Mir was regularly to draw one-half of the whole, or £25,000 yearly.

When the nabob died, his son, Nasir-ud-Deen, seemed to have forgotten his hate for Aga Mir,

whom he continued in office and treated with kindness; but this was all dissimulation, as his cherished enmity was keener than ever. Aware that the policy of non-interference had been again inaugurated, he despised the guaranteed safety, and suddenly throwing off the mask, dismissed Aga Mir, and accused him of defrauding the treasury. No doubt the ex-minister would have forfeited his life to Nasir-ud-Deen; but the latter had the mortification to see him placed safely beyond his reach, by being conducted, in October, 1830, under a British escort, to Cawnpore. The nabob now resolved to be—that for which his ignorance and dissolute habits quite unfitted him—his own minister; and soon the power of the state passed into the hands of worthless and vicious men whom the Resident was instructed not to recognise, till a reputable dewan was appointed; and the nabob, ere long, foreseeing the danger of venturing on a struggle with the Company, recalled the Hakim, Mehedi Ali Khan, whom Aga Mir had originally replaced. Sums squandered on favourites were now reduced, corrupt practices were reformed, and instead of being farmed to rapacious extortionists, the revenue was levied by paid collectors. Yet, so thoroughly was Lord William Bentinck imbued with a fear that the ruin of Oude would come in the hands of such a prince, that in April, 1831, during his tour, he visited him at Lucknow, “and plainly intimated to him, both orally and in writing, that if he did not immediately begin to govern on better principles, the course which had been adopted in the cases of

the Carnatic and Tanjore would be followed in regard to Oude, and it would be necessary for him to exchange his position of king for that of pensioner;” and nothing could prevent this threat from being carried out but an immediate compliance with the reforms his lordship demanded.

Many obstacles had to be surmounted; and after his threats, the Governor-General gave Hakim Mehedi no assistance to carry out his requisitions; so the dewan, finding it impossible to uphold his position, retired into private life again, and left Nasir-ud-Deen entirely in the hands of worthless favourites of both sexes, under whose influence the career of misgovernment went so rapidly on, that five inmates of the harem alone drew, for jaghires assigned to them, £192,000 per annum.

In the dominions of the Nizam, where Nazim-ud-Dowlah had succeeded on the death of his father, prodigal expenditure and tyrannical extortion went hand in hand, as in Oude, and the old affair of William Palmer and Co. added to the monetary troubles of the state; while in another part of India, in the territories of the Guicowar, matters were an aspect far from pleasing.

When Sevajee Rao succeeded his imbecile predecessor, great hopes were entertained of him, as he had always, as regent, co-operated with our Resident; but now, his increase of power

was not accompanied by increase of prosperity, and he began to disregard certain obligations, of which, with his own consent, the British Government had become the guaranties. He refused to pay his debts when he dared not plead poverty, and only sought to gratify a passion for hoarding, and in five years had deposited in his coffers a surplus revenue of £600,000, which, by express stipulation, belonged to his creditors; till at last the interference and restraint of the Company became absolutely necessary for the government of his affairs.

Holkar's dominions, in 1833, became the bitter scene of a disputed succession, on the death of Mulhar Rao, and a civil war seemed imminent, till Haree Holkar was placed on the musnud, under a guard of our troops, though destitute of any qualification for the position thus assigned him; and this he evinced by placing himself entirely in the hands of a worthless and incompetent minister, named Revajee Phausia, who soon involved the country in such disorder and distress, as to make

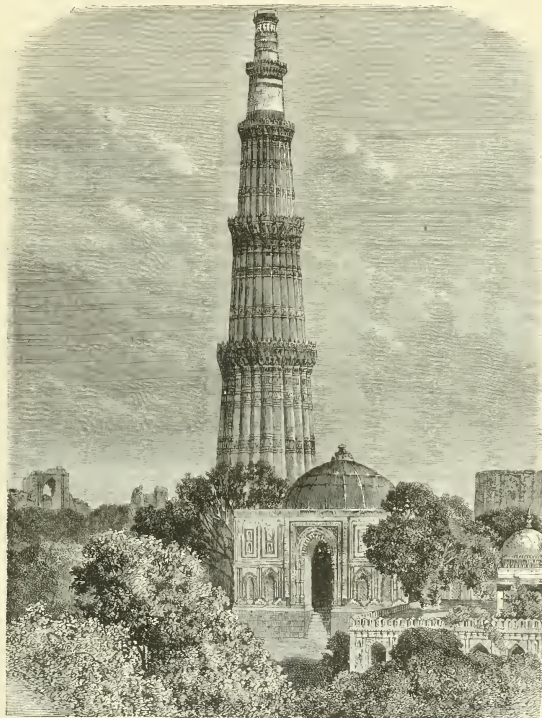


PORTRAIT OF DOST MOHAMMED.

Lord Bentinck seriously in doubt whether to undertake the administration, and depose Haree Holkar with a pension.

There were also troubles in Scinde, where, after

him a prisoner in his own palace. Escaping, he took refuge with our Resident, to whom he declared that his life was in danger; and during a visit he paid to Gwalior, Lord William Bentinck was im-



VIEW OF THE TOWER OF KOUTUB, IN THE PLAIN OF DELHI.

the death of Dowlut Rao Scindia (to whom we have had so often to refer), in March, 1827, effect was given to his desire, that his favourite wife, Baiza Bai, should adopt as his successor a little boy, named Janakajee, under whom she was to govern as regent; but as her ambition was to govern for life, after some matrimonial intrigues had failed, she resolved to have the boy set aside, and made

portuned by both parties to aid them; but, acting for the nonce on the neutral system, he left them to settle their disputes as they pleased.

On the 10th of July, 1833, some of the disciplined battalions of Gwalior espoused the cause of Janakajee, beset the palace, freed him, and put the regent to flight, after which she retired on a liberal pension to a jaghire in the south of India;

but the government did not improve under the rule of Janakajee; and during all this time a feverish excitement was kept up in some of the Rajpoot States, and particularly in Kotah, by new successions and the inconsistencies produced by the profession of British non-interference, and the frequently-recurring necessity for acting in direct violation of it. A steady course of action was thus but seldom pursued or depended upon.

The state of Boondce (or Bundi), a principality in Rajasthan, and possessing a magnificent capital with many stately buildings, was seriously disturbed about 1830. Ram Sing, the rajah, was a minor, and his mother, the rane, desirous of retaining her powers as regent, kept him in profound ignorance and encouraged him in gross vice, to the end that, while thus unfit to govern, he might have no wish to do so. Though young, Ram Sing was married to a daughter of the Rajah of Jodpore, and this singular mother made it part of her policy to estrange him from his wife, which she found the less difficulty in doing that she was ten years his senior. The princess, fully aware of her position, resented this state of affairs, and sought the aid of her father, who represented the case to our Resident, and urged his interference on behalf of the young rane; but, acting to the letter of his instructions, that official declined to do so. On this, the old rajah took the matter into his own hands, and sent a deputation, accompanied by 300 soldiers, to Boondce, to demand back the princess, and escort her to her former home at Jodpore; and now ensued a tragedy of the usual Indian kind.

The troops pitched their tents outside the town while the deputation rode into it, and sent a message to the durbar. Their pretended object was to ask when it would be convenient to receive them, but a murder was their intention; for the messenger, without waiting for an answer, plunged his sword into the heart of Deva Krishan Rao, the chief minister of Boondce; and for this outrage, the whole deputation would have been slaughtered on the spot but for the intervention of Mr. Trevelyan, our Kotah Resident, who protected them all, save three, who were put to death. Although there was no doubt that Maun Sing, the Rajah of Jodpore, was the instigator of this assassination, he denied it, and avowed his intention of avenging the slaughter of his three men at Boondce.

In the olden time, the feud thus raised would have led to a bitter war, which might have spread like a flame over all Rajasthan; but the Governor-General interfered with promptitude and decision, and, after some stormy correspondence, a mutual

oblivion of injuries was agreed to. Our relations with the Jodpore rajah, about the epoch of these events, were far from friendly, and at one time seemed likely to lead to blows. Inspired by superstitious veneration for certain religious mendicants, known as the Yogis-fakirs, he made them his spiritual guides, allotted them the fifth of his revenue, and intrusted them with the whole power of the state; and believing that at their hands he enjoyed a supernatural protection from earthly evil, when remonstrated with, he replied by sullen and defiant answers. He insultingly declined to visit the Governor-General when the latter visited Ajmere, in 1831; and it was known that he was in league with robber tribes in the desert of Parkur, a district consisting of sandy plains and porphyritic hills, that lie between the Runn of Cutch and the Thurr, or Indian desert, and that, on one occasion, when they had been dispersed, he gave shelter to one of their leaders. So many complaints were made against him, that by the end of the monsoon, in 1834, a force was assembled at Ajmere, under Brigadier Stevenson, to move against him; but it only ended in what was then known as "the Jodpore counter-march," as Maun Sing made every concession that was required of him.

On the 31st of May in the preceding year, the Indian service suffered a severe loss by the death, in London, of the great and brilliant Sir John Malcolm. Monuments were raised to him and his brother, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, and also to them in their native village of Langholm, in Dumfriesshire, that to the former being an obelisk a hundred feet in height.

The elements of discord now burst loose in the state of Jeypore, in Rajasthan, giving rise to complications which culminated in atrocity. The mother of the young rajah, acting under the influence of a man named Jota Ram, endeavoured to lengthen her regency, but was strenuously opposed by the *thakoor*s, as the leading chiefs are named; and the contending parties appealed to Lord William Bentinck, each hoping to obtain his decision against the other. The ambitious rane died early in 1834, thus ending her claims for the regency, and the rajah was approaching his majority. Nevertheless, Jota Ram continued to maintain his authority, and more bitter than ever became the strife, till the British troops began to assemble at Ajmere. This was Brigadier Stevenson's force, which was ostensibly to operate against Maun Sing, but could easily do so at the same time against Jeypore, when the factions deemed it prudent to suspend their contentions for a time.

Submission in Jodpore having rendered an advance in that direction unnecessary, it was resolved on to employ a portion of the forces in an expedition against the robber hordes of the Shekhawatee country, which lies between Jeypore and Bicaner, whose chiefs were independent and utterly lawless. Without sparing the territories of Britain or others, these chiefs had carried on their depredations on every hand, and it was strongly suspected that Jota Ram shared in the pillage; but on hearing of the projected expedition, under Brigadier Stevenson, he expostulated against it as unnecessary; and after it had taken place, and the Shekhawatee country had been placed under British rule, he protested against that measure, as a violation of the rights of Jeypore.

Under Brigadier Stevenson, C.B., the troops which assembled at Ajmere consisted of H.M. 11th Light Dragoons, and five regiments of native cavalry; H.M. Cameronian Regiment, and eleven battalions of native infantry; with a field and siege-train, consisting of thirty-six pieces of cannon. The cavalry formed two brigades, and the infantry four. H.M. 26th (Cameronians) had made a considerable movement *en avant*, but returned instantly upon the summons of the brigadier. The corps stayed a few days at Delhi when on its march to the westward. The effect of its presence in the city is thus described by the Delhi journalist:—

“His Majesty’s 26th Regiment, the Cameronians afforded a fine spectacle to the natives of Delhi on Monday morning. Having landed at the ghat below Dariogunge, they entered the city at the Delhi gate, moved down in close column to the imperial palace, and after passing in front of it, ascended through the dense crowd of spectators up the street of Chandni Chowk to their encamping ground before the Lahore gate, with colours displayed and bagpipes playing. The novel sight of nearly 700 Europeans under arms, and their stirring music, had a grand effect on the people. As the Cameronians were passing, we fell in with a group of learned Moulvees, who were led, either from reading or conversing on the subject, to ask our editorial wisdom why the men, being Scots, or as our friends said, *Escot ka log*, did not wear the checked mantle (or plaid), and march with naked limbs? Our fellow-citizens had been misinformed, we suspect, in regard to this gallant and distinguished corps. It never consisted of Highlanders, nor had any connection with Lochiel of poetical fame, or the clan Cameron. The regiment, we understand, was originally formed of a religious and warlike sect in the western counties of the lowlands of Scotland in the persecuting days of Charles II. They took their name from their leader, Richard Cameron,

one of the many ministers of religion who, in that reign, died in arms for the civil and religious liberties of their country.”

The Shekhawatee campaign, as it was named, consisted more of arduous marching than fighting, and it was said in India that the troops returned from it covered with scars, “but from the brambles only.” At one place on the Kallianoo river, the whole country was found to be under water by the bursting of a canal, the tree-tops alone being visible. The first stage in Shekhawatee proper brought the troops to the summer residence of Seekur Raja, a fort situated on a steep rock, 900 feet in height. The heat was intense; and, at some places, the pressure around the wells or tanks was so great, that men were thrust in and drowned. The fort of Taieen, with four bastions, each thirty feet in height, was taken by mining; and in it was discovered an ancient armoury, the doorway of which had been bricked up. By the 20th of December the force reached the town of Pahtun, a miserable collection of houses. Its fort, only strong by position, was on a hill, 1,000 feet in height. About midway up was the chief palace of the rajah, whose revenue was 45,000 rupees, with a tribute of 12,000 to Jeypore.* Hence the violation of rights alleged by Jota Ram.

Shortly after this, the Rajah of Jeypore died, and it was confidently suspected that Jota Ram, and a female named Rupa, who was his accomplice, had murdered the prince, in order to prolong their power as custodians of his infant son. But in this they were baffled. Major Alves, who had accompanied the troops in the Shekhawatee campaign, and was our commissioner at Jeypore, undertook the guardianship, and formed a new administration, from which Jota Ram and his female friend were excluded: the former being removed to Dersar, thirty miles from the capital, and the latter to a house within it, with a guard of sepoys to prevent her from being torn in pieces by the people; and, to preserve unity of detail, we shall give the story of what followed, though it goes beyond the close of Lord William Bentinck’s tenure of office.

It chanced that, on the 4th of June, 1835, Major Alves, after having an interview with the rane and her thackoors, was quitting the palace, accompanied by Mr. Blake, his assistant, Lieutenant Ludlow, and Captain Macnaghten, when he was wounded by a man who rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Though severe, the wound was not mortal, and the major was conveyed to the residency, while the would-be assassin was made a prisoner in the palace. Out of this building Mr. Blake came, holding in

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1835.

his hand the blood-stained sword with which the wound had been given. He had no sooner got into the howdah of his elephant than a fierce attack was made upon him by the assembled populace, and seeing escape impossible, he took shelter in a temple, the door of which was shut, but with the assistance of his mahout (or driver) and a chuprasi, he gained access by a window, and, by two other persons who were within, he was secreted in a small apartment, where—with what feelings may be imagined—he heard the yells and outcries of those who were thirsting for his blood.

They soon forced their way in, barbarously

murdered him, and threw his body into the street. Investigation traced out Jota Ram as the instigator of this atrocity. All who had been accessory to the outrage were seized and executed. Sentence of death was also recorded against Jota Ram and his brother, but it was commuted to imprisonment for life within the British territory.

In the month of March, 1835, prior to these events, Lord William Bentinck, whose health had been failing, resigned the office of Governor-General, and quitted Calcutta for Europe. He did not long survive his return from India, as he died in 1839, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

CHAPTER XI.

ALTERATION OF THE CHARTER.—EXTINCTION OF THE COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

THOSE who were best acquainted with Indian affairs foresaw, pretty generally, that even at the time it was passed, the Act of 1813, which made the first great inroad into the exclusive commercial monopoly of the East India Company, would effect far more extensive changes than had yet been made in their charter. The clamourers for free trade had never been silent from that period down to 1833, and there had been a succession of regulations and enactments all subversive of the ancient privileges.

Parliament appointed committees in 1820, to inquire into the foreign trade of the nation, and to consult on the means of its extension; and in both Houses, and in the country generally, a strong sense prevailed that the monopoly of the China trade, so long enjoyed by the Company, was injurious to the interests of commerce in general; though many who had this idea felt how difficult it might be for any body of men, less experienced and organised, to trade, without quarrelling, with a people so strange as the Chinese.

Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, in 1820, had urged upon the Directors the expedience of establishing an *entrepôt* in the Eastern Archipelago, where our ships might take in tea for Europe, and he recommended the allotment of a portion of their tonnage to China for the free use of the public; but the Court of Directors alleged, that without a monopoly of the China trade, they could neither maintain their power in India nor pay their dividends in Britain, and declined to make any

change, expressing, at the same time, a wish that the Act of 1813 should remain intact.

In July, 1821, the committee of the House of Commons stated that they could not concur in the apprehensions excited by this partial relaxation of the Company's Chinese monopoly, while, at the same time, acknowledging that it was of the utmost importance to its prosperity. But so loud were the demands for free trade and political economy, that ere the year was out, British ships were permitted to carry on trade to every port within the limits of the charter, and with all ports belonging to countries in amity with Britain; while the Company also found itself compelled to relinquish the restriction of shipping engaged in the India trade. Though newspapers, magazines, reviews, and pamphlets, kept up an incessant war on the subject, no legislative alterations were made from that time down to 1827. In May that year, shortly after Mr. Canning became Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Whitmore moved in the Commons for a select committee to inquire into the Indian trade, and he did not hesitate to urge the entire dissolution of the Chinese monopoly at all hazards.

Mr. Canning was a friend of free trade, and a large proportion of his supporters shared his opinions and enmity to monopolies of all kinds; while the unfortunate Mr. Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, was then the oracle of the political economists. Nevertheless, Mr. Whitmore's motion was opposed, on the ground that the time was drawing near for a re-consideration of the Company's

charter and entire system of trade. In the month of August Mr. Canning died, and the Goderich Ministry fell to pieces soon after. Mr. Huskisson resigned, and the Duke of Wellington became Premier in January, 1828. In the May of the year following, the former presented a powerful petition from the merchants of Liverpool, praying for the abolition of all restrictions on free trade with India and China; and then, in February, 1830, Lord Ellenborough moved for a select committee in the House of Lords to inquire into the state of the East India Company's affairs, and of the trade between Great Britain and the East generally. His lordship said, "that the Company had afforded all the aid in their power to increase the facilities given to the external and internal trade of India; that the most important questions for Parliament now to decide were:—1. Whether it would be possible to conduct the government of India, directly or indirectly, without the assistance of the Company? 2. Whether the assistance of the Company should be afforded in the manner in which it had hitherto been, or in some other way?"

Acting in conjunction, on the same day, Mr. Secretary Peel moved in the Commons for a committee on the same subject, stating "that he proposed its appointment with the plain and honest view of having a full and unreserved investigation of the affairs of the Company, and not for the purpose of ratifying any charter or engagement previously existing between the Government and the Company."

The reports of both committees proved unfavourable to the latter, whose evidence was fully taken.

On the 23rd of July, 1830, Parliament was prorogued, and dissolved on the following day. The new Parliament assembled on the 26th of October, and on the 22nd of November, Earl Grey was made First Lord of the Treasury; while, as head of the Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough was succeeded by Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), whose younger brother, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, was then Governor of Bombay. This gentleman (the son of a Director), and most of his family, had been closely connected with the Company, and to the Indian service owed alike their fortune and prosperity; but these considerations did not prevent him from acting in unison with his colleagues. Accordingly, on the 4th of February, 1831, Charles Grant moved for the re-appointment of the committee on Indian affairs; but it had scarcely met ere Parliament was again dissolved. On the assembling of the new one, on the 16th of June, he lost no time in moving again for the committee, and the motion was readily carried.

The Ministry complained, while the debate was in progress, that no petition had come from the Company for a renewal of their charter; but the Directors would seem to have thought it their most prudent course, ere doing so, to leave those whom they deemed enemies of the Company to make out their case against it. Meanwhile, the tables of the House of Commons were literally piled up with petitions from merchants and corporations against any renewal of the charter on its former terms, while some went further; and Mr. Langton, of Liverpool, boldly impugned the veracity of the Company's accounts, but he failed to make good his statements. "This was, in fact, the only remaining point," says Mr. Peter Auber, "and had it proved vulnerable, the public might have proposed their own terms, and have placed the Company at the entire mercy of Parliament, without any apparent plea of justice to rest upon in support of the interests of the proprietors."*

On the 27th of January, 1832, Charles Grant, still President of the Board of Control, moved for the re-appointment of the Select Committee, whose labours, when laid before Parliament in August, covered 14,000 closely-printed folio pages, and their reports were every way to the honour of the Company.

"It was admitted," says a writer, "that the whole system, which had united commerce with government, and allowed of the trade monopoly, had not been unattended with advantages; that without that system our vast empire in the East could not have been created—could never have been enlarged—as it had been during seasons of depression and disgrace, and bad or weak government at home; that the finances of India had derived advantage from their existing connections with the commerce of the Company, through the direct application of surplus commercial profits, and by the rates of exchange at which the Board of Control decided that the territorial advances from commerce in Britain should be repaid to commerce in India. But our empire in the East was formed, and seemed to be so firmly established, as to defy every attack; and our free traders and political economists again, forgetting that we must have the one to secure the other—that, without our sovereignty, the wealth and resources of India would be absolved in a maelstrom of anarchy—were incessantly declaring that free trade with India and China was worth more than our entire empire."

Unable longer to stand aloof in negotiating the matter of their charter with the Government, the

* "Rise and Prog. of the British Power in India."

Directors sent their chairman and deputy-chairman to confer with Earl Grey and Mr. Grant on the subject. A long correspondence followed their interview; the great change proposed by the Ministry was, that the Company should cease to trade, and devote its energies to the duty of governing, in conjunction with the Board of Control, our vast empire in the East; while, with respect to the competence of India to meet all demands on her finances, Mr. Grant maintained that no rational doubt could exist, as her revenue had been steadily progressing for the previous twenty years, and had now reached the amount of £22,000,000 sterling yearly, and promised still to increase. She had a territory of mighty extent, a rich and fertile soil, suited to every kind of natural produce, and a vast population, who were patient, laborious, industrious, and capable of improvement. All these, Grant urged, were more than sufficient pledges that, under wise guardianship, our Eastern exchequer would be always adequate to meet any current expenditure.

After considerable demur, the Court of Directors demanded a guarantee, or some collateral security, for the payment of the dividends, and ultimately—should such a contingency arise—for the capital to the proprietors of East India stock. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough had told them, in 1830, that they had full security for both in the commercial assets and in their fixed property in India, which appertained to the Company in its commercial capacity; and now Mr. Grant further assured the Court of Directors that his Majesty's Government was anxious to strengthen the interests of stock-holders by a collateral security, in the form of a sinking fund, made by the investment of a portion of the trading assets in the national stocks; and the sum he proposed as sufficient was £1,200,000.

But the Court demanded that this guarantee fund should not be less than £2,000,000 sterling, and would not give their assent to the ministerial plans without the sanction of the Court of Proprietors; and ultimately, on the 3rd of May, 1833, it was decided, in a General Court, by 447 votes against 52, that, provided the guarantee fund were raised to £2,000,000, and certain other monetary conditions complied with, the plan of the Ministry should be accepted, and the Company cease to be one for trading purposes. "The attendance," says Auber, "in this General Court was thin, if we consider the magnitude of the question."*

On the 27th of May, Mr. Grant announced the satisfaction with which the Ministry of William IV.

* "Rise and Prog. of the British Power in India."

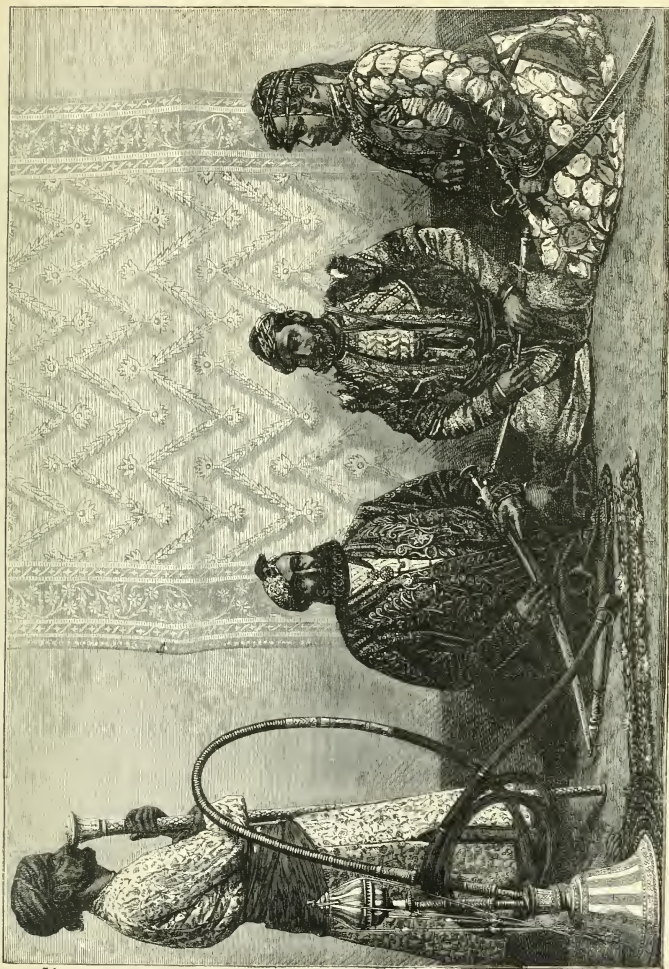
had learned the result of the appeal to the ballot at the India House, and that the guarantee fund had been increased to the sum desired. The Court of Directors had conceived that Government, through the Board of Control, meant to claim and exercise a veto on the recall of Governors-General, &c., as exercised by the Court; but Mr. Grant announced that it was not the intention of his Majesty's ministers to act upon that suggestion, or to insist upon it.

The resolutions were fully adopted by Parliament, when, on the 13th of June, 1833, Mr. Charles Grant, after a long explanatory speech, moved as follows:—"1. That it is expedient that all his Majesty's subjects shall be at liberty to repair to the ports of the empire of China, and to trade in tea and all the other productions of the said empire, subject to such regulations as Parliament shall enact for the protection of the commercial and political interests of this country. 2. That it is expedient that, in case the East India Company should transfer to the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, all assets and claims of every description belonging to the said Company, the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, shall take on itself all the obligations of the said Company, of whatever description, and that the said Company shall receive from the revenues of the said territory such a sum, and paid in such a manner and under such regulations, as Parliament shall enact. 3. That it is expedient that the government of the British possessions in India be intrusted to the said Company, under such conditions and regulations as Parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government and promoting the religious and moral improvement of the people of India."

It is remarkable, says Beveridge, that these resolutions, though involving the future government of India, and the consequent condition of its myriads of inhabitants, were passed without discussion, and awakened so little interest that a large majority of the House of Commons did not even deign to be present.*

On the 12th of August the Court of Directors came to the resolution that they must recommend the proprietors to defer to the pleasure expressed by the House of Commons, and to consent to place their right to trade for their own profit in abeyance, in order that they might continue to exercise the government of India for the further term of twenty years, upon the conditions and under the arrangements embodied in the Bill.

* "Comprehensive History of India," vol. iii.



RAJAS AND ZEMINDARS OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF HINDOSTAN.

A very slender Court of the Directors assembled on the 16th of August, and resolved that the Bill should be accepted. On the evening of the same day, it was read a third time in the House of Lords, and on the 28th became law, after receiving the royal assent by commission. The Court of Directors, whose number continued at twenty-four, now ceased to be Eastern merchant-princes; their monopoly in the trade with India and China was gone for ever; and they retained their powers of government alone. "The great mansion in Leadenhall Street is no longer a mart or place for buying and selling; hence many of its offices are deserted or closed, and something resembling the tranquillity of the cloisters prevails throughout the edifice; but it is still (or was, till the Mutiny) the spot where the stupendous machinery of the Indian Government is regulated."

While the great Bill was in progress, during the debates on it, many were the just tributes of admiration paid to the past conduct of the Honourable Court, and the great men, the brilliant soldiers, the expert financialists, and the keen diplomatists, whom the Company had trained and developed since those days when the four little ships of Captain Lancaster dropped down the Thames on their adventurous Eastern voyage, in the spring of 1601. Lord Ellenborough, who had devoted much of his time to the study of Indian affairs, applauded warmly the servants of the Company, in war and peace, and doubted whether there was anything in the new system which would produce such men and such deeds; and warmly, too, spoke the great Duke of Wellington, who declared that, from his own residence and experience, he believed that the Government of India was one of the wisest, best, and purest that ever existed.

"I recall to my memory," said he, "the history of British India for the last fifty or sixty years. I

remember its days of misfortune and its days of glory, and call to my mind the proud situation in which it now stands. I remember that the Indian Government has conducted the affairs of—I will not pretend to say how many millions of people, for they have been variously calculated at 70, 80, 90, and even 100,000,000, but certainly of an immense population—a population returning an annual revenue of £22,000,000 sterling; and that, notwithstanding all the wars in which that empire has been engaged, its debts amount only to £40,000,000, being not more than two years' revenue. I do not say that such a debt is desirable, but I do contend that it is a delusion on the people of this country to tell them that it is a body unfit for government, and unfit for trade, which has administered the affairs of India with so much success for so many years. . . . Depend upon it, my lords, that upon the basis of their authority (the Company's) rests the good government of India."

And yet, when speaking of this very time and crisis, what says Lord Macaulay, with honest bitterness of heart?—"The House has neither the time, nor the knowledge, nor the inclination, to attend to an Indian budget, or to the statement of Indian extravagance, or to the discussion of Indian local grievances. A broken head in Coldbath Fields excites greater interest in this House than three pitched battles in India would ever excite. This is not a figure of speech, but a literal description of fact; and were I called upon for proofs, I would refer to a circumstance which must be still in the recollection of the House. When my Right Hon. friend, Mr. Charles Grant, brought forward his important propositions for the future government of India, there were not as many members present, as generally attend upon an ordinary Turnpike Bill."

CHAPTER XII.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.—THE RAJAH OF GOOMSUR.—LORD AUCKLAND GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—LEGAL CHANGES.—DISTURBANCES IN OUDE AND SATTARAH.

ON the resignation of Lord William Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe assumed, provisionally, the administration of British India; but his term of office was too short to admit of any important

changes. There was one measure which his predecessor had initiated, and which Sir Charles fully carried out, and which was of a nature calculated to influence powerfully, for good or for evil, the future

of India—freedom of the press. It might prove irksome to give the full details of the mode in which he carried out his favourite idea, which met with much advocacy on one hand, and bitter opposition on the other. It does not appear that there was much difference of opinion in the Council on the subject; but there is no doubt that Mr. Macaulay was one of the majority. A public address was presented to Sir Charles, at Calcutta, on the part of a numerous and most influential body of the inhabitants, and the document was highly eulogistic of his views and the practical application of them; but, unfortunately, “the natives who have since used the press have had no sympathy with liberty, civil or religious; and almost the only use made of the freedom conceded has been to give expression to a furious fanaticism and a bitter hostility to the Government. Military revolt and civil insurrection have been more promoted by the native press than by any other means, not excepting even the preaching of the fakirs. The Government has certainly obtained the advantage of knowing, by the columns of the native press, the state of feeling which the more educated classes of the natives have cherished. It is to be feared, however, that very little use has been made of the knowledge thus derived, and the advantage has been counterbalanced by the incitement to sedition which the native newspapers have supplied.”*

Towards the close of the year some trouble was given to Sir Charles's government by the hostile attitude assumed by the Rajah of Goomsur, a little district westward of Juggernaut. The whole tract is still covered by dense jungle, and is hot and unhealthy. It first fell under our yoke in 1804. The country is traversed, in its entire length, by the Eastern Ghauts, and may properly be described as consisting of highlands and lowlands; the former occupied by three distinct tribes—the Sourabs, Koles, and Gonds.

The rajah defied the government; thus a force was detailed to act against him, under Lieutenant-Colonels Hodgson and Muriel, consisting of seven companies of the 21st and 49th Native Infantry, a wing of the 8th ditto, and a company of native artillery, under Lieutenant Austin, with four brass 4-pound howitzers.

The main force advanced from Aska on the 3rd of November, under torrents of rain, which did not enhance the comfort of marching through a rice-growing country. The insurgent rajah was supposed to have taken up a position at a place called Callada, with two rivers between him and the troops; but it was not until the 12th, when

Hodgson's force was about to encamp at a place called Gilling, that shots were exchanged with the hill-warriors, on which he proclaimed martial law, and offered 5,000 rupees for the apprehension of the rajah. On the 14th the line of march was greatly annoyed by jungle-firing, till the mountain howitzers opened with grape. The Goomsуреans proved, however, extremely pugnacious, and continued to fire, at intervals, during the whole of that day and part of the night.

The Black Cavern, a strong barrier-post, expected by the colonel to be fiercely defended, was reached on the following day, and from thence volleys of matchlocks were opened on the column, till the howitzer practice and a musketry fire checked it. “The barrier is on the summit of a hill, or, rather, between two hills, with deep jungle rising from the bottom upwards. The coolies behaved manfully in carrying up the howitzers, which are admirably adapted for jungle work, mounted on beds similar to mortars, and each weighing only 380 pounds—coolies carrying them over passes and through jungle that would be impenetrable to six-pounders. Having fired this place, the camp was pitched in the plain, and again annoyed by the rebel fire.”*

Eventually, the rajah had to fly, with all his people who were in arms, to the western extremity of Goomsur, and the insurrection was completely quelled.

In this year (1835) the Indian navy consisted only of four eighteen-gun sloops, two ten-gun brigs, and one twelve-gun ship, to perform the duties of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea stations, and Socotra, besides that of the coasts of Western India. So hard has this duty been of late, says a writer,† that vessels have been kept at these unpleasant and unhealthy stations—the Gulf and Red Sea—for periods of twelve and twenty-one months, because there was no vessel to relieve them, and the consequence was that several officers died, many fell sick, and others had their constitutions ruined.

At this time the total strength of the Bengal army was 7,041 Europeans, and 79,825 natives; and it was in this year that the king's troops adopted the percussion, in lieu of the old flint lock.

In consequence of Sir Charles Metcalfe merely holding the government temporarily till some peer of rank was selected by the British Cabinet, his acts were deprived of much of the authority or weight which otherwise they must have possessed; and it has been said that had this enlightened civilian been permitted to remain, as the Directors and Proprietors alike wished and requested, it

* *Calcutta Englishman*, 1835.

† *Bengal Hurkaru*, 1835.

* Nolan.

had been well for Britain and for India. It was however, become a kind of understood thing that the post of Governor-General there should be held by a peer through the direct nomination of the Crown.

Charles Grant had, notwithstanding this, been proposed by the Ministry, under the mask of advocating general principles; but the Directors, offended that he had not attended so fully as they wished to their suggestions in framing the new charter, were unwilling that he should be put in nomination. He wrote powerfully on the disadvantages of Metcalfe's temporary appointment, and urged the necessity for forthwith appointing some one in regular form. It was offered to Mountstuart Elphinstone, who declined. William, Lord Heytesbury, G.C.B., was then nominated and sworn. He had provided his outfit and passage, and completed all his arrangements; but, ere he sailed, the Peel Ministry, who had endeavoured unsuccessfully to strengthen themselves by a dissolution of Parliament, resigned. Under Lord Melbourne, the Whigs resumed office, and, with singularly bad taste, ungenerously cancelled the commission of Lord Heytesbury.

The office was again vacant, and Charles Grant—now created Lord Glenelg—having become Colonial Secretary, and been succeeded by Sir John Hobhouse as President of the Board of Control, might be considered as out of the field; the appointment was, therefore, conferred on George, Lord Auckland, G.C.B., then in his fifty-first year; why, was not very apparent, as there was nothing in his antecedents to show that he had ever had any interest in India or its affairs; “all that could be said of him was that he was a nobleman of amiable manners and excellent character, free from any overweening confidence in his own judgment, and disposed to listen to advice from those whom he believed competent to give it.” Hence it was supposed he would avoid blunders and do nothing rash.

Accompanied by his sisters, he arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd of March, 1836; but there was no doubt that his appointment was deemed a discreditable party nomination. “His lordship,” says Edward Thornton, “was the son of one of the most steady adherents of the administration of Mr. Pitt, under which his services were rewarded by a peerage. He acquired distinction as a diplomatist and economical writer. His son forsook the politics of his family, and attached himself to the Whig party.”*

All India was tranquil when he entered on the

* “Hist. of the British Empire in India,” vol. vi.

duties of his office; thus, like his predecessor, he had time to devote himself to the work of internal improvement; and there was one clause of the new charter which left him in no doubt as to what should first engage his attention: the formation or creation of “a general system of judicial establishments and police, to which all persons whatsoever, as well Europeans as natives, may be subject.”

To aid in the accomplishment of this great work of legal reform, a fourth member was added to the Council, to indicate the particular department in which he was expected to labour; and there was established a law commission, the reports made by which, from time to time, were to furnish the material or the reason for alteration or improvement. Provided thus with the necessary means, Lord Auckland went to work at once. In March, 1836, there was given to the employment of the uncovenanted judges additional extent and importance, by an enactment that “no person whatever shall, by reason of place of birth, or by reason of descent, be incapable of being a *principal sudder ameen*, *sudder ameen*, or *moonsif*, within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal.” Originally, the two latter officials were the only classes of native judges, and had a very limited jurisdiction; but gradually the powers of both were extended, and in 1827 the *sudder ameen* was empowered to try suits to the amount of 1,000 rupees. Yet the legal necessities were but imperfectly met, till Lord William Bentinck, in 1831, instituted the third or higher class—the *principal sudder ameens*—whose jurisdiction ultimately extended to cases involving any amount of property. Under the enactment above given, all barriers to legal promotion, or to the attainment of a judgeship in the three classes, were removed, and no kind of descent, mixed or native, could operate as an exclusion. This led to another change, which encountered much opposition when, on the 9th of May, 1836, even British residents were brought under the jurisdiction of the courts of *Sudder dewanee adawlut*, of the *zillah* and city judges, of the *principal sudder ameens* in the presidency of Fort William; the effect of which enactment was, therefore, to deprive British-born subjects of a privilege, real or supposed, which they previously possessed, and to place them as defenders in the *mofussil* courts, on the same footing as the natives of India.

Unless we except some sharp affairs between H.M. ship *Andromache* and the pirates of the Straits in June, save the contentions excited among British residents by some of these legal reforms, Thornton justly says, that the first year of Lord Auckland's

"administration of the government of India was completed without the occurrence of any event sufficiently remarkable to require notice, and the first half of the ensuing year passed with equal tranquillity. The calm was then interrupted by some violent proceedings in that perpetual seat of trouble and disquiet, Oude." *

On the night of the 7th July, 1837, Nasir-ud-Deen Hyder, Nabob of Oude, died suddenly, and an attempt to put a spurious successor on his throne had been defeated, but not without bloodshed. He died without children, and though, at one time, he had adopted, or acknowledged two boys to be his, he afterwards formally disavowed them. Being an only son, it became necessary, therefore, to seek for a successor among ascendant branches; but now a fresh difficulty arose. Of the ten sons of Sadut Ali, his father was the eldest; the second of these sons had died, leaving children; but the third son, Nasir-ud-Dowlah, was still alive. According to the British law of inheritance, the succession lay with the heir of the second son; but the Mohammedan law prefers a younger surviving brother to the children of an elder brother, who had died before the succession became vacant.

By this law and rule, the British Resident, Colonel Low, on hearing of the nabob's death, at once prepared to recognise the claim of Nasir-ud-Dowlah. "There was not a moment to be lost. The Padishah Begum, or queen-mother, who had been obliged to quit the palace in consequence of a quarrel with her son, was known to be intriguing for the succession of one of the boys whom he had formally disavowed; and the children of Sadut Ali's second son were disputing the soundness of the interpretation of the Mohammedan law by which they were excluded."

Our force in the city was small; reinforcements could be obtained, but the arrangements for bringing them on were bad. So soon as Colonel Low heard that the nabob's death was certain, he wrote to the general commanding in Oude to have 1,000 men ready to march on Lucknow at a moment's notice. He then hastened to the palace, and finding that Nasir-ud-Deen Hyder had just expired, he posted sentries on the inner gates and sealed up all the royal repositories. By a second request, the brigadier was to push on five companies to the palace in advance, and send on the remainder. Captain Paton, the colonel's first assistant, remained at the palace, and Lieutenant Shakespeare, his second, was sent to the residence of Nasir-ud-Dowlah, to obtain his signature to an obligation, hurriedly prepared for the purpose; and thereafter

to escort him to the palace for enthronement on the musnud. The obligation ran in the following terms:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, the Resident, has apprised me, through Lieutenant Shakespeare, his second assistant, of the death of Nasir-ud-Deen Hyder, King of Oude. The Resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India, respecting the necessity of new engagements on the part of the Company's government with Oude State; and I hereby declare, in the event of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate."

Nasir-ud-Dowlah was an old man; startled and roused suddenly in the middle of the night, he agreed readily to do whatever he was asked, and after writing a few words in the spirit of the document tendered to him, he affixed his seal thereto, and thus completed its execution. He was in delicate health; but as delay was perilous, he was borne to the palace, and after an interview with Colonel Low, at three in the morning, he was accommodated with a couch, begging that he might have an hour or two of sleep before his installation on the throne; but from that sleep he was fated to be noisily and roughly aroused.

We are not told whether the scene of these events was a palace in the city or that stately one by the Goomtee, nine miles above it, which is built in the European style, and to which the late king was in the habit of making excursions in a small steamer, built for him by a British engineer in 1819, and said to be the first vessel of the kind ever seen on Indian waters.

Colonel Low, while making his arrangements to secure the throne for Nasir-ud-Dowlah, was not forgetful that they had a perilous opponent in the Padishah Begum, and fearing that she might advance against them, sent a messenger to her, to enjoin strict neutrality, and desiring her, on no account to leave her own residence, which was four miles distant from the palace. The colonel's messenger had barely returned with her artful prayer "that she might, for Allah's sake, be permitted to see the body of the late king, as she had not been allowed to see him while living," when the united roar and clamour of thousands of voices shook the air, and a vast multitude of her armed followers were seen rushing towards the palace where one prince lay dead and the other was sleeping.

Captain Paton hurried to secure the outer gate, but found the insurgents before it in dense masses, and furiously demanding admittance, with fierce

* "Hist. of the British Empire in India," vol. vi.

faces and brandished weapons. When refused, they forced the gate by means of an elephant, which threw down one leaf, that nearly crushed Captain Paton in its fall, and at once made themselves masters of the place. The captain was then knocked down and made prisoner. Soon after, the Padishah Begum entered, with her *protégé*, Moona Jaun, and lost not a moment in placing him on the throne. Colonel Low, who had managed to force a passage through the crowd, arrived in time only to see the installation completed. After seeking in vain to show the begum the folly of her desperate proceedings, he was but too glad to effect his escape; while poor old Nasir-ud-Dowlah, who was roughly awakened from his morning slumber by the horrible hubbub around him, found himself on the point of being murdered; but fear of the consequences forced the begum to content herself by only compelling him, amid insult of every kind, to witness his rival seated on the throne. Various royal personages had laid claim to the sovereignty of Oude; but none, save Moona Jaun, had dared to assert it in this manner.

But ere the morning was far advanced the sound of the British drums was heard; our troops arrived, and Colonel Low gave the begum fifteen minutes to make her submission, while the artillery came thundering forward. She sent an evasive answer, to which a few rounds of grape were the response; our soldiers rushed in with the bayonet, and soon had in their hands Moona Jaun and the begum too. Only three sepoys were wounded in assaulting the palace, wherein they killed or wounded forty of the defenders. As soon as it was cleared, the terrified Nasir-ud-Dowlah, whom it was necessary to soothe and encourage, was installed King of Oude under discharges of artillery, while the begum and her *protégé* were dispatched, prisoners of state, to Cawnpore.

Twelve days after the installation, Lord Auckland wrote a complimentary letter to the new sovereign, in which he said:—"My representative, Colonel Low, who possesses my fullest confidence, has been authorised by me to propose, for the consideration of your Majesty, certain modifications of the treaty subsisting between the East India Company and the Oude State, and I feel assured that you will recognise in these propositions the same moderate views, and the same zeal for the welfare of the prince and people of Oude, as have invariably characterised the British Government in its negotiations with its allies."

To the Resident he wrote thus:—"His lordship in Council would not qualify, even by an expression of doubt, the high approbation which he

is ready to express of your conduct on this trying occasion. The expediency of obtaining from his Majesty the signature of a previous agreement, binding himself to absolute submissiveness, is the only point on which he feels that difference of opinion may be entertained; and if, on one hand, it may appear to secure the objects of the government, and to be justified by precedent on the other, it seems open to misrepresentation, and, from the reliance which might be placed on the character and position of his Majesty, superfluous."

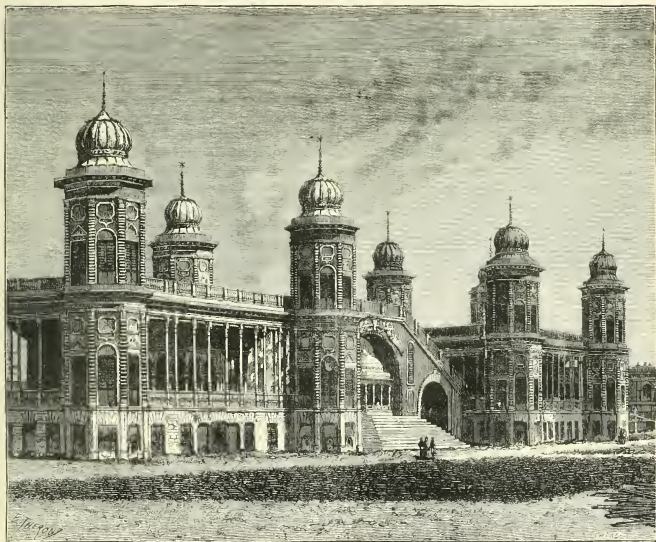
But now, though the Padishah Begum and Moona Jaun had been removed from Lucknow, the question of the Oude succession was not at an end; and Thornton, after detailing the events we have related, tells us of another competitor, who prosecuted his claims in a peculiar manner, and who was named Shum-ud-Dowlah. Acting under European advice, this claimant proceeded to London, and there addressed the Court of Directors. "The folly of undertaking a long voyage to assert a claim known to be absolutely and undoubtedly bad, and with a certainty of its being rejected, need not be dwelt upon. What profit the advisers of the claimant derived from the expedition cannot be known; but they were fully aware that none would accrue to the person on whose behalf they affected to act. Such occurrences are not now, indeed, uncommon in the history of British India, and they will, probably, never cease altogether, until native powers shall acquire sufficient acquaintance with the principles of British policy to prevent their becoming the dupes of unprincipled adventurers."*

The affairs of Oude were barely arranged when our interference in another quarter became imperative. Pertaub Sing, the Rajah of Sattarah, had never displayed much gratitude for the favours conferred upon him, when, under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, he was taken from degradation and thralldom, and restored to the possession of a noble principality. The actual government was not conferred upon him at first, as it was necessary that he should give proofs of his ability to conduct it. The superintendence of his affairs was assigned to Captain Grant, until the country became tranquillised. Many of the hill-forts, which had been what the worst of the English baronial castles had been in the days of the Plantagenets—mere dens of thieves, cut-throats, and abductors—were dismantled and ruined; and in 1821, when Pertaub Sing came of age, he was invested with the administration of his dominions, which, under Grant's care, had become quiet and

* "Hist. Brit. Empire in India."



VIEW OF THE MARTINIÈRE, OR PALACE OF CLAUDE MARTIN, LUCKNOW.



VIEW OF THE PAVILION OF LANKA IN THE KAISERBAGH, LUCKNOW.

even prosperous; but in 1822 his true character began fully to develop itself.

He committed the public affairs to worthless characters; abandoned himself to indolence, vice, and such childish follies, that doubts were entertained of his sanity. He enrolled a company of women, armed them with muskets, and had them taught gunnery with field-guns. Other women were taught to manage elephants, and every cunning fakir who offered to propitiate the gods in his favour had his object, whatever it was, gratified immediately; and he had three sects of Brahmins daily at ceremonies to procure the expulsion of a ghost which, they alleged, haunted his palace.

With all this folly, he had a most inflated idea of his own consequence, and believed that all Lord Hastings had bestowed upon him was but a modicum of what he was entitled to as the lineal descendant of Sevajee, the favourite of the goddess Devi, and founder of the Mahratta empire. Adventurers of all kinds, European as well as native, began to turn these ideas to personal account, and flattered him into the belief that he would yet become the head of those millions who formed the Hindoo population. Hence he began to form intrigues at variance with the position in which he stood with the British Government; but nothing would deter him, so the penalty came at last.

Sir James Rivett Carnac, Bart., then Governor of Bombay, who was leniently disposed, held personal interviews with the rajah, in the hope of inducing him to cease his intrigues and concede; but he signally failed, and the result was announced in a proclamation issued by Colonel Lodwick, our Resident at Sattarah, on the 5th of September, 1839. This document, after detailing all the honours and benefits heaped upon Pertaub Sing, announced that he had, "for years, held clandestine communications, contrary to the stipulations

contained in the fifth article of the treaty (by which he was restored); that he has cherished ambitious designs hostile to the British Government; that he has advanced claims and pretensions incompatible with the spirit and letter of the treaty; and that he has conducted himself in a manner subversive of the alliance formed between the two States;" and finally, the document announced that the British Government, having no view of advantage and aggrandisement, "has resolved to invest the brother, and next in succession to the rajah, with the sovereignty of the Sattarah State, under the title of Shreemunt Maharaj Shahee Rajcy Chut Turputtee, of Sattarah, and that all persons within his territory are hereby required to render him allegiance."

Much discussion was caused by this in India; but Pertaub Sing was marched off to Benares, where he ended his days, a pensioner of the East India Company. At first, he adopted the same plan that had been pursued by the claimant for the throne of Oude. He hired emissaries in London, and sent thither diplomatic agents to arraign the Directors before the Proprietors, and in the event of that proving fruitless, to arraign the entire Company before Parliament. They denied the existence of all plots and intrigues, and in public assemblies, where the rajah's rights to a vast sovereignty could be safely insisted on, much noisy declamation ensued, and many benevolent persons—chiefly among the Society of Friends—urged the formation of an "Association for the Protection of Aborigines." The result of all this amiable folly was a long-continued agitation in favour of the deposed prince, the issue of which was of no advantage to himself, but during the progress of which, his long-hoarded treasures were dissipated among the legal harpies and knaves whom he employed to advocate his cause in London.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SIKHS.—THE RISE OF RUNJEET SING.—ORIGIN OF THE FATAL AFGHAN WAR.

IN the summer of 1837 there was an insurrection among the Moplas in Canara, that wealthy province which extends for 180 miles along the coast of Malabar, and runs from thirty to ninety inland, and which, though it came into our possession on the

death of Tippoo and the fall of Seringapatam, was fully disposed to assert its independence, and refused, for a time, to settle with the British collector of the revenue, until decisive measures were adopted to punish the more obstinate and trouble-

some of the Canarese, who are chiefly Hindoos, and whose language, called the Malabar, differs from the Tamul.

The petty revolt of 1837 compelled Captain Le Hardy, the superintendent of Coorg, who had prepared to descend the Bissley Ghaut, with a battalion of infantry and 800 Coorgs, to withdraw to Mercara, and take shelter in the fortress there. On the first intimation of the rebellion, the Coorg chiefs offered fervent professions of loyalty to Britain, and marched to meet the foe in arms; but they wavered, and could not be relied on.* Eventually, the commotion, which might have proved a very troublesome one, was completely suppressed.

At this time, the Nizam's army was restricted to a strength of five regiments of cavalry, four companies of artillery, one of sappers, eight regiments of infantry, and one garrison, and one invalid battalion. The cavalry were armed with sword, spear, and pistols, and clad in green, with red turbans. The infantry conformed in every respect to those of Madras. Many king's and Company's officers were in the force, as all the patronage lay in the hands of the Governor-General.†

In the following year, the Indian Civil Service suffered a severe loss by the death of Sir Charles Grant, the Governor of Bombay, who died on the 9th of July, at Dapooree, and who was author of a "History of the East India Company, from its first foundation to the Passing of the Regulation Act of 1773," and had long borne a distinguished part in letters, politics, and in the affairs of India generally.‡

The north-western frontier of British India was bounded by the territories of the Sikhs—a people who occupied a country equal in size to about half the Spanish peninsula—comprising the greater part of Moultan, a portion of Delhi, and the whole of the Punjaub. The religion of the Sikhs, as distinguished from that of the natives of India generally, originated towards the close of the fifteenth century, with Baba Nanak, who had once been a trader, but who subsequently led a religious life; and their tenets are defined in the Holy Book, the "*Adi Grantha*," or Book of Origins, which was shown to the Prince of Wales at Umritsar, in February, 1876, and which the Indian Government undertook to publish, some time ago, at its own expense, in the form of a translation. It is a quarto volume of 300 pages, and was produced by a firm in Hertford.§

Their original seat was the upper part of the Punjaub, the possession of which had often been keenly contested between the Moguls and Afghans: hence the Sikhs were equally disliked by both, and the alternate change of masters brought them no relief. The resolution to extirpate them was often avowed openly; but the Sikhs ever fought with the courage that was born of despair, and amid the confusion that prevailed during the latter years of the Mogul empire, they began to gather strength and to figure as conquerors.

They were a confederacy, under separate chiefs, who, though independent of each other, met as equals when their common interest required it, in a diet at Umritsar (*i.e.*, the Pool of Immortality), in the centre of which is the temple dedicated to the Hindoo saint, Govind Sing, wherein is deposited the holy book already referred to, under a silken canopy. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the confederacy consisted of twelve *misals*, or associations, which extended from the Indus eastward, across the Sutlej, as far as the Jumna. Govind Sing did not fetter his disciples with political systems or codes of municipal law; yet in religious faith and worldly aspirations they are wholly different from other Indians, and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward knowledge unknown elsewhere.*

While they felt that union was necessary for their mutual safety, they acted together with the utmost cordiality; but in proportion as external danger diminished, internal dissensions grew, and the feuds, engendered by the desire of individual aggrandisement, produced such confusion that the necessity for some political change became apparent to all. If independence was to be maintained, it could only be done by submitting, voluntarily or under compulsion, to the ascendancy of some *misal* more powerful than the rest, and thus, by incorporation with it, form an undivided Sikh kingdom. This came to pass thus:—

Among the twelve associations, the last formed and least important was one named the Sookur-Chukea, whose capital was at Goojeranwala, northward of Lahore. Churut Sing, its founder, was a Jaut, who had thrown off his own faith and become a Sikh convert. Possessing himself of a small mud fort, he started in life as a freebooter, and made it the receptacle of his plunder. His dangerous proximity to Lahore, and the ravages he committed, compelled the Afghan governor of that city to march against him in 1762; but the expedition proved futile, as the other *misals* made common cause with Churut Sing, and the Afghan

* *Englishman and Calcutta Chron.*, 1837.

† *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1837.

‡ Anderson's "Scottish Biographical Dictionary," 1842.

§ *Homeward Mail*, Feb., 1876.

* Capt. Cunningham's "Hist. of the Sikhs."

chief was glad to escape by a speedy flight, while abandoning his tents and baggage. Ahmed Shah, the famous King of Afghanistan, by hastening from Cabul, won a pitched battle over the Sikhs, whose losses amounted to 12,000 men.

As he had to return to Cabul to meet more pressing dangers, the Sikhs again took the field, at the head of the most powerful army they had ever mustered, and extended their conquests on every side, and Churut Sing was soon recognised as one of their most able leaders. When no longer required for foreign enterprises, he was ready to take part in a domestic strife between the mountain Rajah of Jumoo and his eldest son, Brij-Raj. The rajah wished that a younger son should have the succession; thus the elder, as the most effectual method of preserving his rights, resolved to seize them in his father's lifetime. To aid him, Churut Sing drew his sword, in league with Jye Sing, chief of the Ghunea Misal, and, with 10,500 men, they marched northward to commence the strife.

On the other hand, the Rajah of Jumoo had not been idle. Several hill-chiefs joined him, together with Jhunda Sing, head of the Bhangee Misal, who could bring 10,000 mounted lances into action. This was in 1774. Before any battle took place, Churut Sing was slain by the bursting of his match-lock in a skirmish; on this, the allies of Brij-Raj retired, but not before they had assassinated, in a barbarous manner, Jhunda Sing; and the Bhangee Misal, deprived thus of their leader, abandoned the contest.

Churut was succeeded by his son, Maha Sing, who in after years captured Ramnuggur; after which, many chiefs who were attached to the Bhangee Misal, believing its fortunes on the decline, placed themselves under his banner; thus a new career of conquest began; and he pillaged the Rajah of Jumoo's territory so completely that he swept it of booty to the value of £2,000,000 sterling. By the close of the century Maha Sing's ascendancy over the Sikh chiefs had become an established fact; but his ambition was not yet satisfied. He made a groundless pretext that tribute was due to him from Goojerat, the chief of which, Sahib Sing, had married his sister, and marching against him, laid siege to one of his strongest forts, and was pressing it, with every prospect of success, when an illness carried him off in 1792, leaving the succession to his only son, the famous Runjeet Sing, then in his twelfth year.

When an infant, he had been deprived of his left eye by small-pox, and, instead of being trained in boyhood to government, he was left in ignorance. His selfish mother, anxious to keep the regency in

her own hands, shared her power and her favours with the chief minister, and, to retain the former, indulged young Runjeet in every form of profligacy; but, on attaining the age of seventeen, he assumed the government, and quietly put both his mother and her minister to death. It was soon after this that Zemaun Shah, the Afghan, made the invasion of the Punjaub which excited such alarm in India. Unable to meet him in the open field, Runjeet was one of the chiefs who consulted their own safety by retiring beyond the Sutlej, but after the retreat of Zemaun Shah, the future career of Runjeet was a brilliant one. He made himself master of the city of Lahore; he seized Kusoor, and made an attempt upon Moulton; in 1807 he crossed the Sutlej, and began to wrest territory from the Sikh chiefs between it and the Jumna, when our interference checked him. He next directed his whole energies towards seizing all the Punjaub, and pushed his arms as far as he could to the north and west. In 1809 he got possession of Kangra, and, marching to the opposite extremity, laid Moulton under tribute. In 1812 he conquered the rajahships of Bhunbar and Rajaori among the northern hills, and, for a lac of rupees, in 1814, he bought the great fortress of Attock, upon the Indus.

In 1819 he conquered Cashmere and Peshawur. In 1834 he entered into a treaty with Shah Sujah, whereby the latter gave up all claim to the latter district and others on the Indus. During all this time he had been rapidly improving the discipline of his army by means of European officers. The downfall of Bonaparte had given peace in Europe, and drove many Frenchmen and Italians, as military adventurers, into the armies of Persia and India. Among these were M. Ventura, one of the aides-de-camp of Murat, and General Allard, who ultimately was accredited the *chargé d'affaires* of the King of France to Runjeet Sing, and from whom he brought presents to the Begum Sumroo, then in her ninety-fifth year. He displayed the most dashing bravery near Attock, where, on one occasion, he forded the Indus, at the head of 3,000 lancers, in close columns of troops, to stem the fearful force of the current, which, however, swept two away; and on reaching the opposite shore, he attacked and routed the Afghans, capturing their camp equipage and guns. Runjeet attempted to follow him with his other cavalry, but so loose was their order, that 700 were swept away and drowned.*

The King of Lahore was in the zenith of his fame and power when Lord Auckland arrived in India, soon after which the latter took into his entire con-

* *Madras Lit. Gazette*, 1835.

fidence Captain Alexander Burnes, and some other stirring young officers of the Indian army, who were burning to distinguish themselves as soldiers and diplomatists: especially at this time, when it was believed that our Eastern empire was threatened alike by Russian intrigues and by Persian and Afghan arms.

The leading and most melancholy feature in the administration of Lord Auckland is the Afghan war, the origin of which began in the summer of 1837, and the closing catastrophe of which occurred in the beginning of 1841; but to form any proper idea of this disastrous affair, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the events which led to it.

The exiled monarch of Cabul, Shah Sujah, while a British pensioner at Loodiana, made a second effort to regain his crown in 1833. After defeating the Ameers of Scinde at Shikarpore, he was defeated in turn by Dost Mohammed, after which he took possession of Peshawur. About this time, a wild robber horde on the right bank of the Indus had made repeated raids into the district of Hazara, which Runjeet Sing had subjugated, and as they were supposed to be instigated by the Ameers, the army of the Punjaub took possession of their forts, and both parties stood ready for a strife which would have ended in the overthrow of the Ameers and the extension of Runjeet's authority throughout the course of the Indus to the sea; and this the Government of India resolved, if possible, to prevent. It was with no small difficulty that Colonel Pottinger prevented the warlike Ameers from rushing to battle; while Captain Wade, our representative at the Court of Lahore, had to impress upon the impatient Runjeet Sing the hazard he would incur if he adopted measures distasteful to Britain. On the other hand, he was importuned by his warlike courtiers and gallant soldiers to risk all, and push on to the sea-shore; "but he shook his venerable beard, and asked where were now the 200,000 Mahratta swords which had once bade defiance to the Company. He bowed to the majesty of British power, and at once relinquished the expedition to Scinde."*

Deeply in the breast of Dost Mohammed of Cabul rankled the loss of Peshawur, and assuming the character of a ghazee, he proclaimed a holy war against the Sikhs as infidels, and then from the snow-clad slopes of the Hindoo Coosh, from the wilds of Turkestan, and the farthest recesses of the Indian mountains, thousands in arms came pouring forth to join the green standard of the Prophet. Even the bold spirit of old Runjeet quailed before this

host of bloodthirsty fanatics; and, while constrained to march in defence of Peshawur, he sent Mr. Harland, an American adventurer, on a pretended mission to Dost Mohammed, with secret instructions to sow, if possible, dissension in his camp.

In this he succeeded so far, by exciting the jealousy of the brothers of the Dost at his growing power, that one drew off abruptly, with 10,000 men. On this, the Dost, full of doubt and chagrin, fell back on Cabul. As soon as he heard of Lord Auckland's arrival at Calcutta in 1836, he sent him a complimentary letter, and with reference to his hostile relations with Runjeet Sing, asking his lordship's suggestions for settling "the affairs of the country." Lord Auckland's reply was courteous and friendly; he offered to send an envoy to discuss any questions of trade; but with regard to the Sikh quarrel, he added, that the Government, as a system, did not interfere with independent princes.

The Dost, therefore, early in 1837, applied to the Shah of Persia for aid against the infidel Sikhs; but in his impatience to efface the disgrace that had been put upon him, without waiting for Persian succour, he sent his son, Ackbar Khan, with an army, into Peshawur, where he routed the Sikhs in battle; then reinforcements came pouring in from the Punjaub, and Ackbar was compelled to retreat to Cabul; and it was at this most critical juncture that Captain Alexander Burnes, an enterprising native of Montrose, made his appearance as Lord Auckland's envoy, to discourse concerning trade and manufactures, and at a time when the Russians were making undoubted progress in the East.

"Like the Romans," says Marshman, "they have systematically devoted their energies to the extension of their power and dominions, and for more than a quarter of a century have prosecuted schemes of aggrandisement in Europe and Asia, without intermission or failure. After having succeeded in bringing the Khirgis Cossacks to subordination, they took up their position on the Jaxartes in 1830, and gradually advanced with a steady pace, fixing their grasp on Central Asia more firmly at every step. On that river they erected a chain of forts, extending from its estuary in Lake Ural to Fort Venoe, 700 miles distant. Meanwhile, the ambitious diplomatists of Russia had been pushing her influence in Persia, and through Persia up to Afghanistan. On the death of the king, Futteh Ali, who had always been favourable to a British alliance, he was succeeded by his grandson, Mohammed Shah, who threw himself into the arms of Russia. Since the first mission of Captain Malcolm, the British Government had expended

* Marshman's "Hist. of India."

more than a crore of rupees in embassies and subsidies to Persia, in order to acquire a predominant influence at the court, which might serve as a bulwark to the empire of India. The Ministry had now the mortification of finding this labour and expenditure thrown away, and the British influence at Teheran completely superseded by that of Russia."

The Persian rulers had long coveted possession of the independent State of Herat, the key of Western Afghanistan, and Mohammed Shah resolved on making an expedition among its mountains and desert tracts. Mr. McNeill, our minister at the Persian Court, asserted that this expedition was more than justified by the atrocities of its ruler; but that, in the then state of political relations between the Persians and Russians, the march of the former into Afghanistan would be tantamount to an advance of the latter to the very threshold of our Indian empire. To dissuade the Shah from this expedition, McNeill used every argument; while the Russian minister, on the other hand, urged him to proceed, and promised him every requisite aid. "The Ministry in London presented a remonstrance on the subject at St. Petersburg, and the emperor replied that Count Simonich, his envoy, had exceeded his instructions, but he was not recalled; and his proceedings were so completely in accordance with the national feeling, that the *Moscow Gazette* threatened that the next treaty with Britain should be dictated in Calcutta!" *

In July, 1837, Mohammed Shah set out, at the head of 50,000 men, with fifty guns, and hoped to take the route that Nadir Shah had taken, even to the gates of Delhi—a movement which created a profound sensation through all Central Asia and in India, where the native princes at once began to speculate on the downfall of British power and the triumph of the Russians over us at the court of Persia. In the Deccan, the people began to bury their money and jewels, and all kinds of alarming rumours and reports were heard on every hand. It was about this time that Lord Auckland visited Simla, when the north-western provinces were desolated by a famine, which swept away 500,000 souls, and, as his camp of 20,000 troops served to aggravate the calamity, he returned to Calcutta. The Cabinet seeing, in every direction, how the restless and ambitious spirit of Russia was directed against the security of our Indian empire, instructed the Governor-General to adopt vigorous measures for its protection, while McNeill, our Persian minister, strongly advised that we should create a barrier in Afghanistan, by subsidising and

strengthening Dost Mohammed; but, as every mission in the East is measured in accordance with the value of the gifts it brings—when, amid these fierce commotions, Captain Burnes "opened his treasury, consisting of a pistol and telescope for the Dost, and some pins and needles for the Zenana—he and his embassy sunk at once into contempt."

The brothers of the Dost, who were the rulers of Candahar, were arranging an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Shah, whose ambassadors brought princely robes and presents for the Dost. The latter assured Captain Burnes that the subject nearest his heart was the recovery of Peshawur, and that if he could but hope for solid aid from Britain, he would renounce all intercourse with Persia, and send her envoy back from Candahar; but Lord Auckland had a timid dread of offending the formidable Runjeet Sing, and declined to hear anything about Peshawur. Yet the latter had offered to restore it if the Dost would pay tribute for it; and he was prepared to do so, and hold it as a fief of Lahore; but there can be little doubt that if the Council at Simla had met the question properly, and intrusted the settlement of it to the able Captain Burnes at Cabul, and to Captain Wade at Lahore, the horrors of the Afghan war had never been heard of.

Dost Mohammed, after the receipt of Lord Auckland's unfavourable letter in 1836, sent an envoy to solicit aid against the Sikhs from the Emperor of Russia, who dispatched Captain Vikevitch to Cabul, with rich presents and an autograph letter, concerning the genuineness of which some doubts have been expressed. He entered Cabul on the 19th of December, 1837; and the Dost immediately visited Captain Burnes, and assured him that he desired no connection with any government save ours, and was ready to dismiss the envoy of Russia, without ceremony, if any hope was held out to him by Lord Auckland.

Captain Burnes urged on the latter the necessity for immediate action; but his lordship, still inspired by the morbid fear of offending Runjeet, replied, that the Dost must be content with whatever arrangement the King of Lahore might make, and waive all hope of having Peshawur. Eventually, after much correspondence, the Cabinet at Simla persuaded the Governor-General to write Dost Mohammed a letter that "was not only supercilious, but arrogant; every sentence in it was calculated to kindle a flame in the breast of the Afghan nobility, and the mission of Captain Burnes became hopeless."

Still the Dost did not despair, and wrote again

* Marshman's "Hist. of India."

and again ; but Lord Auckland turned a deaf ear to every overture, and continued to require that he should ignore the tempting alliances offered him by Russia and Persia, while he proffered nothing in return to preclude the further encroachments of the Sikhs. It was perfectly well known at Simla that Runjeet Sing had no more idea of marching to Cabul than to Calcutta ; but when the last ray of hope from British India vanished, the Russian

maintenance of his troops and officers to discipline them ; but it soon became evident that, unless we engaged in the war as principals, and not as allies, the whole affair would end ingloriously. It was, therefore, resolved to send an army into these unexplored regions of Central Asia, where all the commissariat provisions, stores, and other munition of war would have to be taken through the states of doubtful allies, by long and perilous mountain



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envoy was conducted through the city to the durbar amid every pomp, and Captain Burnes returned, crest-fallen, to Simla. There he found a strong feeling against the Dost in the advisers of Lord Auckland, who, most absurdly, were exasperated to find that an independent prince, whose mountains were the key and the gate of India, hesitated to accept their vague or negative offers, or the more solid ones of their opponents ; and now it was resolved to march across the Indus and depose him, and to reinstate Shah Sujah, the pensioner of Loodiana, on the throne.

It was at first proposed to supply funds for the

passes, beset by hordes of wild and lawless plunderers, for the purpose of compelling the Persian king to raise the siege of Herat, to drive Dost Mohammed from Cabul, and place Shah Sujah on the throne of Afghanistan.

With the hope of achieving all this, a tripartite treaty was negotiated and concluded by Mr. Macnaghten between the Indian Government, Shah Sujah, and the King of Lahore, who engaged to contribute the aid of a body of troops, on the condition that Shah Sujah should recognise his right to all those districts which his sword had won beyond the Indus, and share with him in common

all the treasure he might be able to wrench from the Ameers of Scinde.

It would seem, eventually, that, with the exception of the Ministers at Downing Street and the officials at Simla, this wild, disastrous, and preposterous affair in Afghanistan was universally condemned.*

Mr. Elphinstone stated, that "if 27,000 men could be sent through the Bolan Pass to Candahar, and we could feed them, we might take Cabul and set up Shah Sujah; but it was hopeless to maintain him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans."

Lord Wellesley regarded "this wild expedition, 800 miles from our frontier and resources, into one of the most difficult countries of the world—a land of rocks and deserts, of sands and snow—as an act of infatuation;" and the Duke of Wellington also condemned it. In a manifesto issued from Simla on the 1st of October, 1838, an attempt was made to justify the expedition. This, says Marshman, with truth, is "one of the most remarkable documents in the Company's archives, unique for its unscrupulous misstatements and its audacious assertions. A single instance will suffice to stamp its character: it affirmed that the orders for assembling the army were issued in concurrence with the Supreme Council; whereas the Council, when required to place the proclamation on record, remonstrated on the consummation of a policy of such grave importance without their having had any opportunity of expressing their opinion on it."

To succour the besieged garrison of Herat was said to be the immediate object of the expedition. As the only route by which any army could approach India, the province of Herat had long been an acquisition ardently desired by the kings of Persia, who knew that it was also the key to Afghanistan on the west, as Cabul is on the east. On the 23rd of November, 1837, the Shah sat down before the capital, the walls of which were in ruins; and its long defence of nine months was simply owing to the exertions of one man, and that man was a British officer of the Bombay artillery—Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger.

While making some researches in Central Asia, he had entered the city of Herat disguised as a *Synd*, or descendant of the Prophet, and resolved to take part in the coming struggle. His services were readily accepted by the rulers of Herat, who

recognised his genius, and gave him the direction of all the operations. He inspired the garrison with his own invincible courage, and for nine months the efforts of the Persians were baffled, though assisted by a regiment of Russians, called deserters, to save appearances. The 24th of June, 1838, was fixed for a general assault, and the works were attacked, under the personal direction of the Russian minister, Count Simonich, and his engineer officers, at five different points. At four of these the stormers were signally repulsed; but at the fifth a practicable breach was made in the walls, and the courage of the defenders began to fail. Yar Mohammed withdrew from the carnage; but the gallant Pottinger, by main strength of arm, dragged him back to the corpse-encumbered breach, and urged the defence with such irresistible valour and fury, that the Persians, when on the point of gaining Herat, fled, leaving 1,700 killed and wounded behind them.

The siege then became a blockade, during which the Indian Government sent two steamers to occupy the isle of Karrack. Rumour magnified them into a powerful squadron, and consternation was excited in the Persian camp. Mr. McNeill took advantage of this, and sent the unfortunate Colonel Stoddart to the Persians, to assure them that they would bring on the hostility of the British Government, which had already sent a squadron to the Persian Gulf. The Shah, on this message from Mr. McNeill,* broke up his camp and retired, after the loss of half his army and treasure; and so ended an expedition which had excited for many months the whole population of Central Asia; and so the grand projects of Persia and Russia ended in smoke.

Yet the proposed expedition of the British Government was prosecuted with vigour. Of the reasons assigned for it one was, that the treaty with Runjeet Sing and Shah Sujah bound us in honour to proceed with it; yet, in the convention with the former, there was no allusion made to the march of a British army across the Indus, and the exiled monarch of Cabul was most anxious to avoid the unpopularity he was certain to excite if he was restored by the arms of infidels.

* Mr. McNeill was afterwards celebrated as the Right Hon. Sir John McNeill, Knight of the Bath, and of the Lion and the Sun, and was, long after, one of the Sanitary Commission in the Crimea in 1855. He was the third son of McNeill of Colonsay; and when in Persia, his *attaché*, the youngest son of Sir Walter Scott, died at Teheran, in 1841.

* Marshman's "India."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.—COERCION AND UNJUST TREATMENT OF THE AMEERS OF SCINDE.

It was at Ferozepore that the great force known as the Army of the Indus assembled, in November, 1838, and where there ensued a meeting between the Governor-General and the old Lion of Lahore, then tottering on the verge of the grave, "but still exhibiting in his countenance the calmness of design, while his single eye was lighted up with the fire of enterprise."

Many showy pageants, gay doings, and much of mimic warfare were enacted as the troops from every quarter came pouring into their camps on the north and westward of Ferozepore. These extended over seven days. At dawn on the first day (the 29th of November), the guard of honour, consisting of a squadron of H.M. 16th Lancers, the 4th Cavalry, a camel battery of artillery, H.M. 3rd Buffs, and four battalions of sepoys, with other troops, formed a street for the reception of Runjeet Sing, who had 20,000 men in his camp, from whence he came between two lines of elephants, preceded by his bandsmen, loading the air with indescribable music. He was clothed in a turban, tunic, and trousers, all of red, without a single ornament; but around him were the Sikh chieftains, resplendent in cloth of gold, with every variety of picturesque costume, and armed with spears, shields, sabres, and lighted matchlocks; and he was presented with a portrait of Queen Victoria by General Sir Willoughby Cotton, while the camel battery fired a royal salute. On the second day there was a review, which one who was present has described as being the acme of military splendour. On the fifth day the grand review took place, amid clouds of dust and smoke.

"Crowds of Sikhs," wrote an officer, "invariably accompany Runjeet Sing and his deputations whenever they cross the river, and much amusement is excited by their bearing towards the British officers. There is a strange mixture of frank courtesy, curiosity, and dislike in their demeanour. They enter freely into conversation with those who accost them, and are at all times very communicative. But they cannot abide our beardless chins; they hold in great contempt our short-tailed horses; and our ladies are regarded as unaccountable pieces of humanity. Distrust of the British also seems to characterise most of their proceedings. They light their matches when they approach our Durbar, and wherever the Maharajah moves they

cluster round him, as if Lord Auckland would take an early opportunity of seizing his person or cutting his jugular. . . . Their costume embraces silks of all colours of the rainbow—orange, crimson, and green. The turban, neither too large nor too small, is generally yellow or crimson, surmounted by a small tuft of feathers. I have not seen so much armour as I expected. Excepting the steel and brass casques of the cavalry, and a few coats of mail and cuirass-plates, there is nothing of the olden time to be found in the costume. Dian Sing, the prime minister, is, perhaps, the most attractive man at court, and he merely wears an elegant French cuirass and steel gauntlets."*

On the 10th of December the Bengal column began its march from Ferozepore, 9,500 strong, with 38,000 camp-followers, and 30,000 camels. It is no unusual thing for subalterns to have six of the latter to carry their baggage, says Captain Neill, and when such is the case, and other ranks travel in a proportionate degree of grandeur, it is easy to conceive what an unwieldy mass the baggage of an Indian army becomes, and, as a natural result, how much the duties and anxieties of a rear-guard are increased.†

The force raised for Shah Sujah, and called his army, though commanded by Company's officers, and paid by the Company's treasury, mustered 6,000 men. The Bombay troops, under Sir John Keane, numbered 5,600, and the whole force amounted to 21,000 men. Mr. Macnaghten was the political agent, and was styled the envoy. The direct route to Cabul lay through the Punjab, but Runjeet Sing, though our ally, declined to grant the army a passage through his dominions, and thus it became necessary to take a circuitous route of 1,000 miles down the Indus, and then across it up to Candahar and Cabul.

The army was formed in two divisions: Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, G.C.B., K.C.H. was to command the first, and Major-General Duncan the second. The divisions comprised respectively the following regiments, brigaded under the officers whose names are given :—

First division of infantry, three brigades. First Brigade: Colonel Sale, C.C., H.M. 13th Light Infantry, 16th and 48th Native Infantry. Second

* "Army of the Indus;" *E. I. U.S. Journal*, 1839.

† "Four Years' Service with H.M. 40th Reg."

Brigade: Colonel Nott, 32nd, 42nd, and 43rd Native Infantry. Third Brigade, Colonel Dennis, H.M. 3rd Buffs, 2nd and 27th Native Infantry, and one company of sappers.

Second division of infantry:—Fourth Brigade: Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, Bengal Europeans, 35th and 37th Native Infantry. Fifth Brigade: Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley, 5th, 28th, and 53rd Native Infantry, with one company of sappers.

The cavalry brigade, under Colonel Arnold of H.M. 16th Lancers, consisted of that regiment and two of native horse. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham commanded the artillery, which consisted of two brigades of horse, and three companies of foot artillery.

The Bombay force, under Sir John Keane, consisted of two brigades, under Colonels Wiltshire and Gordon. With the former were H.M. 2nd and 17th Regiments, with the 19th Native Infantry; and with the latter were three battalions of sepoy. The cavalry with this column consisted of two squadrons of H.M. 4th Light Dragoons, and the 1st Light Cavalry. Both corps had bodies of irregular horse.

The plan of the campaign had arranged that, while the Bombay column, proceeding by sea to the mouth of the Indus, should then disembark and operate upwards towards Bukkur, and from thence pass over the level plains of Beloochistan and the Bolan Pass upon Candahar, the Bengal force should concentrate at some convenient point near the frontier of the Punjab, from whence it might move upon Peshawur, and, penetrating the hills of the Khyberes, proceed by Jelalabad and the valley of Tizeen to Cabul. Both columns were led to expect great difficulties; it was known that the roads were little better than foot-tracks; that the tribes inhabiting the mountains were fierce and hostile; but, the friendship of Runjeet Sing being secured, and that of the Ameers of Scinde taken for granted, the possibility of a repulse or disaster was never for a moment contemplated.*

On the 27th of December, 1838, the army arrived at Bhawalpore, on the confines of the great Indian desert, the inhabitants of which are Jauts, wild Beloochees, and Afghans. The weather was cold, but clear and healthy, the country open as yet, and the supplies abundant. "These were the halcyon days of the movements of this force," says Sir Henry Havelock, who was then a captain in the Bengal force, which he describes as being animated by high military ardour. This was sorely tested by the constant desertions among the camp-followers, who carried

off the hired camels and left the officers without the means of transport. For much of this, it has been said, themselves alone were to blame, as most of them had too many camels, too much baggage, and tents that were too large. The consequence was that even in the most pleasant and convenient parts of the route, forage became so scarce that the condition of the animals was greatly impaired, and their deaths became of almost hourly occurrence. Many traders who had hired out their camels took the alarm, and as the most effectual means of avoiding danger, resolved not to face it. Their vicinity to the Great Desert rendered desertion easy, and the utmost vigilance of the cavalry patrols failed to prevent it. Hence, before six days' marches were accomplished, much of the private baggage, the bedding and camp equipage, had been stolen, lost, or abandoned.

Our faithful ally, the Khan of Bhawalpore, did all in his power on this occasion to provide for the comfort of our troops; but his means were very inadequate to his wishes, "and some complaints were made against him unreasonably, for not obviating or mitigating evils which, under the circumstances, were absolutely inevitable." Shah Sujah's contingent kept three days' march ahead of our advanced guard.

On the 1st of January the army marched again, and prepared to enter the territories of the Ameers of Scinde. Great was the alarm of the latter, and deep their anxiety to avoid the fulfilment of any treaty with us. Long, and by various methods did they endeavour to protract the surrender of Bukkur, a stronghold upon a rock in the middle of the Indus, which, as forming a convenient place of arms, the general commanding was directed to occupy. But they yielded at length, and, with country boats, and planks mostly sawn from the date-trees that grew near, the mighty Indus was bridged.

The tides in this river present many peculiarities. They ebb and flow with great violence, particularly near the sea, where the country is frequently covered with water so deep that, should a vessel cast anchor in some places, she would run the risk of being left high and dry when the tide—at times nine feet in height—subsided. Hence the low lands at the mouth of the Indus present a most dreary appearance. Not a single tree is to be seen in the desert waste, overgrown with brushwood and jungle.*

When the invading army fixed upon Bukkur as the point at which the great river of Scinde was to be crossed, the Ameers were not consulted, neither

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

* *United Service Magazine*, 1856.

was their consent obtained. But Sir Alexander Burnes knew the tone to adopt with them, and they were simply told that "the Scindian who hoped to stop the approach of the British army might as well seek to dam up the Indus at Bukkur." The Ameers, as we have said, gave way, but stipulated that the forts on either bank of the river were to remain untouched. This was agreed to; but the great fort of Bukkur, on its rocky island in the Indus, guarding numerous tombs and shrines—the Mansurah of Arabian geographers,*—was it included in this stipulation? Distinctly it was not, though the object of Sir Alexander was to obtain, for the British, the use of it during the war; and Meer Roostum, the chief Ameer, finding resistance futile, allowed the cession to be added to the treaty in a separate article, concealing that unpalatable fact, in the meantime, from the other Ameers. When it was sent to him for ratification the aspect of the added article, to which he had always avowed repugnance, filled him with fresh disquietude.

"Bukkur," he exclaimed, "is the heart of my country. My honour is centred in keeping it; my family and children will have no confidence in me if it is given up."

He then offered another fort in its stead, or to give security that the British treasure and munition of war would be protected. These offers were declined; so the old man had to give his signature while other Ameers looked darkly and grimly on. "What more can I do now," he asked, in bitter irony, "to prove the sincerity of my friendship for your British Government?" "Give us orders for supplies, and place all the country, so far as you can, at our command!" replied the resolute Burnes. "After such a transaction," says Beveridge, "both parties must have been aware that, though the name of friendship might be used, nothing but hostility could be meant, and that the rulers of Scinde would to a certainty avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of revenge."

Notwithstanding their religious prejudices, the sepoys in force crossed the Indus without hesitation, and planted the British flag upon its right bank; but then the most serious disasters of the army began, and the difficulties of the Bombay column were great.

Continuing their route south-westward, these troops arrived, on the 14th of January, at Subzulcote, at no great distance from the left bank of the river, and the first place that lies immediately beyond the frontier of Scinde. Then tidings came which caused an alteration in the preconceived plan of

operations. Sir John Keane, who had reached the coast of Scinde with his troops in the end of November, 1838, was not permitted to land without opposition, and with the utmost toil and trouble, made his way to Tatta, a town about four miles in circumference, situated on a sandy and barren delta of the Indus, but which, however, produces rice and salt; and there he was obliged to halt. He was without proper means of transport, and the Ameers, on whose friendly aid he had been compelled to calculate, were intent only on obstructing him by all the means in their power. A limited supply of commissariat aid from Cutch enabled him to push on to the left bank of the river Jurruck, twenty miles south-westward of Hyderabad, and there he was obliged to halt again.

The Ameers of Hyderabad had given no consent to his passage through their country; this was an event that might well have been looked for, but no provision had been made for it, and all that could be done now was to remedy the blunder. By this time the Bengal column, as related, was at Bukkur, and Shah Sujah, with his own troops, had already crossed the Indus and joined Mr. Macnaghten and his suite at Shikarpore. Both the exiled prince and the envoy were bent on reaching the scene of active operations; but Sir Henry Fane, who—with the intention of sailing down the river, and taking ship for Europe, being in ill-health—was still accompanying the army as commander-in-chief, was of opinion that, to influence the Ameers, and give strength to Sir John Keane, the greater portion of the army, instead of crossing the river, should march down towards Hyderabad under Sir Willoughby Cotton.

This change was at once put in execution, and its propriety was soon confirmed by the urgent application of Sir John Keane for some horse artillery, cavalry, and a brigade of infantry. This march down the river's bank was hailed with joy by the troops, who considered that the siege and capture of Hyderabad would be a glorious preface to the campaign, while the enormous treasures which were said to be stored up there would give something more substantial than glory. But the reader must not confound Hyderabad of the Ameers with the city of the same name in Golconda. It is situated on a rock washed by a branch of the Indus, defended by walls and towers, and its inhabitants—about 5,000 in number—are famous for the manufacture of matchlocks, swords, shields, cottons, and ornamental silks. This downward movement, of which Mr. Macnaghten did not approve, brought the main business of the cam-

* Masson.

paign to a stand-still; but eventually the Ameers of Hyderabad were thoroughly intimidated by the military demonstration, and yielded as their brothers had done elsewhere: a result which seems to have disappointed the troops, who were anxious to storm the city, in which were gold and jewels to the value of eight millions sterling. "In a moment all our visions of glory and booty were dispelled," says Havelock, then a captain in the 13th Regiment; "it was announced to us that the Ameers were at length brought to a sense of their impending danger, and compelled to comprehend that as a few days would, according to every calculation of human prudence, deprive them at once of their independence, their capital, and the accumulated treasures of years, they had acceded to all the conditions of the treaty laid before them by Colonel Pottinger. . . . Vainly repining, therefore, at the change in events which had given this small sum (ten lacs) to the state, instead of eight crores to the army, its officers and men, with light purses and heavy hearts, turned their backs upon Hyderabad, from which they had hoped never to recede until they had made its treasures their own, and put to a stern proof that Beloochee valour which had so loudly vaunted its power to arrest their further progress, and fix on the bank of the Indus the war which they had set out to carry into the heart of Afghanistan."*

The pressure put on the luckless Ameers must have been somewhat severe. The suspicion they had of what they openly called our "grasping policy," seemed confirmed now, when it was proposed that they should agree to receive a permanent subsidiary force, while a fourth article to the tripartite treaty was added in the following terms:—

"Regarding Shikarpore, and the territory of Scinde lying on the right bank of the Indus, the shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper, in conformity with the happy relations subsisting between the British Government and the Maharajah (Runjeet Sing), through Captain Wade." This treaty was concluded on the 26th of June, 1838, and on that day month, the political secretary of the Government sent a long letter to our Resident, enclosing a copy of the treaty and other documents, from which he was to make the Ameers understand British intentions and motives, and telling him that the Governor-General had not made up his mind as to the amount which the Ameers might be fairly called upon to pay, but that the minimum would

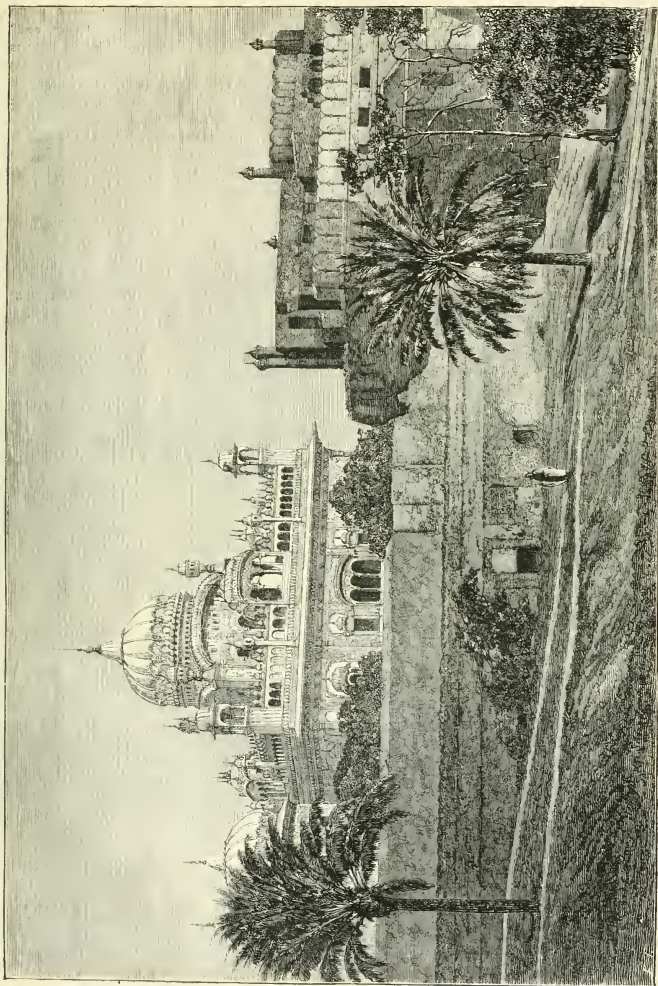
be about twenty lacs of rupees, or £200,000. His lordship added, that he would endeavour to prevail on Shah Sujah to reduce his claim on the Ameers to a reasonable amount, securing them the undisturbed possession of the territories they then held, with an immunity from all future claims on account of the pecuniary sacrifices.

This was simply extortion, in return for which, however, by the 16th article of the tripartite treaty, Shah Sujah agreed "to relinquish for himself and his heirs and successors, all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Ameers of Scinde, on condition of payment to him, by the Ameers, of such a sum as may be determined under the mediation of the British Government, fifteen lacs of rupees of such payment being made over by him to Maharajah Runjeet Sing."

Thus the wily old Lion of Lahore contrived to secure the chief share of the money about to be so wantonly extorted by our mediation and revival of a long obsolete claim; but the rage of the warlike Ameers on hearing of the scheme for fleecing them, threatened seriously to upset all the plans of the Governor-General, and eventually the storm was arrested by a treaty with them early in the following year, and the advantages of it are thus summed up by Lord Auckland in a letter to the Secret Committee:—

"The main provisions of the proposed engagements are, that the confederacy of the Ameers is virtually dissolved, each chief being held in his own possessions, and bound to refer his differences with the other chiefs to our arbitration; that Scinde is placed formally under British protection, and brought within the circle of our Indian relations; that a British force is to be fixed in Lower Scinde, at Tatta, or such other point westward of the Indus, as the British Government may determine, a sum of three lacs of rupees per annum, in aid of the cost of this force, being paid in equal proportions by the three Ameers, Meer Noor Mohammed Khan, Meer Nusseer Mohammed Khan, and Mea Meer Mohammed Khan, and that the navigation of the Indus, from the sea to the most northern part of the Scinde territory, is rendered free of all toll. These objects are of high undoubted value, and especially so when acquired without bloodshed, as the first advance to that consolidation of our influence, and extension of the general benefits of commerce throughout Afghanistan, which form the great end of our designs. It cannot be doubted that the complete submission of the Ameers will go far towards diffusing in all quarters an impression of the futility of resistance to our arms. The

* "Narrative of the Campaign in Afghanistan." By Captain H. Havelock.



VIEW OF THE PALACE OF LAHORE.

command of the navigation of the Indus, up to the neighbourhood of the junction of the five rivers, will, by means of steam-vessels, add incalculably to the value of our frontier, and the free transit of its waters, at a time when a considerable demand for merchandise of many kinds will be created by the mere onward movement of our forces, will give a

spur to enterprise by this route, from which it may be hoped that permanent advantages will be derived."

The treaty referred to was signed by the Ameers on the 5th of February, 1839, and, as there was no longer any occasion for lingering about Hyderabad, the troops got once more into motion, for an advance to the front.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BOLAN PASS.—THE MARCH TO CANDAHAR.—THE STORMING OF GHUZNEE.—CAPTURE OF CABUL AND RESTORATION OF THE SHAH.

ACCORDINGLY, the Bengal army having crossed the Indus at Bukkur, reached Shikarpore, a town of Scinde, encircled by an ancient wall, nearly 4,000 yards in circuit, and having narrow streets that are poor and mean, with a bazaar roofed by palm-leaves. This was on the 20th of February, and on the same day the Bombay column continuing its progress along the right bank of the Indus, arrived at the town and fortress of Sehwan on the right bank of the Arrul. The inhabitants of the former derive their chief support from the pilgrims who come from afar to the shrine of Lal-Shah-Baz, but their houses, though several storeys high, are entirely built of sun-baked mud. On the following day, Sir Henry Fane, who had now quitted the army and was hastening down the Indus to embark for home, arrived with his fleet of boats at the junction of the Arrul with that river, and after bidding farewell to Sir John—a veteran of the wars in Egypt, the West Indies, and the Peninsula—he continued his voyage. At Shikarpore, the plan of giving the lead to Shah Sujah's contingent was abandoned, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, leaving in his rear the 2nd Brigade under Colonel Nott, marched with his other two on the 23rd, after a three days' halt in the direction of Dadur, a walled town of Beloochistan, at the entrance of the famous Bolan Pass. The marches were always commenced in the night, by the light of torches, and continued till day-dawn.*

The country through which the route lay became almost a desert, 140 miles in length, and the effect of excessive fatigue and of bad forage grew more and more manifest. There was little water and not a blade of grass. The soil, if such it could be

called, was merely hard sand, thickly impregnated with sun-dried salt, which crackled beneath the hoofs of the sinking horses, and where a few stunted thorny shrubs alone gave evidence of vegetable life. The camels died by hundreds, says Marshman, and the mortality among the draught cattle, on which the subsistence of the army depended, was portentous. Amid this sterile waste, the flint stones lamed the poor patient camels; fatigue and want of pasture disabled the artillery horses; the mountain paths were strewn with tents, equipages, and stores of every kind, and the rivulet which flowed at the bottom of the ravine they were entering, was tainted with the carcases of animals.*

"From Rojhan," wrote Havelock, "to the town and mud forts of Burshaw, extends an unbroken level of twenty-seven miles of sandy desert, in which there is not merely neither well, stream, nor puddle, but not a tree, and scarcely a bush, or herb, or a blade of grass." Delay in such a place was impossible, and the army toiled on as well as it could to Burshaw, where many wells had been dug, and brackish water was supplied, but scantily. On the 6th of March the head-quarters were fixed at Bhaj, where water was found in abundance, with grain for immediate requirements, and then the army pushed on to where the desert of Cutch-Gundava terminates, annoyed daily the while by armed marauders on both flanks. Three months had now elapsed since the tents had been struck at Ferozepore.

While the column of Bengal had been advancing thus, Sir John Keane was pushing up the western bank of the Indus, suffering but little, as a fleet of laden boats kept pace with him. On the 4th of

* "Rec, 16th Lancers," p. 104.

* "Hist. of India," 1873.

March he reached Lackhana, while his boats sailed on to Roree, and, as a portion of the Bengal force was still quartered there, Sir John, with formality, assumed the entire command of the army of the Indus.

At Roree the Indus is 1,000 yards broad; its banks were clothed with groves of date-trees, that covered the hills, and the level plains were green with corn and tamarisk-bushes.*

On the 14th of March the leading column, consisting of the Horse Artillery, the 2nd Cavalry, H.M.'s 13th (styled Prince Albert's Own) Light Infantry, with the 48th B.N.I., started from Dadur, and pushed on to penetrate into the Bolan Pass, which gives the only practicable entrance into Afghanistan from the south-east. It is a succession of savage gorges and ravines, fifty-five miles in length, winding between masses of mountains that tower up to nearly 6,000 feet in height, between Dadur, in Cutch-Gundava, and the town of Shaml, in Beloochistan. These were then capped with snow.† The former place is situated on the most northern branch of a stream which issues from the pass. Along its bank the foot-track winds, after passing some ancient shrines and ruined tombs, and, at about five miles from the town, the pass begins. At ten miles' distance, precipitous rocks, of appalling height, that nearly meet overhead and exclude the light, enclose a small oval valley, the hard surface of which is covered with stones and gravel, and which, after heavy rains, is converted into a deep lake, where the steepness of the surrounding precipices "would preclude the possibility of escape to an army caught in the torrent."‡

Nor is this the only peril to be risked in these dreadful gorges. The wild mountaineers, concealing themselves within the dark caves of the rocks on each side, lay in wait for spoil, and on every available opportunity rushed forth to make a prey of any weary or footsore straggler, who was easily disposed of in the channel below. Such was the perilous place through which the British had now to penetrate. To conciliate, money had been liberally distributed among the rapacious mountaineers, on whose pacific professions, however, no reliance could be placed; but without encountering any hostile force, the army, which had entered the Bolan Pass on the 16th of March, emerged from it finally on the 24th, and entered the vast green valley of Shaml.

On the 19th, it encamped in the neighbourhood of Quettah, in Beloochistan, where the vegetation

showed many of the plants and trees peculiar to the north of Europe. It was a dependency of Mehrab Khan, the Belooch ruler of Khelat, whose alleged failure to fulfil the conditions of a treaty made between him and Sir Alexander Burnes, brought down—at a future time—our vengeance on him, and cost him his life; but had he been so treacherous as it was alleged, he might have cut up our troops when entangled in the Bolan Pass. Sir Willoughby Cotton's orders were to halt at Quettah, which proved a peril and difficulty, for on leaving Dadur he had but one month's food. "Half that period had already elapsed, and the calculation now was, that were the march continued, and unopposed, only a few days' supplies would remain in store when Candahar should be reached. How much then must the threatened starvation be increased by the halt which had been ordered?" Hence a diminution of the daily consumption became imperative; and from the 28th of March the loaf of the European was diminished in weight: the native troops received only a half, instead of a whole *seer* (*i.e.*, 2 lb. weight) of prepared flour, and the wretched camp-followers received but a quarter of a *seer*.*

The energetic Burnes had just concluded a treaty with the Khan of Khelat, who, in return for the guarantee of his independence by the Governor-General, promised to yield a nominal allegiance to Shah Sujah, and that which was of much more importance, a supply of grain with many camels. At the same time, by his remarks, he showed an acute foreknowledge of all that was ultimately to ensue.

"The shah," said he, "ought to have trusted to the Afghans to restore him, whereas he is filling the land with Hindostanees, an insult which his own people will never forgive him. This will never do. You British may keep him by main force for a time on the throne, but as soon as you leave the kingdom, your Shah Sujah will be driven beyond its frontier."

Sir John Keane, aware of the imperative necessity for advancing, came on with an escort, and on the 6th April established his head-quarters at Quettah, and it was generally believed in the army that when it entered the Kojuk Pass advantage would be taken by the natives of its formidable character, and there were difficulties in getting through it irrespective of Dacoits and other predatory hordes. Two divisions of the army of the Indus, the Bengal and the Bombay, were placed respectively under the command of Sir W. Cotton and General (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wiltshire.

* Havelock's "Narrative."

* "Hist. Rec. 16th Lancers."

† "Hist. Rec. 4th Light Dragoons."

‡ Outram.

The latter appointment excited the dissatisfaction of General Nott, who was a senior officer, and deemed it a slight to the service; but Wiltshire was an officer of vast experience, who had first drawn his sword with H.M.'s 38th in 1800, and had served in nearly every war since that time: but "the commander-in-chief adhered to his arrangement, and Nott, after he had even gone the length of tendering his resignation, quitted the divisional command which he had held under Sir W. Cotton, to resume the command of the 2nd Bengal Brigade, with the additional mortification of knowing that it was to be left in garrison at Quettah, and consequently precluded from an active share in the coming struggle."

On the 7th April, the day after Sir John Keane's arrival, the army set forth for the scenes of its peril and glory; for it was now generally known, or reported, that the chiefs of Candahar were at last mustering for battle, and the terrible Kojuk Pass was named as the scene of it—all false alarm. However, one chief, Hadji Khan Kakur, at the head of a hundred lances, entered the British camp on the 20th of April, and gave his allegiance to the shah. This movement proved only to be one of many treacheries of which he had been guilty; but his present apparent defection, which had been bought by the bribe of 10,000 rupees, spread terror and doubt among the Barukzye chiefs, who knew not who might prove traitor next, and prepared for flight instead of fighting. On this being known, Sir John Keane placed Shah Sujah, who had been lagging in the rear, in front, with his own contingent, at the head of which he entered Candahar on the 25th of April, not only without opposition, but even with signs of welcome, bought, it was alleged, by gold, lavishly bestowed from the treasury at Calcutta.

The march to Candahar was long remembered with horror by those who had to perform it. In traversing the Kojuk Pass—in some parts of which the cliffs overhead met and reclined against each other—the battery and field guns were dragged up and lowered down its tremendous precipices by the European soldiers, while parched with thirst, and consumed by incessant fatigue;* and the march beyond it is thus described by Havelock:—"All ranks have been taught to understand to-day how little prized when plentiful, how outrageously demanded when scarce, is that bounteous provision for the wants of God's creatures—water! Weary of the delays which had kept us so long at Dundi Goolau, we moved forward on the 21st (April, 1839) into the plains which we had sur-

veyed from the summit of the Kojuk Pass, recognising all the distinctive peaks of the scattered hills which we had observed from that commanding height. We saw them now magnified as we approached them, and casting a dark shade over the plains which they overhung. Anxious looks were from time to time cast towards those grim eminences, and their bases were carefully searched for any small stream which might supply the urgent wants of a thirsting force. It was not very pleasant to discover that this day, too, we must depend for a supply on the stream of a small and imperfect *kahreez*. Its water was brackish, and flowed scantily and sluggishly. Thousands of brass *lotas* and leathern buckets were soon dipped into the little channel, and though proper regulations were promptly established, one half the force had not been watered before scarcity commenced. Soon diluted mud alone could be obtained, and whole regiments, under a burning sun, with parched lips, sighed for night to cool them, and then for morning that they might move on to a happier spot. The troops were buoyed up towards evening with fallacious hopes of the waters of a spring, actually discovered in the hills, being brought down to their relief into the plain; but up to the hour of early march no stream had begun to flow into the dry bed of the nullah, on which so many were gazing in hope." On the following day he tells us that the army, unable to find water, was compelled to advance without it.

"Forward the brigade moved, to finish the second day's march of ten miles: their horses dropping from drought and exhaustion, as they toiled on, and leaving in the mountain passes traces of this day's sufferings and perseverance. When the cavalry had thus got over five miles—in the course of which British dragoons and native troopers were seen eagerly sharing their chargers' muddy and fetid water, drawn from puddles at the side of the road, the very sight of which would, in Hindostan, have equally sickened all to whom it was offered—they struck into a by-road on their left, and, winding their way by a narrow path through an opening in the undulating eminences, found themselves towards evening on the banks of a beautiful stream. The rush of unbridled indulgence of the troops and their horses into its waters, after all the privations of the morning, may fairly be described as uncontrollable. What moderation was to be expected from man or beast, breaking forth from the results of two days' unwilling abstinence?"

At last, on the 26th, they saw before them

* Marshman, vol. iii.

* Captain H. Havelock's "Narrative."

the ancient capital of the Dooranee empire, a welcome sight—Candahar—according to Elphinstone, a city of 100,000 souls, girt by walls, ditches, and ramparts, with all its canals and water-courses, its minarets, mosques, and domes, and, over all, the gilded cupola that covers the great tomb of Ahmed Shah, wherein the Dooranee lords who retire from the world, spend the last years of their lives in prayer and penance.*

By the 4th of May, the whole army of the Indus, save those troops left rearward in garrison at Bukkan, Shikarpore, and three other places, was encamped under the walls of Candahar, where the toils of the perilous march through the passes were replaced by a pleasant round of ceremonies and parades, kept up for the purpose of enabling Shah Sujah "to feel himself a king," as it was said.

The tents of the troops were pitched among grassy meadows, and fields covered with waving crops of wheat, barley, and lucerne; provisions and forage came regularly, and, though the men and horses recovered strength, a damp prevailed there which induced fever and dysentery. The 16th Lancers alone had eighty men in hospital, and the great heat in the tents, together with a saline impregnation of the water, augmented the number of sick.†

No military operations took place till the 12th of May, when it was deemed necessary to look after the fugitive Barukzye chiefs. Accordingly, Brigadier Sale was dispatched in pursuit of them, at the head of a strong division composed mainly of the shah's contingent, and some Europeans, who followed them as far as the river of Afghanistan, named Helmand by Masson, and the Hir-mund by Elphinstone, after which the chiefs succeeded in escaping into Persia. On the 28th Sale returned from his fruitless expedition, and on the same day an example was given of the lawless state of the country and the bloodthirstiness of its people. "In the environs of Candahar was a remarkable mount, forming one side of a pass; by skirting it, access was gained into a picturesque valley, planted with pine trees, and watered by the Ughandaub river. The officers formed parties of pleasure to visit this beautiful spot; their tents were pitched on the margin of the stream, and after amusing themselves with angling, they partook of an evening repast. On the 28th of May, one or two social fishing parties had been formed in the valley, and Lieutenants Inverarity and Wilmer, of the 16th Lancers, remained on the bank of the river until sunset. They sent their

servants, tents, and horses towards the camp, and followed leisurely and unarmed. The moon shone brightly, and Lieutenant Inverarity was walking a little in front of his companion, unconscious of danger, when he was suddenly attacked by a band of armed men. On Lieutenant Wilmer coming up, he was surrounded by about a dozen assassins, but he defended himself with his walking-stick for some time, and then, taking to flight, reached a camp of the shah's infantry, with a single wound on the face. An armed party returned with him, and found Lieutenant Inverarity alive, but he died soon afterwards."*

He was dreadfully mangled, and when the shah was informed of the atrocity, he simply said to the British officers about him, "Oh, gentlemen! you must be cautious here; remember, you are not in Hindostan."

During the halt at Candahar, Afghan horses were procured to remount the cavalry, the Bengal brigade of which had 701 dismounted men, whose chargers had perished.

On the 27th of June—the same day on which the old King of Lahore breathed his last—the army marched from Candahar. Dost Mohammed was in no wise overawed by its advance, and it was believed that a bloody contest alone would secure the conquest of Cabul. A garrison was left in Candahar, and another in Girishk, a fort beyond the Helmand. The guns and mortars of the siege-train, after all the toil and difficulty of dragging them through the Bolan and Kojuk Passes, were now left behind. As there had been no occasion to use them hitherto, it was unwisely supposed they might be dispensed with: a somewhat singular idea, when the strong fortress of Ghuznee—deemed of course impregnable by the Afghans—was in front, and yet to be captured, as it stood in the direct line of march to Cabul.

On the 21st of July the troops were before it. This fortified city—formerly the capital of an empire that extended from the Tiber to the Ganges, and from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of Persia—stands on a scarped rock 280 feet above a level plain, and is washed by a large stream. It is encircled by two stone walls thirty feet in height, flanked by strong towers. High over these, on the north, towers its citadel. The land it overlooks is richly cultivated, but its streets are dark and narrow. Three miles from the city stands the tomb of the Sultan Mahmood, the sandal-wood doors of which were brought by him as a trophy from the famous temple of Somnath in Goojerat. An idea prevailed that it

* Elphinstone, Conolly, &c.

† "Hist. Records, 16th Lancers,"

* Ibid.

could be easily taken, as no defence would be made; but "we were very much surprised," says one who was well qualified to form an opinion, Captain Thomson, chief engineer of the army of the

nugatory. In addition to this, the towers at the angles had been enlarged; screen walls had been built before the gates; the ditch cleared out and filled with water (stated to be unfordable); and an



TOMB OF RUNJEET SING, LAHORE.

Indus, "to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a *fausse braye* and wet ditch. The irregular figure of the *enceinte* gave a good flanking fire, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills to the north, rendering it

outwork built on the right bank of the river, so as to command the bed of it."

The investing forces met with an unexpected advantage, which facilitated the capture. A nephew of Dost Mohammed deserted to them and afforded much valuable information. The gates were all found, according to the engineer's report, to be

secured by strong masonry, save the Cabul Gate, yet Major Hough, who was with the army, states that none of them were built up, and all were equally accessible.* Be that as it may, the engineers reported that as we had no battering train, the most feasible mode of attack was to blow open the gate with powder, and charge through the smoke, fire, and débris, into the heart of the place.

The garrison was 3,500 strong, having been largely reinforced from Cabul, by Hyder Khan, the killedar, and the Ghiljies, through whose rugged territory, studded with mountain forts, a retreat must have been conducted, had the attack failed. So far from cordially welcoming the shah, like most of

for the rear and much of the baggage, if not for the troops, as we were not to move till four in the afternoon, and the route for both columns could not well be known." Not a moment was to be lost in taking up the new formation.

A force under a son of the Ameer of Cabul had marched down to raise the siege, and was now not far off. The forces of the Ghiljies, Abdurhman, and Gool Mohammed were in the field, and at no great distance. A body of armed fanatics who were banded for a religious war, hovered on the heights eastward of Ghuznee. "Reflections on these circumstances, and on our want of a battering train," says Havelock, "the glimmering of lights on the



ON THE RIVER SWAT, A TRIBUTARY OF THE CABUL.

their countrymen, they were quite disposed to take the first opportunity of showing how he and his allies were detested by them. On Sir John Keane resolving to burst open the gate, no time was lost in making the necessary preparations. At this crisis, the troops were without proper rations; they had undergone excessive toil, and the weather as usual, at that time of the year, in the hilly districts of Afghanistan, was cold, especially at night. The hungry and harassed soldiers had not been three hours encamped, when a change of ground was ordered, with reference to the intended attack, and to be able to face Dost Mohammed Khan, who was supposed to be pushing on from Cabul in person. "The movement was a delicate one," says Outram, "being a march in two columns, by two different routes; for it involved a night march

hostile battlements and in the plains, with the chill of the night air, effectually chased away slumber until day broke on the 22nd."*

As the dawn came in, the sick were still pursuing the toilsome march, and parties were sent out to urge them on. Many of the camp-followers lost their way and were seen no more. One writer affirms—but it seems an exaggeration—that of 100,000 persons of this description which left the Indus with the grand army, all, save 20,000, perished by the sword, famine, or cold.†

In a dash made that night by the brilliant Outram, among a band of hill fanatics, at the head of some of the shah's contingent, he captured the holy green banner, and brought many prisoners into the royal presence. Then a startling event

* "Narrative of the Afghan Campaign."

* "Narrative," vol. ii.

† "The Three Presidencies."

occurred. They cursed Shah Sujah to his face, and stabbed some of his officers; on this, he ordered sixty of them to be instantly executed, though Buist says that the number was thirty-eight.

The general orders of the evening of the 22nd July contained instructions for the attack:—

"At 12 p.m., the artillery will commence moving towards the fort, and the batteries will follow each other in succession at the discretion of the brigadier commanding. The guns must be placed in the most favourable positions, with the right above the village on the hill north-east of the fortress, and their left among the gardens on the Cabul road. They must all be in position before day-light. . . .

"The storming party will be under the command of Brigadier Sale, C.B., and will be composed as follows—viz., the advance, to consist of the light companies of H.M. 2nd and 17th Regiments, and of the 47th (Lancashire) Regiment, with a flank company of the 13th Light Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B.

"The main column will consist of H.M. 2nd Regiment; of the 47th Regiment, with the remainder of H.M. 13th Light Infantry formed as skirmishers on the flanks; the latter will push into the fort with the rear of the main column; H.M. 17th Regiment will be formed in support, and will follow the storming party into the works; the whole must quit their respective encampments in columns of companies at quarter distance, right in front, so as to ensure their arrival at the place appointed for the *rendezvous* by 2 o'clock, a.m.; at half-past 12 o'clock, the companies of the 13th Light Infantry, intended to act as skirmishers, will move up to cover in front of the gateway, and be ready to keep down any fire on the party of engineers who proceed to blow it open; this last party will move up to the gateway before daybreak, followed slowly by the assaulting column. On the chief engineer finding the opening practicable, he will have the advance sounded, for the column to push on; when the head of the column has passed the gateway, a signal must be made for the artillery to turn their fire from the walls of the town on the citadel; at 12 o'clock p.m., three companies of native infantry (48th) will quit the camp, move round the gardens on the south of the town, where they will establish themselves, and about 3 p.m., open a fire upon the place for the purpose of distracting the attention of the garrison."

The infantry of the division, not required for active duty, were to form a reserve; so, to the Europeans was assigned the honour of assaulting Ghuznee, and such was their ardour, that when the hospital tents of the 17th Regiment were visited by

the surgeon, he found them empty, the whole of the sick had left their beds to join their comrades in the attack.*

Stormy weather which prevailed throughout the night rendered all our movements inaudible. Ghuznee, amid the darkness, seemed to sleep in peace, and not a light ere long gleamed from amid the gloom that shrouded it, but after the attack commenced, such was the bellowing of the mountain wind, that when the three detached companies under Captain Hay opened fire, the sound of their musketry was unheard, though the red flashes were seen.

The explosion party on whom everything depended, consisted of Captain Peat of the Bombay, and Lieutenants Durand and Maclean of the Bengal army, with three sergeants and eighteen sappers, carrying 300 lbs. of powder in twelve bags, with a hose of seventy feet in length. Headed by Durand, the adventurous little band moved steadily, but stealthily on. The bags were placed, the hose laid, the train fired, and in two minutes the party had rushed to cover.†

Effectually the explosion did its work. A glare burst for an instant on the night, accompanied by a thundering crash; and with loud cheers, the stormers, led by Dennie, dashed on, while at the same moment, a brilliant blue light cast its ghastly glare from above the gate, at the approach of the engineers, which had not been unheard by the enemy, who were crowding to discover the cause, when the whole party were buried amid the ruins of the fallen gate and archway. Above even the roar of the musketry the British bugle rang out sharply the advance, and all poured on to the assault, which was nearly failing, through a momentary misconception of Brigadier Sale, that the avenue was blocked up. He actually ordered a retreat to be sounded, but it was unheard amid the tempest and the din of the musketry. Sale, one of the bravest among many brave men, now pushed on to succour Dennie, and a deadly struggle took place amid the shattered ruins of the gate, and there the brigadier had a narrow escape from the Afghans.

"One of their number," says his brother-officer Havelock, "rushing over the falling timbers, brought down Brigadier Sale, by a cut in the face with his sharp *shansheer* (sabre). The Afghan repeated his blow as his opponent was falling, but the pommel, not the edge of his sword, this time took effect, though with stunning violence. He lost his footing, however, in the effort, and

* Dr. Kennedy's "Campaign of the Army of the Indus."

† Thornton's "British India."

Briton and Afghan rolled together among the fractured timbers. Thus situated, the first care of the brigadier was to master the weapon of his adversary. He snatched at it, but one of his fingers met the edge of the trenchant blade. He quickly withdrew his wounded hand, and adroitly replaced it over that of his adversary, so as to keep fast the hilt of his *shansheer*. But he had an active and powerful opponent, and was himself faint from loss of blood. Captain Kershaw, of the 13th, A.D.C. to Brigadier Baumgardt, happened in the *mêlée* to approach the scene of conflict; the wounded leader recognised him and called to him for aid. Kershaw passed his drawn sabre through the body of the Afghan, but still the desperado continued to struggle with frantic violence. At length, in the fierce grapple, the brigadier for a moment got uppermost. Still retaining the weapon of his enemy in his left hand, he dealt him with his right, a cut from his own sabre, which cleft his skull from the crown to the eyebrows. The Mohammedan shouted, '*Ne Ullah*' (O God!) and never moved or spoke again.*

On regaining his feet, Brigadier Sale put himself once more at the head of the stormers, who were still fighting, and had yet to force their onward way. But ere long, the walls were everywhere won, although there was still much destructive street firing, and close conflicts between groups of Afghans and British soldiers. Sir John Keane, on perceiving the entrance fully achieved, ordered the cannonade to be turned upon the citadel, against which Sale now advanced at the head of his own regiment, the splendid 13th Light Infantry.

Meanwhile, Colonel Croker with the supports, came on, but slowly, as the débris of the gateway and the fallen masonry, together with the conveyance out of the wounded, greatly obstructed his advance, and enabled the Afghans in some numbers to regain the walls, and finding places of concealment, to pick off our men at their leisure. Hence it was not until the last of the supports passed fairly in, that all anxiety was over, and Mohammed Hyder Khan, paralysed by the suddenness of the whole attack, abandoned all resistance in despair, and H.M. 13th and 17th Regiments planted their colours on the citadel. These, as they floated out on the morning breeze, were greeted with loud and prolonged cheers by the whole army, and Azful Khan, a son of the ruler of Cabul, who, at the head of 5,000 horse, was hovering in sight of the place, when he saw the four standards floating on the embattled summit, turned and fled, pursued by our cavalry.

Once more the ramparts were swept, and a body of Afghans, uniting, made a gallant charge, sword in hand, to cut a passage to the gate. The way along which they rushed, with frantic and fanatic cries, was encumbered by groups of weary soldiers, by wounded in dhoolies, and riderless horses careering wildly about; and as the fugitives pressed onward, they cut and slashed at everything, even at the unfortunate horses, in the blindness of their fury, but their chief object was to destroy the maimed and the helpless. Our soldiers, filled with rage, now manned the narrow way, and the Afghans were shot or bayoneted to a man. Not one reached the shattered gate alive. In other quarters, houses had to be stormed, room by room, and the defenders bayoneted, ere Sir John Keane entered the city, escorting Shah Sujah to the fortress we had won for him.

In the defence, 500 Afghans perished, but many more in their furious attempts to escape. Our loss was 120, but not one officer was killed. 1,600 prisoners were taken, among them the governor, Hyder Khan (a brother of Dost Mohammed), whose sword was sold for £400, and presented to the commander-in-chief.* The place was found to be provided with immense stores of grain and flour, which, with the horses, money, and arms taken, formed together a valuable booty.

Most honourable to the British army was the capture of this great fortress, alike for the valour and moderation displayed. Its fall excited consternation among the followers of Dost Mohammed, and Azful Khan, on seeing its capture, fled with such speed, that he left all his elephants and camp equipage behind him. His father was full of rage, and for a time refused to see him, but vowed he would struggle to the last. The mountain chiefs, however, from the moment tidings reached them, gave up his cause as hopeless; and one after another, as the army resumed its march, they hastened to offer their submission, till at last Shah Sujah seemed to have solid ground for boasting that he had not deceived his allies in the statements he had made, touching the enthusiasm with which his people would welcome his return.

The desperation of the Dost's position was apparent now to all. Early in the contest, supposing that the chief attack would be made in concert with the Sikhs by the Khyber Pass, he had dispatched his favourite son, Ackbar Khan, to that point, with the main body of his army, and was obliged to recall him in hot haste, when he became aware of the real quarter from which the greatest peril was to come.

* "Narrative of the War in Afghanistan."

* Letter of Lord Keane, *U.S. Mag.*

Left thus unguarded, the formidable Khyber Pass was easily traversed by that column of the army led by Colonel (afterwards Sir Claude Martin) Wade, and nominally commanded by the shah's son, Prince Timour, storming *en route* the fort of Ali Musjid, with the loss of 110 men. Hence, as Cabul was about to be attacked from two points, resistance seemed vain, and nothing remained but to negotiate, and the brother of the Dost, named Jubbar Khan, sanctioned by a council of war, was sent to the British camp to arrange about terms. For himself, provided he were guaranteed in the hereditary office of weezeer, or prime minister, he offered to acknowledge Shah Sujah as his monarch, but instead of accepting his proposal, nothing was given to him but the option of accepting an honourable asylum in British territory, on condition of immediate capitulation. All negotiation now failed, and Jubbar Khan sullenly took his departure, whilst Dost Mohammed, gathering energy from despair, marched forth to give us battle, but the means to do so were failing him fast.

On all sides he was surrounded by the faint-hearted and the treacherous. Among these, threats, entreaties, and remonstrances proved unavailing, and his ranks thinned so fast, that but a few remained by his side, and on the 2nd of August, 1839, he fled westward in the direction of Bamian, pursued by Captain James Outram—the Outram of future glory—then aide-de-camp to Sir John Keane. In this duty he was associated with Hadji Khan Kakeer, who—ever a man of treachery—having command of the principal part of the horse employed, threw so many obstacles in the way, that the pursuit proved a failure.

The Afghan troops are hardy and brave. Their dress at this time was an ample turban, generally of striped blue cloth, for defence against cold and sabre-cuts. Their chief attire, the *koorta*, or shirt, is fastened down the right side with buttons or loops, not permitting any part of the body to be

seen, such being deemed highly indecorous. Over this is worn a camel's-hair cloak—red or yellow being the favourite colours; loose trousers and boots complete the dress. For arms, many wore, and yet use, helmets and breast-plates, sabres and flint-lock muskets, with bayonets of unusual length, fixed permanently to the muzzle. A shield is slung over the back, and their powder and bullets are carried in leather bottles attached to the waist-belt.

During Outram's pursuit, the army continued its march, and on the 7th of August, saw before it, Cabul, amid its bare and rocky hills, with its lofty walls and towering Balahissar, or citadel, its vast bazaars, forming one continuous street, and having a population, estimated by Vigne and Burnes in 1836, at 60,000 souls.

On that day, amid every martial pomp, Shah Sujah, mounted on a beautiful Cabul charger, in a dress resplendent with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, was conducted through the narrow and gloomy streets to the Balahissar. "In these," says Havelock, "an ocean of heads spread out in every direction, the expression of countenances indicated a ready acquiescence, or something more, in the new state of things." But on the infidel soldiers who guarded him, "they poured a shower of maledictions."*

After making his way with difficulty through the dense throngs of people—fur-capped Persians, turbaned Afghans, red-fezzed Kuzzilbashs, all bristling with arms, Hindoos, Tajiks, Christians, Armenians, and most filthy Jews—on reaching the palace, he hurried up the great staircase, and literally ran with childish delight from one apartment to another. The great object of his ambition, after thirty years of exile, was at last secured. He was once more seated on the throne, and the thunder of our cannon, as their salutes woke the echoes of the city walls, and of the rocky hills of Beymaroo, must have been as music in his ears.

CHAPTER XVI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.—CAPTURE OF KHELAT.—REVOLT OF THE GHILJIES.—THE CANDAHAR CONSPIRACY.—NOTT AND THE SHAH'S OFFICIALS, ETC.

LITTLE foreseeing the horrors that were in the future, our troops remained quartered in and about Cabul. Replying to the despatch, in which Sir John Keane announced the installation of Shah

Sujah, the Governor-General, after expressing his satisfaction, added: "It is to be hoped that the measure which has been accomplished, of restoring

* Marshman.

this prince to the throne of his ancestors, will be productive of peace and prosperity over the country in which he rules, and will confirm the just influence of the British Government in the regions of central Asia." The great object of the expedition—the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in Afghanistan—was now accomplished, and the period had come, when, according to the Simla manifesto, our troops were to be withdrawn, but unfortunately the popularity of the shah proved a delusion, and within a fortnight after his entrance, Lord Auckland placed on record that "to leave him without the support of a British army, would be followed by his expulsion, which would reflect disgrace on Government, and become a source of danger."

It was determined, therefore, to leave a force of 10,000 men to maintain him on his throne, and it was no longer possible to doubt the truth of Wellington's prediction, that when once our army reached Cabul, the most difficult part of the task we had undertaken would begin.

Though the expedition was not barren in military glory, it was fertile enough in honours, to give *clat* to our first success. Thus Lord Auckland was created an earl; Sir John Keane was made a peer of Britain, as Lord Keane of Ghuznee and Cappaquin, with £2,000 per annum; General Wiltshire, Colonel Pottinger, and Mr. Macnaghten were made baronets, and Colonel Wade was knighted; and, not content with all this, an Order of the Dooranee Empire was created, and while all this was in progress, the Afghans had begun to murder at Cabul, every officer and soldier they could find beyond the limits of the British camp.

It was now resolved that the two capitals of Cabul and Candahar, with the important posts of Ghuznee, Quettah, and Jelalabad should be garrisoned, after which the rest of our troops might take their way homeward to British India, the Bengal division by the Khyber Pass, and the Bombay division by the Bolan route. Instead of continuing his flight, Dost Mohammed had found an asylum in the wild and wide country beyond the Oxus, and—still ripe for mischief—was reported to be levying troops for a rough renewal of the contest, while the Ghiljies, with other mountain tribes, were giving unequivocal signs of hostility.

Ultimately, as in addition to all this, Shah Kamran at Herat, oblivious of the deliverance effected for him by our influence, was intriguing with Persia and Russia, which while verbally repudiating schemes of aggression, was dispatching an expedition against the Khan of Khiva, it was

resolved that the whole Bengal division of the army should remain in Afghanistan.

Under General Wiltshire, the Bombay column took its departure on the 18th September, 1839, and in this homeward movement was included a demonstration against Mehrab, the Khan of Khelat, who had broken certain treaties by which he was bound to furnish supplies for the British troops, and repress marauders, who had harassed its march. His excuses of inability were, perhaps, not without certain foundation; but some one was to be punished, a victim was wanted, and Mehrab was at hand. Thus, when General Wiltshire reached Quettah, he ordered the main body of his troops to push on through the Bolan Pass, while with a detachment, consisting of 1,000 infantry, six field-guns, the engineer corps, and 150 irregular cavalry, he marched alone. This was on the 4th of November. The 13th saw him before the picturesque and vast fortress of Khelat, situated about eighty-five miles to the south-westward of the Bolan Pass, and deemed the capital of Beloochistan.*

It is situated in a difficult and mountainous country; its site is commanding. It was well fortified and fully garrisoned by hardy warriors, under Mehrab Khan, a Beloochee chief of considerable influence, and when our troops were within two miles of his gates, a letter which was received from him—after all explanations and professions of friendship had proved unavailing—left no doubt that he would resist to the last. It referred to some negotiations alleged to be pending; directed that the British troops should halt till these were concluded, and defiantly threatened them with condign vengeance if they dared to advance; and to show that he really meant fighting, the march had barely been resumed, when a cloud of Beloochee horse came galloping up, and without a word of parley, poured a ragged volley from their matchlocks into the head of the column.

A nearer approach to Khelat showed that the long lines of crenelated wall, and the clustering mass of towers that rose in its centre, were crowded by masses of Beloochee warriors in their flowing and picturesque dress, while other masses, who disdained the protection of the ramparts, were formed in order of battle on some adjacent heights, resolved to try their strength with Wiltshire's little force. A few discharges of artillery put them to flight, and the infantry captured the heights without further trouble, and the success that followed was still more important. Khelat had only two gates; one was captured before the flying fugitives had time to close it, the other was blown

* Kennedy's "Campaign," &c.

in by the cannon, and at both points the troops rushed in. The slaughter was great, for the united Beloochees and Afghans, led by Mehrab, now fought with reckless bravery, after they had retired into the citadel. Wiltshire ordered the gates to be blown in by gunpowder bags, but ere this was done, the effective fire of our artillery rendered it unnecessary, and the capture was soon complete. Mehrab died sword in hand at the head of his adherents. Outram computes the prisoners at 2,200, and the slain at a fourth of that number. Our losses were 37 killed and 107 wounded.

ment of sappers and miners, with a rissala of Skinner's Horse, to be stationed at Jelalabad; Ghuznee to be garrisoned by the 16th Native Infantry, a rissala of Skinner's Horse, and such details of H.M. Shah Sujah's troops as are available. The whole to be under the command of Major Mac-laren. Candahar will have for its garrison the 42nd and 43rd Native Infantry, 4th company, 2nd battalion of artillery, a rissala of the 4th Local Horse, and such details of H.M. Shah Sujah's troops as may be available. Major-General Nott will command."



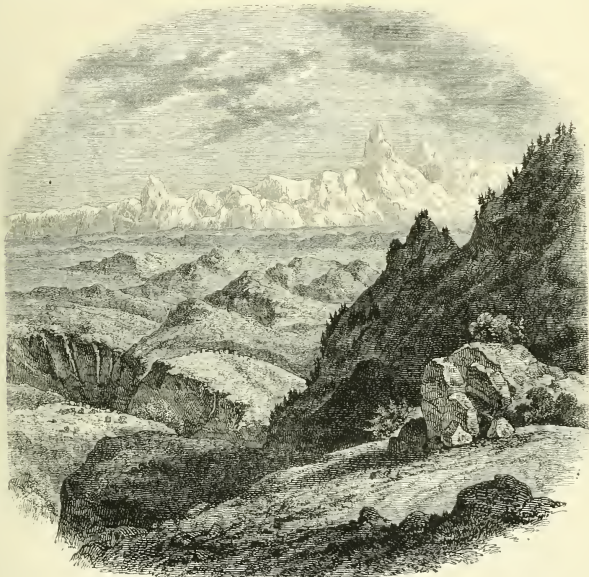
INTERIOR OF A TURCOMAN TENT.

Although the Bombay division had begun its homeward march, the final arrangements for the occupation of Afghanistan were not announced till the 2nd of October, 1839, when it was intimated in general orders, that the whole of the 1st (Bengal) division of Infantry, the 2nd (Bengal) Cavalry, a battery of light guns, and a detachment of sappers, were to remain under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton. A subsequent order fixed the posts of the army of occupation thus:—"H.M. 13th Light Infantry, 3 guns of No. 6 light field battery, and the 35th Native Infantry to remain in Cabul, and to be accommodated in the Balahissar. The 48th Native Infantry, the 4th Brigade, and a detach-

On the 15th of October, Keane set out for India, escorted by H.M. 16th Lancers, who, in fording the rapid Jhelum, had one captain, 10 troopers, and 13 horses swept away. He took his way by the Khyber Pass. Shah Sujah also quitted Cabul to avoid the severities of the coming winter, and went to Jelalabad, leaving the envoy, Sir Alexander Burnes behind, to act as his substitute, but the native administration was committed to most unworthy hands, who, instead of reconciling the fierce and suspicious Afghans to the new *régime*, infuriated by extortion and general mismanagement of everything, while a hatred of the British, and contempt for them too, grew strong and deep.

In the January of 1840, the snow fell to the depth of five feet; the unfortunate sepoys—the men of hot and sunny regions—suffered terribly; even the British soldiers were most indifferently supplied with clothes and bedding, and the hardy Afghans, with derisive scorn, saw them shivering on frozen mountains and snow-clad table-lands. The latter, however, remained inactive till the

Russia in all her attempts upon this land—a continuous waste of mountains, forest, and desert—was the general security of her frontiers, from whence numbers of her subjects were annually dragged into slavery by the Kirghiz, and to ensure the safety of the caravans which annually proceed to Bokhara and Thibet; but the Emperor had another motive. The Earl of Auckland, in his



VIEW OF THE HINDOO COOSH MOUNTAINS.

approach of spring, and then the Ghiljies and other powerful clans began to muster their cavalry for the attacks on our outposts; at the same time the people dwelling on the hills, and in the secluded glens, would neither give tribute to the shah, nor sell provisions to his unwelcome allies.

The Russian expedition to Khiva, a khanate of central Asia, comprehending all the tract north of the Attruck river, and from Elburz to the Sea of Aral, now raised the suspicion of our officers in Afghanistan, but more especially those of Macnaghten and Burnes, to fever-heat. The professed object of

Simla manifesto, had stated that our expedition was also "to give the name and just influence of the British Government its proper footing among the nations of central Asia;" but the hot spirit of Macnaghten was disposed to develop this policy to an extent that startled our Government. He sent a military force beyond Bamian to depose an Usbec chief and instal another, a measure by which he spread alarm through all Turkestan. Major Todd, who had been sent as our envoy to Herat, was strengthening its fortifications, and had dispatched one of his assistants to offer our friendship

to the Khan of Khiva. This official exceeded his instructions, and proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, which Lord Auckland immediately disavowed. A mission was also sent to Bokhara, whose barbarous khan had commenced that series of outrages which culminated in the atrocious murders of Colonel Conolly and Major Stoddart. "If we go on at this rate," said Baron Brunnow significantly to Lord Palmerston, "the Cossack and the sepoy will soon cross their bayonets on the Oxus." But the Russian expedition proved a failure, and the general had to return, leaving the half of his force dead among the snowy deserts.

As soon as winter was past, Shah Sujah returned to Cabul about the end of April, 1840, when the state of his kingdom was becoming more unsatisfactory than ever, Dost Mohammed, hovering at that time in the territories of the Wullee of Khoooloom, whose people were Tajiks, Afghans, and Usbec Tartars, was in dangerous proximity to the frontiers of the shah, and a recent event would, it was expected, precipitate hostilities. Before his arrival at Khoooloom, his family, who had been residing there in the care of his brother Jubbar Khan, were handed over as prisoners to the officer commanding our post at Bamian, with no other stipulation than that they should be kindly treated. It was supposed that now we held hostages for the good behaviour of the Dost; but it was soon shown that he cared not for this arrangement. When reminded that by hostility he would expose his wife and children to danger—"I have buried them," was his grim and pointed reply, and in concert with the Wullee he continued to levy troops, to measure swords with us once more in Afghanistan.

Signs of the coming storm were not wanting elsewhere. The Ghiljies, who occupy the mountains between Candahar and Cabul, had never ceased to be hostile, and had now begun to commit such ravages that it became necessary to send a detachment for their repression. After flying to the north, when a few months had passed, the chiefs ventured to return, to re-occupy their forts, and to resume their depredations more boldly than ever. In consequence, General Nott, commanding in Candahar, was compelled in April, 1840, to attack them. The force at first employed consisted of only 210 sabres of Shah Sujah's 2nd Cavalry and the 4th Local Horse, under Captains Taylor and Walker, with a party of infantry under Captain Codrington, and some of the shah's infantry; but so great was the resistance they experienced, that it became necessary to reinforce them by H.M. Northumberland Fusiliers and four horse artillery guns, under Captain Anderson. The

Ghiljie chiefs, now in open revolt, were found in position 3,000 strong, on the 16th of May, at Tazee, on some heights. Notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, Captain Anderson, commanding the whole, attacked them. They fought with dauntless bravery; and after suffering from a destructive artillery fire, gave way before the bayonet, and fled into the recesses of the mountains. But notwithstanding this, the revolt seemed to gather strength, for these free men of the hills felt, with justice, that we had no right to be among them; and so large a body gathered at Khelet-i-Ghiljie, that preparations on a greater scale became necessary, and General Nott received orders from Sir Willoughby Cotton to tranquillise the Ghiljie country. The former was convinced that the insurrection would prove less formidable than it was supposed to be at head-quarters, but being somewhat apprehensive of a rising in Candahar, took with him only a detachment of the 43rd Native Infantry; and the sequel proved the truth of his anticipations, as the Ghiljies fled and their chiefs submitted. Then, to keep them in awe, a permanent force was posted at Hoolan Robart, commanding a mountain pass of the same name; and as it was doubtful if even this would ensure tranquillity, it was agreed to pay a "black mail" of £3,000 yearly to the chiefs, on condition that they should give a free passage through their country, and abstain from marauding.

General Nott was not without solid reasons for his fears of a rising in Candahar. Letters had been found on some of the prisoners taken by Captain Anderson at Tazee, from which it was learned that certain chiefs resident in that city were in full hope that, if the garrison were greatly weakened by a Ghiljie expedition, they might effect a rising, and massacre every Briton and Hindoo in Candahar. The fact that such a plot had been formed was a strong proof of the general hatred with which Shah Sujah and his allies were regarded. And there was good reason for this in the conduct of his heir-apparent, Prince Timour, who was ruling in Candahar as the representative of his father, and in this capacity plundered, oppressed, and outraged the people shamefully. Their houses were entered, their crops cut down, and themselves cut, wounded, and shot by his followers. In one instance, at Hoolan Robart, General Nott caused the plunderers and their spoil to be seized, and intimated to the prince, and to Captain Nicolson, our political Resident, that he did not wish to interfere with the royal servants, but as the pillage had been brought into the British camp, the people looked

to him for redress. This he gave them effectually ; he had the prince's people tied up and well flogged in presence of the oppressed, to whom he restored their property, and sent them away exulting.

Against these stern measures Captain Nicolson protested, and though they were absolutely necessary for the repression of the bad feeling that was growing up on all hands against the restored royal family, eventually General Nott's procedure was disapproved of by the Governor-General, and by the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten.

The censure of Nott for an alleged encroachment on the royal dignity was a species of triumph to the envoy, who had represented it in strong terms at Calcutta ; but the fact of his doing so soon added to the difficulties of his position, and these were increasing fast. So far from settling down into tranquillity, the country was becoming more and more discontented ; and the same spirit exhibited by the Ghiljies and the people of Candahar prevailed everywhere. On the fall of Khelat, the territory was annexed to the dominions of Shah Sujah, and the government of it was bestowed on Newaz Khan, who was supposed to be friendly to British interests. He was a collateral branch of the ruling family, a circumstance which only made him more hated by the Beloochees ; and of this feeling the young son of the fallen Mehrab Khan was quite ready to avail himself.

He displayed his father's banner, and the tribes rallied round him. Though the danger had been foreseen, no precautions were taken ; the revolted made themselves masters of the city. Newaz fled, and the son of Mehrab was seated on the throne, while our troops were made prisoners ; and one of them, Lieutenant Loveday, after several months of severe captivity, was most barbarously murdered.

And now several disasters befell the British troops. "During our long campaign in Scinde and Afghanistan," says Captain Neill, "many a gallant soldier fell ; but among the noble spirits that fled, there was not one more chivalrous and daring than Walpole Clarke." This officer, a lieutenant of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers, had, for his bravery, been appointed to a corps of Scinde Irregular Horse, and early in May left the fort of Kahun, about twenty miles west of Suleiman Mountains, in south-eastern Afghanistan, with a convoy of camels, escorted by fifty horse and 150 foot. His object was to obtain supplies. Having marched about twenty miles, on his return to Sukkur, he directed a portion of the infantry to return to Kahun, and the rest to bivouac. In this position he was attacked by more than 2,000 Beloochees. Leaving his troopers

to protect the camels, he dashed against the enemy at the head of his little band of infantry. He was soon shot down. They perished to a man, fighting desperately to the last ; and the cavalry, overpowered by numbers, fled on the spur. All the stores were taken by the elated Beloochees, who overtook the party on the march to Kahun, and left none alive to tell the tale.*

Shortly after, the fort itself was attacked, and its little garrison, though ably led by Captain Brown, of the 50th Native Infantry, while making a stubborn defence, was in danger of being starved into a capitulation ; and in August occurred that episode which was known as "Clibborn's disaster," which, says Captain Neill, was, "in all its results, a most painful and calamitous event, evidencing, as it did, gross ignorance of the country, or a recklessness utterly indefensible in sending a detachment on a most difficult service, by a route almost impracticable."

On the 12th of August, Major Clibborn, of the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, to relieve Captain Brown, was dispatched from Sukkur, with a convoy of 1,200 camels and 600 bullocks, escorted by 464 bayonets and thirty-four artillerymen with three twelve-pound howitzers. At Poolajee he was reinforced by 200 irregular horse, and proceeded through a country the natural obstacles of which were of the most formidable nature. On the 31st of August he reached the Pass of Nuffoosk, the aspect of which might have appalled even Swiss or Scots mountaineers. There the precipitous hills start to a vast height, sheer from the plain. The path to be traversed led zig-zag up the front of one, the crest of which was black with the gathered bands of the enemy, who, the moment that Clibborn's convoy came in sight, fired a beacon-light to alarm the whole country. The troops were already exhausted by a long march, and were parched with thirst, which there was no means of alleviating ; yet the gallant Clibborn resolved at once to storm the pass—and terrible was the sequel. After the storming party had struggled breathlessly upward to the head of the pass, they were assailed by a literal tempest of rocks and stones from the summits above it, mingled with a murderous musketry fire, which it was impossible to return with the least effect. Then the wild Beloochees rushed down, sword in hand, and bore all before them. They cleared the pass of all but the dead and dying, and rushed, yelling, on the muzzles of the guns before they could be repelled. Their loss is unknown. Of Clibborn's men 150 fell ; and during the conflict the camel-drivers plundered the

* "Four Years in H.M. 40th Regiment."

stores and absconded, taking with them also the horses of the artillery, which had to be abandoned, with the camp-equipage and everything else; while, with the loss of many more lives, Clibborn effected a retreat to Poolajee, more than fifty miles distant. Left thus unassisted, Captain Brown, having only a garrison consisting of three sepoy companies, with one gun, had to capitulate; but his bravery won him most honourable terms, which were not violated.

Outbreaks were now taking place over all the country; but the most serious as yet was that of Nusseer Khan, the son of Mehrab, at Khelat, which General Nott, in obedience to an order dated 3rd September, 1840, prepared to re-capture. The terms he was to offer were unconditional surrender, and an assurance that Nusseer Khan would be recognised by the Government of Britain and Cabul as the lawful chief of Beloochistan on his immediately paying personal homage to Shah Sujah-ul-Mulk. In one of his letters, General Nott expresses his disgust at this document.

"Our authorities talk big for a day or two," he wrote, "and then send me instructions to offer terms to a boy, declaring that they will place him on his father's throne, and thus they disgrace the character of our country. Had they taken this boy by the hand when he was a wanderer in the land of his ancestors, there would have been a generous and honourable feeling; but to bend the knee to him and his bloody chiefs now is disgraceful."

Swearing that he would accept no terms, but have vengeance for his father's fall, the young khan breathed only defiance, when he marched in the direction of Moostung, and, on the 29th of September, was within sixteen miles of that place, where Nott, with only 600 men, had halted, to await certain reinforcements he had been led to expect. Nusseer, notwithstanding his overwhelming force, evinced no intention of fighting, so various movements ensued. Nott had reached Moostung on the 25th of October, while the young khan moved rapidly on Dadur, a walled town of considerable size in Cutch-Gundava, near the eastern entrance of the Little Bolan Pass. He attacked our post there on the 30th and 31st, but the approach of a small detachment under Major Boscawen compelled him to retire in such haste, that he abandoned his camels and camp; and in a very handsome European tent was found the mangled body of young Lieutenant Loveday, who had been our political agent at Khelat.

"When Nusseer Khan went on any of his expeditions," says Captain Neill, "Loveday was invariably taken with him, being carried about in a

kajava (a sort of chair, placed like a pannier on either side of a camel), to which he was chained, exposed to the burning heat of the climate, and almost entirely divested of clothing. When found, his head was nearly severed from the trunk, which was yet warm, and the galling chain had struck into, and grated on, his weak and emaciated body. Poor fellow! it was hard to die, when imagination must have been whispering hopes of future enjoyment, and a speedy restoration to his friends and countrymen—and yet death must have been a release." * The order given had been, that the last man who quitted the camp was to murder the European captain.

Nusseer Khan's flight at Dadur opened the path to Khelat, and as Nott advanced, the former fled before him; thus, the capital of Beloochistan was re-won without effort; but now, the next source of anxiety was Dost Mohammed, whom we last left levying troops to war in Afghanistan.

Approaching Cabul with some 7,000 Usbees, he resolved to cross the Hindoo Coosh and raise the war-cry of the Prophet, and hoping to gather strength from the unpopularity of the shah, to march in triumph to the capital. Encountered and defeated by Colonel Dennie, he entered Kohistan, or the mountains north of Cabul, where the same chiefs, who, on the Koran, had but lately sworn fealty to the shah, now joined his standard, till he was once more attacked and routed by Sir Robert Sale.† After hovering for three weeks among the hills, he descended in the Nijrow valley, the people of which are Tajicks, near Cabul, which was filled with consternation. Our alarm-guns thundered from the Balahissar, and the troops got instantly under arms. But on the 2nd of November, Sale, the indefatigable, who had been relentlessly in pursuit of him, came upon him in the valley of Purwandurra. "The heights were bristling with an armed population, but the Dost had only 200 horsemen with him. The 2nd Cavalry charged down upon him, and he resolved to meet the charge manfully. Raising himself in the stirrups and uncovering his head, he called upon his troops in the name of God and the Prophet to aid him in driving 'the accursed infidels from the land.' The cavalry troopers fled from the field like a flock of sheep; the European officers fought with the spirit of heroes till three were killed and two wounded. Sir Alexander Burnes, who was in the field, wrote a hasty note to the envoy to assure him that nothing was left but to fall back on Cabul, and concentrate

* "Four Years with the 40th Reg."

† "Personal Narrative," &c. By Col. Dennie, C.B., Dublin, 1843.

our force for its defence. The note was delivered to him next afternoon as he was taking a ride, when, to his surprise, Dost Mohammed suddenly presented himself, and dismounting, gave up his sword, and claimed his protection.*

"Even in the moment of victory," the fallen prince said, "it would be impossible to continue the contest; and having met his foes in the open field and discomfited them, he could claim their consideration without indignity."

The Dost rode with Sir William into our cantonments, where his frankness, courtesy, and dignity, won him the sympathy and admiration of all, emotions that were assuredly by no means lessened when he was contrasted with the old puppet-king in the Balahissar of Cabul. He was sent with every honour to Calcutta, where Lord Auckland assigned him a suitable residence, with an annual income of two lacs of rupees, or £20,000 sterling.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAPTURE OF ADEN.—DISTURBANCES IN AFGHANISTAN.—THE MARCH OF SALE'S BRIGADE, ETC.

BEFORE continuing the narrative of events at Cabul, it is worth while to note an important acquisition made in our overland route to India by the Government in 1839, when, in consequence of an act of piracy committed on a Madras vessel in 1837, we took possession of that desolate place of rocks and ashes, of old the fabled Rose Garden Irem, "adorned with lofty buildings, the like whereof hath not been erected in the land,"† and where the famous Albuquerque, in his attack in 1513, and Lope Soarez eight years after failed.

In the January of 1839, a squadron, consisting of H.M.S. *Volage* and *Cruiser*, with five of the Company's ships, under Commander Haines and Captain Smith, having a body of troops on board, appeared off the black, calcined, and ashy-looking shore of Aden, the hills of which vary in height from 1,000 to 1,200 feet. Under Major Baillie the troops consisted of the Bombay Europeans, the 24th Native Infantry, the 6th Battalion of Gholandazees, and a company of the 2nd Artillery. On the morning of the 19th all were in readiness for landing. The *Volage* and *Mahi* leading the way came to anchor at 300 yards' distance from the lower Arab battery, from which, while they were standing in, the enemy opened a fire of great guns and musketry, but the shot passed high in the air. The battery was soon knocked to pieces, and some of its guns were dismantled; but from behind the ruins a fire was maintained with small arms. Our guns then opened on a round tower and some batteries that were on the heights and full of matchlock-men. Though the former was sixty

feet high and strongly built, it was beaten to shapeless ruins in an hour. Meanwhile, the *Coote*, with the 2nd Division of the troops on board, was bombarding the town from the southward. On the fire of the enemy ceasing, the troops landed, and a dash was made at a 68-pounder (in battery), the fire of which had been obnoxious. It was taken, and the British flag was planted by Mr. Rundle.*

The guns were everywhere spiked; 139 Arabs were made prisoners, and sent on board the *Volage*, but effected their escape after killing and wounding eight men with their creeses. The Pierzadeh, on the tomb of the Mohammedan patron saint of Aden, displayed a flag of truce for the protection of a host of the inhabitants who had taken shelter there, and it was of course respected. There were taken in Aden considerable quantities of arms and ammunition, together with 33 pieces of cannon, one an 85-pounder of brass. Several of these had been conveyed there by Soliman II. during the conquest of Arabia, "and these it was the wish of the captors should be presented to her Majesty." Since then we have had possession of Aden as a port and coaling station, but agreed to pay the Sultan of Lahedge an annual sum of 8,700 German crowns for it in perpetuity.

The removal of Dost Mohammed rid Shah Sujah of the only rival to the Afghan throne who had any prospect of success, and now the envoy Macnaghten sanguinely expressed his conviction that peace was ensured, but when 1840 closed, his anticipations seemed somewhat premature. In Zémindawer, a place westward of Candahar, a body of men revolted, and, led by a chief named Aktur

* Marshman's "India."

† Koran, chap. lxxix.

* Despatches in *Bombay Gazette*, Feb., 1839.

Khan, dispersed a party of the shah's troops when collecting the revenue. Captain J. J. Fanington, who had been detached from the city with a party, attacked the khan, who had 1,500 men, on the 3rd January, 1841, and defeated him, after a sharp contest. The most alarming feature in this petty insurrection was, that it consisted entirely of Dooranees, who, as the hereditary enemies of the Barukzyes, ought to have zealously supported Shah Sujah.

And now Yar Mohammed, feeling his power in the ascendant at Herat, had quarrelled with the British envoy, and threatened to march against Candahar, and as a preliminary thereto, had fostered the discontent under Ackbar Khan, who once more appeared in arms, but whom Lieutenant Elliot, the officer entrusted with the settlement of the district, was desired to conciliate rather than fight, and the bad effect of purchasing his submission by degrading terms was plainly foreseen by Colonel (now Sir Henry) Rawlinson, our Resident at Candahar, who informed Macnaghten that the tranquillity thus procured would be very temporary, and the accuracy of his views was soon confirmed by the restless Ackbar Khan, who appeared at the head of 6,000 men, near Ghiresk, on the west bank of the Helmand, formed in six columns, with a priest at the head of each, and a banner inscribed, "We have been trusting in God; may He guide and guard us." He kept complete possession of the district till more powerful reinforcements came up, and he was not crushed till he had tried his strength in a regular conflict with our troops under Colonel Woodburn.

This Dooranee affair set the ever restless Ghiljie tribe once more in motion. They are a fine muscular race, expert in the use of arms, and able to bring 40,000 men into the field—men characterised by an intense ferocity of disposition, and whom neither power nor money may repress. Proud of their boasted independence, their fears were roused on finding that, to keep them in check, our garrison had been strengthening the defences of their capital, Khelat-i-Ghiljie, and to bring about a rupture, they insulted the Resident, Lieutenant Lynch, when riding near a fort in its vicinity, and he deemed it necessary to punish this insolence, lest others might imitate it. He attacked the fort and

captured it, slaying the chief and many of his people. Instead of his gallantry and promptitude being commended, he met with reprimand from the envoy, and was removed by the Governor-General.

Whether forbearance on Lynch's part would have prevented what followed it is difficult to say, but a formidable insurrection immediately followed. Reinforcements were sent from Candahar, under Colonel Wymer, who, on halting on the 29th of May, 1841, at Eelmee, on the banks of the Turnuk, was informed that a strong body of Ghiljies, under two chiefs, were on their way to attack him. He had barely time to take up a position ere they were upon him. Advancing with impetuosity, they came within 900 yards, when our guns opened on them with grape. Though suffering greatly, in obedience to some pre-arranged plan, they broke into three separate columns, for the purpose of making three simultaneous attacks upon Wymer's front and flanks. His force was slender, and being encumbered by a large convoy, was compelled to remain simply on the defensive, and allow the Ghiljies, 5,000 strong, to come on, sword in hand. The infantry file-firing seconded the showers of grape, which told on them with fearful effect, causing the masses to reel and break; but again and again these mountaineers renewed the attack, nor were they defeated, till after the conflict had lasted five hours. Many hundreds of them were inhabitants of Candahar, to which they quietly returned after their rout, carrying with them the wounded.

These repeated chastisements gave some prospect of tranquillity, but only for a time. Ackbar Khan and Azmal Khan, two of the revolted chiefs, who had returned to their respective forts of Dirawut and Tizeen, sixty miles north of Candahar, when summoned to submit, answered with proud defiance, and once more began to muster their spears and matchlock-men, exciting thereby so much alarm, that a large portion of the troops in Candahar was detailed to act against them; and General Nott, after receiving some very contrary instructions, on finding himself left to his own discretion, put himself at the head of the expedition on the 29th September, and advanced into the disturbed districts with such a display of force as to compel chief after chief, without having recourse



PORTRAIT OF ACKBAR KHAN.

to fighting, to submit to the authority of Shah Sujah. As it was evident that the rule of that prince would never be completed while "the accursed infidels" garrisoned the country, and would be at once shattered if they withdrew, it was resolved that we should remain in Afghanistan; and, without increasing the army, to reduce the expenditure but make a new loan, as the expenses of the war had drained the treasury at Calcutta.

to the politics of Afghanistan, and cared not who ruled so long as their franchise was not invaded. The stipends now reduced had been guaranteed to them when we took possession of the country, and they had performed their part of the contract with exemplary fidelity. They had not allowed a finger to be raised against our posts or couriers, or weak detachments, and convoys of every description had passed through their terrific defiles—the strongest



SIR ROBERT SALE.

"The retrenchments," says Marshman, "were to be made by reducing the stipends of the chiefs; and, by that fatality which seemed to attend every measure connected with this unfortunate expedition, those who ought to have come last were taken up first. The eastern Ghiljies were the first to be summoned to Cabul, when they were informed that the exigencies of the State rendered the reduction of their allowances indispensable. The subsidies paid by us had been paid from time immemorial by every ruler of Afghanistan, and were regarded by the highlanders as a patrimonial inheritance. They were magnanimously indifferent

mountain barriers in the world—without interruption. They received the announcement of the reduction in the beginning of October without any remonstrance, made their salaam to the envoy, and, returning to their fastnesses, plundered a caravan and blocked up the passes."*

Our communication with Hindostan being thus rendered impracticable, it was resolved to take advantage of the intended march downward of Sir Robert Sale's brigade to repress the Ghiljie rising and re-open the passes. Accordingly, on the 9th of October, 1841, the brigade, consisting of the

* "History of India."

13th Light Infantry, 800 strong, and the 35th Native Infantry, about the same strength, under Colonel Monteith, with two guns, marched towards the Khoord Cabul Pass, with orders to "chastise those rascals, and open the road to India"—orders in tenor somewhat like those issued by Cope and Hawley in other times. The arms of the brigade were the old flint muskets, which, from incessant use, had become very imperfect, and were apt to miss fire. Before moving, Sir Robert Sale reminded the authorities that there were in store 4,000 percussion muskets, perfectly new, and he begged that his regiment, at least, might be armed with them, and the old firelocks left behind. But the general commanding would not listen to the proposal. "What could the 13th want with new muskets, when it was well known that in marching out of Cabul they were but accomplishing the first stage of their journey to England?"

Hence many a poor fellow of the 13th never saw England; and when the day of our final overthrow came, 800 new muskets fell into the possession of Ackbar Khan.

The Khoord Cabul Pass consists of a narrow defile, overhung by lofty, rugged, and impending rocks, where the enemy clustered, thick and resolute, to dispute the way, and so completely sheltered by their position that, while remaining secure, they could, with their long *jusauls* (or rifles) levelled over the rocks, quietly shoot down all that came within range. The casualties were sixty-seven ere the pass was forced, and Sale had his left leg shattered at the ankle by a ball. The 35th took up an advanced position, while, according to a previous arrangement, the 13th fell back upon Boothauk, which is only four miles south-east of Cabul, to wait for reinforcements; while Monteith underwent a harassing night attack, when the Ghiljies, in greater strength than ever, maintained a most obstinate conflict, inflicting a severe loss, which was further aggravated by the treachery of the Shah's Afghan cavalry, who, cold in his cause, failed to hold their ground, and enabled the enemy to carry off a number of our camels. But it was only after Sir Robert Sale, hastening on from Boothauk to support Monteith, pushed again through the pass, and, without much serious opposition, reached Jugdulluk, that the most stern struggle commenced.

The enemy, posted as before, upon advantageous heights, maintained from them a destructive fire, which could not be returned with sufficient effect, and to advance in the face of which was to court destruction. To neutralise it, parties were detached to take these heights in flank, and dislodge the foe by bayonet and bullet; while a third, under Captain

Savage Wilkinson (who had served in Burmah with the 13th), dashed through the pass, in which the enemy had erected works, but, luckily, forgot to defend them. The onward march was now resumed, and Gundamuck reached, but not without a terrible loss of life and of much camp equipage. Among the killed was Captain Wyndham, of the 35th, who perished while performing an act of humanity. Seeing one of his sepoys wounded and unable to get on, he, though lame from a previous wound, dismounted, and lent him his horse. In the retreat he was thus unable to keep up with the soldiers, and fell into the hands of the enemy, who slew him.*

On reaching Tizeen Sir Robert Sale had sent a detachment against the fort of the Ghiljie leader, the capture of which would have inflicted a severe blow on the insurrection; but the wily chiefs contrived to outwit our political agent, and he was lured into a treaty which conceded all they wished. Their stipends were restored, and 10,000 rupees paid down; but the revolt, instead of being crushed, was rendered greater by this display of weakness. Thus, while professing submission, they sent emissaries to raise up the tribes in front of Sale, who was thus obliged to fight every inch of the way to Gundamuck, a walled village, where he found his rearward communication with the capital cut off, and the whole country in a blaze of rebellion, if it can with justice be called so.

At this time—and, indeed, during the whole progress of our disastrous intervention with Afghan affairs—the greatest infatuation seemed to pervade the minds and counsels of our officials there. Still dreaming of tranquillity, with the smoke of battle lingering in the passes, Sir William Macnaghten actually expressed a belief that the fierce attack on Sale's brigade "was the expiring effort of the rebels;" and in this delusion he did not stand alone. General William Keith-Elphinstone, C.B., and Sir Alexander Burnes were of the same opinion, "though there can now be little doubt that they were guided less by their judgments than blinded by their wishes."

The former, who now commanded the troops, was a gallant old Queen's officer, a Waterloo veteran, and Major-General of 1830, but broken-down in constitution, and, having already resigned, was longing to turn his steps homeward to die in Scotland, and for the arrival of General Nott, who, as next senior officer, was to assume the command; while Sir W. Macnaghten, who had been appointed Governor of Bombay, was irritated by every occurrence that obstructed his departure; and Sir

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

Alexander Burnes, who was to succeed him as envoy and minister at Cabul, was anxious to enter on his double duties; but fate ordained that they were all three to find their graves in the land of the Afghan.

Hence, influenced by personal views, they were but too apt to think hopefully of that tranquillity which alone could bring their wishes about; and "when warning was given of a gathering storm, they continued to see only a few passing clouds."

By the departure of Sale's brigade, Cabul had lost a large portion of its most necessary garrison. In the same spirit of confidence, orders had been

given to General Nott to send a portion of the Candahar troops to Hindostan; and three regiments of native infantry, with the Bengal Artillery, had joyfully begun their march towards the Indus, when the alarming state of Cabul rendered their instant recall necessary. The whole tide of revolution had now, in bitter earnest, set in: all the hardy clans of Afghanistan had risen, to expel or destroy the infidel invaders by whom they deemed their native soil was polluted, believing the while that Sujah-ul-Mulk, the puppet shah, was but as a wretched tool by which to secure, in the end, their own usurpation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INSURRECTION AT CABUL.—MURDER OF SIR A. BURNES.—INCOMPETENCE OF THE OFFICIALS.— BLUNDER UPON BLUNDER AT THE CANTONMENTS.

CABUL, after Candahar, the second capital of Afghanistan, is built of sun-dried bricks and wood, and few of the houses are more than two storeys high. "Let the reader conceive a broken succession of houses, composed of mud walls of different elevations, pierced here and there with wooden pipes to carry off the rain from the flat roofs which it would otherwise injure; then let him imagine a few square low doors opening under the eaves of the first storey, projecting over a sort of trottoir, formed by the wearing away of the middle of the road, so angular that no wheel carriage could be driven along safely; now and then a larger door interposing the entrance to the residence of some great man, with a mulberry-tree occasionally peering over the wall, and he will form a good idea of a Cabul street."*

The city is about three miles in circuit. The Balahissar, or citadel, is on its south-eastern side, a quarter of a mile in breadth, and is girt by a lofty rampart and a broad moat of stagnant water. The principal street is a succession of bazaars, and, in 1832 presented an appearance of splendour; but all these edifices were destroyed in the troubles we are about to narrate. Around it the hills are bare and rocky, and the plain before it is barren. Cabul has few manufactures, but it is the centre of a great internal traffic, and was the entrepôt of trade between India, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. It is a place of great antiquity, and in the

eighth century was the residence of a Hindoo prince.

The Indian Caucasus, with its summits covered by eternal snow, forms the background to the city, which, when seen from afar, has a very imposing aspect; and when our troops first appeared before it, the gardens and orchards which surround it on every side were teeming with fruit. Clear and rapid, though shallow, the Cabul river passes in front of the city, where it is crossed by three bridges, and pursues its course eastward to join the Indus. Havelock considered the Balahissar as the key of Cabul, and adds, that "the troops who hold it ought not to allow themselves to be dislodged but by a siege, and they must arm its population with their mortars and howitzers."

Lieutenant Durand, of the Engineers, when directed to select a proper station for the quartering of the troops, at once suggested the citadel, or upper portion of the Balahissar; but Shah Sujah declined to have the privacy of his palace destroyed by turning any portion of it into British barracks; so Durand was ordered to provide accommodation elsewhere, as the actual barracks in the citadel had been turned into a royal harem. Eventually, cantonments were erected on the worst site that could be chosen: on a flat space, two miles and a half north of Cabul, and nearly equi-distant from the Balahissar at its eastern, and the Kuzzilbash quarter at its western extremity. The cantonments, or ranges of huts, formed a parallelogram, about 1,200

* Vigne.

yards long by 600 yards broad. The Kohistan road bordered them on the west, as it ran towards a principal gate of the city; on the east lay a canal, 250 yards distant; and 300 yards further to the east ran the Cabul river. A shallow ditch, an indifferent rampart, and a round bastion at each of the four angles, formed the defences. North of these, and merely enclosed by a wall, was the residency; and by a singular blunder the government offices, instead of being within the cantonments, were placed in a little isolated part at 300 yards' distance; while, to make the position worse, a low range of heights, called the Seeah Sung Hills, and those of Beymaroo, commanded the whole of the buildings.

In these cantonments our troops passed the winter of 1840-1; and though the sepoy suffered so much from cold that the hospital was full, the British, by nature more robust, and accustomed to the climate of their native land, were rather healthy, and passed their time pleasantly. Cricket, shooting, fishing, hunting, and horse-racing, afforded occupation for the most active. For the latter sport the shah gave a valuable sword to be run for, and it was won by Major Daly, of the 4th Light Dragoons. Nor were amateur theatricals forgotten; nor in winter, skating on the lake of Istalif, on the waters of which an ingenious Scottish officer, named Sinclair, launched a boat of his own building, to the astonishment of the Afghans, who had never seen such a thing before; and they were heard to say that they wished the Feringhees had come among them as friends and not as enemies, adding, "you are fine fellows one by one; but, as a body, we hate you!"*

"Though a crisis had long been foreseen by those who, looking below the surface, saw the causes which were working to produce it, all the leading authorities, civil and military, continued as it were spell-bound. General Elphinstone, looking fondly forward, saw himself proceeding quietly under escort for the British frontier; Sir William Macnaghten had nearly completed the packing prior to his departure; and Sir Alexander Burnes felt so satisfied with the higher position on which he was about to enter, that, on the evening of the 1st November, he did not hesitate to congratulate the envoy on his approaching departure at a season of such profound tranquillity."

Yet it would appear, that some days previous a Moonshee, named Mohun Lal, of whose fidelity there was no doubt, and whose intelligence was unquestionable, had informed him that there was a general confederacy among the Afghan chiefs, and

strongly warned him against the coming storm. Unwilling to believe in the existence of what he fervently wished would not happen, these notices served only to irritate him, and to such an extent, that he once haughtily expelled from his presence Gholam Mohammed Khan, a high Dooranee chief, who went to him by night to inform him of the coming mischief.

At that very time some of the conspirators were assembled in a house of the city concerning their plans for insurrection, and at dawn on the 2nd of November, with shrill yells and fierce imprecations, they and their followers surrounded the residence of Burnes, who instantly dispatched a messenger to the envoy at the cantonments for aid, while from the balcony of his house he harangued the armed mob, offering large sums for his own life and the lives of his brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, and Lieutenant Bradford, who had just arrived to act as his military secretary. He had a slender sepoy guard, whom he would not permit to use their arms, though firing had begun, and Bradford had fallen with a ball in his chest.

More obnoxious to the Afghan chiefs than all the other British officers, the unfortunate Burnes found his efforts to allay the tumult utterly unavailing. He was eventually decoyed into his garden by a treacherous Cashmerian, who took an oath upon the Koran that he would convey him and his brother to the Kuzzilbash fort, which was a mile distant, and then held by Captain Trevor with a very small party. Disguised as a native, Sir Alexander descended to the door, and the moment he passed it, his traitorous guide exclaimed, "This is Sekunder Burnes!" In an instant both brothers were literally hacked to pieces by Afghan knives; and the sepoy, after a fruitless resistance, were barbarously butchered, with every man, woman, and child in the place. The paymaster's guard shared the same fate, and £17,000 fell into the hands of the insurgent chiefs, who had so little expectation of success, that they had their horses saddled for flight on the first appearance of the British troops; and they subsequently acknowledged that the slightest exhibition of energy at the commencement would have put down the insurrection at once; but no effort was made.*

Although the rabble at first were little more than 300 strong, our superior officers—more especially old General Elphinstone—were so thunderstruck as to be incapable of proper action. To the credit of the shah—coward though he was—on hearing of the uproar, he sent forth against the rioters one of his Hindostanee regiments and two guns, under

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

* Marshman, &c.

the command of an able officer, a Scoto-Indian, named Campbell.

The latter, in his impetuosity, instead of taking a route that would have led them to the house of Burnes with little obstruction, endeavoured to make his way straight through the very heart of the city, where his troops became entangled in the crooked and narrow streets. A conflict ensued; 200 of his men fell, and the rest commenced a retreat so disorderly, that all must have perished, but for the timely arrival of Brigadier Shelton, who had brought into the Balahissar three companies of the 54th Bengal Native Infantry, Shah Sujah's 6th Regiment, and four guns, the whole force which he had then in a small camp beyond the Seah Sung Hills. He extricated the Hindostances of Campbell, but failed to save their two guns, as he had lost some time in parleying with the shah about an entrance to the palace. Shelton was Lieutenant-Colonel of H.M. 44th, and had lost an arm at the storming of St. Sebastian.

On the evening of this disastrous day, General Elphinstone—an amiable and, at one time, a most gallant officer, who was suffering from a long and painful illness, which affected his mind as well as his body—instead of adopting a vigorous plan for operations on the morrow, wrote to Sir W. Macnaghten: "We must see what the morning brings, and think what can be done."

The morrow saw 3,000 armed Ghiljies rushing through the Khoord Cabul Pass towards the convulsed capital, while other numerous bands began to hover on the hills that overlook it, and still our leaders remained in a state of fatuous indecision. On the bank of the river there was a tower, occupied by Captain Trevor, with a few men. As it was in the Kuzzilbash quarter it was deemed of importance to retain it, as a means for communication with the inhabitants there, who were understood to be better affected towards the British than any other portion of the Afghan population. Advantage ought to have been taken of its proximity to garrison it efficiently, and secure it against capture. Elsewhere, on the right branch of the road, 500 yards beyond it, stood a large fort, enclosing the magazines erected for the commissariat of Shah Sujah's contingent. Though ill-selected, it was quite defensible if properly manned, and the importance of securing it was great, as at that time it contained a great store of grain. Yet, in the spirit of blundering, nothing was done to prevent its falling into the hands of the fast-gathering enemy, who, on the very morning of the outbreak, assailed it with fury, and it was evident that, unless relieved, its few defenders would be compelled to succumb;

yet General Elphinstone looked helplessly on, and Captain Lawrence, who offered to march with two companies to its succour, was not permitted to do so.

In addition to Brigadier Shelton's futile attempt to succour Burnes—futile through the fault of Shah Sujah, not of himself—the only active step taken was to increase the party in the commissariat fort to eighty bayonets: a most pitiful reinforcement, when we remember that the subsistence of the troops depended upon the protection of the stores that were there; and to add to its perils, no attempt was made to dismantle some adjacent forts that commanded it, or to destroy the walls of an adjacent garden and orchard, from which a musketry fire could be maintained against it. But the terrible penalty for all the shortcomings of those in authority was close at hand now.

Within thirty hours of the outbreak, even Sir William Macnaghten began to despond, and dispatched letters to Generals Nott and Sale, desiring them to march at once to his relief; for now the fatal errors of failing to occupy the Balahissar, and erecting the cantonment on such low ground, were painfully apparent. The note sent to Candahar, consisting of a slip of fine paper enclosed in a quill, such as the natives place in their ears when the rings are taken out, did not reach General Nott till the 14th November. It desired him to march upon Cabul, with all the troops then under orders for Hindostan, together with Shah Sujah's Horse Artillery and half of his 1st Cavalry. There was nothing to preclude his compliance with this peremptory order, though there were some obstacles which he seems to have deemed insurmountable: such as the depth of the snow—between Cabul and Ghuznee five feet, at least—and a belief that thereby the troops would arrive, after five weeks' delay, in a state quite unfit for service. Moreover, there was the disordered state of the country, where the people spoke openly of attacking him; and, as an earnest of their evil will, Captain Woodburn, who was proceeding on sick leave to Cabul, was assailed by an armed band after leaving Ghuznee, and barbarously slain, only six out of his escort of 130 men escaping the same fate.

On the other hand, the order sent to Sir Robert Sale was equally futile, but the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, which had been left to hold the western entrance of the Khoord Cabul Pass, came duly into camp, under Major Griffiths, on the morning of the 3rd, with all their baggage and equipage in order, though they had been obliged to fight every foot of the way.* No other succour

* Lady Sale's "Journal."

reached our doomed men in Cabul; for, before receiving the order Sir Robert Sale had quitted the village of Gundamuck, and was pushing to reach the city of Jelalabad: though, no doubt, he would gladly, at the head of his gallant light infantry, have gone back to Cabul, where his wife, his daughter, and her husband, Lieutenant Sturt, were sharing the perils of the rest. But to have done so was impossible. His troops were worn out by unremitting attacks, both day and night, by continual intrenching, and most arduous outpost duty. "I beg to represent," he also states, "that the whole of my camp equipage has been destroyed; the wounded and sick have increased to upwards of 300; and that there is no longer a single dépôt on the route, and the carriage of the force is not sufficient to bring on one day's rations with it. I have at this time positive information that the whole country is in arms, and ready to oppose us in the defiles between this city and Cabul, while my ammunition is insufficient for two such contests, as I should assuredly have to maintain for six days' at least. With my present means I could not force the Passes of Jugdulluk or Khoord Cabul; and even if the debris of my brigade did reach Cabul, I am given to understand that I should find the troops now garrisoning it without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances, a regard for the honour and the interest of our Government compels me to adhere to my plan already formed of putting this place (Jelalabad) into a state of defence, and holding it until the Cabul force falls back upon me, or succours arrive from Peshawur or India."

The morning for which the general waited came, and saw, as we have said, the force of the insurgents greatly increased; for thousands, who had hitherto held aloof, now openly rose in arms, and thousands more, hearing of the plunder that might be obtained, came pouring from their mountain villages towards the British cantonments; and the Kohistan road, along which we might have passed with ease on the 2nd of November, was now completely beset by exulting and bloodthirsty hordes of horse and foot.

So miserable was the indecision of Elphinstone, that it was not until three o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd, that any attempt was made to penetrate from the cantonments into the city; and the whole force employed for this purpose consisted of only one company of her Majesty's ill-fated 44th, two of the 5th Bengal Native Infantry, and two horse artillery guns. Major Thomas Swayne, 44th, an officer who had served in the wars of America and Burmah, encountered an opposition which com-

pelled him to fall back. His force was too feeble to achieve anything, and, in addition to this blunder, not the slightest effort was made to open up a communication with the troops in the Balahissar.

Meanwhile, Captain Trevor had been compelled to abandon his fort, thankful only that some friendly natives had, prior to that, secretly removed his wife and seven children to the cantonments; and Captain Mackenzie, an energetic Highlander, who commanded at the shah's commissariat, after keeping the enemy at bay for two whole days, and sending importunate and futile messages for support, was compelled to quit his post, as the enemy had undermined it; and our officers and men looked over the cantonment walls, "burning with indignation, while a rabble of Afghans was employed, unchecked, like a swarm of ants, in carrying off the provisions on which their hope of sustaining life depended." The effect of this episode was very great upon the troops, and thoroughly inspired them with alarm. "It no sooner became generally known," says Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, "that the commissariat fort—upon which we were dependent for supplies—had been abandoned, than one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison; nor can I describe the impatience of the troops—but especially the native portion—to be led out for its re-capture: a feeling which was by no means diminished by their seeing the Afghans crossing and re-crossing the road between the commissariat fort and the Shah Bagh, laden with the provisions on which had depended our ability to make a protracted defence.*"

Other disasters succeeded this; and, by the 5th of November, the general, alarmed by the loss of the commissariat fort, actually began to talk of terms with the enemy, and in one of his letters to the envoy, wrote thus:—"It behoves us to look to the consequences of failure. In this case I know not how we are to subsist, or, from want of provisions, to retreat. You should, therefore, consider what chance there is of making terms, if we are driven to this extremity." When such was the language adopted, after such gross mismanagement, what could be expected but ruin and death? "He has an army," says a writer, justly, "which, handled by such men as Sale or Nott, would have sufficed to clear the district of every rebel Afghan who dared to show his face, and he keeps it cooped up within cantonments, timidly whispering about difficulties, till he has broken the spirit of his men, taught them to dread an enemy whom they previously despised, and thus prepared them

* "Military Operations in Cabul."



ASSASSINATION OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

for every species of humiliation. On the following day, writing as before to the envoy, he recurs to the subject which was now evidently uppermost in his mind, and, as if the resolution to treat had been already taken, seems only anxious that the negotiations should not be protracted."

This timidity was the more inexcusable as, on that day (the 6th of November) the prospects of the army had improved. Captains Boyd and Johnson, the respective heads of the British and Shah's commissariat, had exerted themselves to the utmost to compensate for the loss of the stores, by extensive purchases in the adjacent villages, so that the danger of starvation ceased to be imminent.

A work, called Mohammed Shureef's Fort, which commanded the commissariat fort, and occupied a height on the opposite side of the Kohistan road, and which was crowded with the enemy, who plied their jüzails and matchlocks from its walls, after being the subject of much discussion, and the scene of more than one disgraceful repulse, was captured at last in a manner which showed that common energy, at first, might have suppressed the whole insurrection.

As soon as Lieutenant Sturt had so far recovered from some wounds which he had received during an affair in the city, he asked leave to open on the fort with three nine-pounders and two twenty-four-pound howitzers. These effected a breach by twelve o'clock, and an assault was made with such gallantry that the enemy, after a brief resistance, abandoned the place. Ensign W. G. Rahan, of H.M. 44th, while brandishing his sword on the summit of the breach, which he had been the first to mount, was shot through the heart, and eighteen of the stormers were killed.* A sepoy, private, who distinguished himself, was promoted to the rank of sergeant, and before the enemy recovered from their consternation, they were charged twice: first by Anderson's Horse, who rode straight up a ridge to the right of the fort, and secondly, by some of the 5th Cavalry, who attacked them on the left.

The effect of these movements was to hem the enemy in between the two corps, and force them to a general encounter under circumstances so unfavourable that, if followed up, would ensure their total destruction. But Elphinstone failed to see this, and full of groundless fears, actually expressed doubts about the ammunition, though there was enough in store to last the army for a year; and he urged upon the envoy, "we are in a dilemma, from which there is no hope of escape by honourable or manly means. Fighting is of no use. Try diplo-

macy, and do not stand upon punctilios; for if it fails our case is desperate."

Sir William, who had often found money succeed when other resources failed, hoped by means of it to conciliate, at least, some of the chiefs, or sow dissension among them, and break up their confederation, and he was quite cognisant of the jealousies and suspicions that existed among them. The Kuzzilbashes, or Persian party, as Shiites, stood somewhat apart from the rest of the Afghans, who were rigid Soonees, and dreaded the tyranny to which they might be subjected if the British were expelled. Mohun Lal, the moonshee of Sir Alexander Burnes, when that unfortunate man was killed, had saved his life by taking shelter under the ample garment of a Kuzzilbash chief, named Mohammed Zemaun Khan. Another chief of still greater influence, Khan Shereen Khan, had afterwards taken him under his protection; and he was residing with him on the 7th November, when the envoy began his Machiavellian policy, and wrote, authorising him "to assure his friends, Khan Shereen Khan and Mohammed Kumye, that if they performed the service, the payment would certainly be forthcoming—£10,000 to the former, and £5,000 to the latter."

The nature of the service required was to kill or seize certain of the rebels, and to arm all the Sheeahs, to spread dissension, and 10,000 rupees were offered for the head of each of the rebel chiefs. This would seem to have been promised by Lieutenant Conolly to Mohun Lal. Though nothing of moment came of all this, Conolly's offer would seem, nevertheless, to have been acted on to a certain extent; as, within a month from that time, Abdoolah Khan and Meer Musjedee, two chiefs who had been specially marked out for assassination, were both dead, "and under circumstances so suspicious, that the blood-money was actually claimed by the wretches hired to assassinate them, and was only evaded by an abominable subterfuge." Abdoolah Khan was wounded mortally in battle, but by a ball from one of Mohun Lal's jüzailchees, who fired at him from behind a wall; the other is said to have been suffocated in his sleep. "One would fain keep the envoy free from all connection with these atrocious proceedings; and it has only been suggested that Conolly made his inhuman offer at the suggestion of Shah Sujah alone."

While Elphinstone was counselling diplomacy, and Macnaghten was endeavouring to put off the day of evil by an ample distribution of gold, which, as a fresh token of our weakness, only served to increase the arrogance of the insurgent chiefs, the

* Thornton.

revolt spread so rapidly over the whole country as to leave our troops at their several stations only the ground they actually occupied. The adherents of Dost Mohammed had ever been numerous in Kohistan; and there, a Ghoorka regiment, quartered at Charikur, a town in the Ghibund valley, and the seat of the *Hakim*, or governor, of the province, was all but annihilated. Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, who was then acting as political agent on the frontier of Turkestan, occupied the castle of Lughmannee, about two miles distant, and after a furious struggle, succeeded in uniting his detachment to the Ghoorkas under Captain Codrington. By this time the fortified barrack of Charikur was surrounded by vast bodies of Kohistanees, who pressed to the attack with equal fury and determination. Pottinger opened on them with a field-piece, but was soon disabled by a musket-shot in the leg; and Codrington, while gallantly heading his Ghoorkas, was carried in mortally wounded. The soldiers, now reduced to 200 men, had emptied their last vessel of water, and were perishing with thirst. They resolved, therefore, to evacuate Charikur, and, as their ammunition was nearly expended, to force their way, in light marching order, at the point of the bayonet, to Cabul. This resolution, born of despair, had but a small prospect of success, and on the first day's march all order was lost.

Pottinger, and another officer named Houghton, suffering from wounds, and feeling that they could be of no service, put spurs to their horses, and after many perilous adventures, reached our cantonments at Cabul, while the retiring party, led by Ensign Rose and Dr. Grant, struggled on till it reached a place called Kardurrah, where it was overwhelmed and destroyed. Ensign Rose fought with heroic valour, and slew four of the enemy ere he fell, covered with wounds; but the fate of Dr. Grant was more piteous. Fighting his way off, he escaped, and arrived within three miles of Cabul, weary, faint, and worn; and in this condition was barbarously murdered in cold blood by some woodcutters.

We have already referred to the age and infirmities of General Elphinstone. At this time he was nearly crippled by a rheumatic gout; and a very severe fall from his horse on the 2nd of November, the day of the outbreak, added seriously to his ailments. So long as he had found himself capable of acting at all, he felt bound to remain in command, till either General Nott, or some other officer, was appointed to relieve him of it; but now, he called in Brigadier Shelton to act as his second in command, and to take the more

heavy and active duties of the field. Shelton was an officer of great energy, distinguished for his courage and iron nerve; and when he came into the cantonments from the Balahissar, on the 9th of November, with Shah Sujah's 6th Infantry and a six-pound field-piece, he raised the drooping spirits of the troops; but it was soon apparent that his insupportable temper neutralised all his great military qualifications. At this time, he reports, there were only three days' provisions in the cantonments, and he read anxiety in every face.

On the day after his arrival an offensive movement was resolved on. It was directed against a work named the Rickabashee's fort, which stood nearly midway between the Cabul river and the mission residence north of the cantonments, and so near the latter, that our men in the bastions were shot down by the fire of juzails from its walls. Against it 2,000 men were detailed; and Shelton was in the act of forming the column, when he heard Elphinstone say feebly to his aide-de-camp, "I think we had better give up the idea." "Then why not countermand at once?" asked the aide-de-camp; so the counter order was actually given. By Macnaghten's advice the attack was again ordered; but two hours had been lost; the spirit of the soldiers was damped by this indecision and forebodings of failure, while the enemy had been adding to their means of resistance.

Elphinstone set out with 1,000 infantry, composed of the 44th Regiment and two native battalions, some of Anderson's corps, and one gun. The gate was to be blown open; but, unfortunately, the explosion only opened a wicket, which the stormers found a difficulty in passing through under a hot musketry fire. A few, however, forced their way in with the bayonet, and struck terror into the enemy, who strove to escape on the other side; but at that very moment the cry of "Cavalry!" together with a sudden charge by some Afghan horse, struck equal terror into those without the wicket, and both queen's troops and sepoys, turning their backs, fled.

Disdaining flight, Shelton succeeded more than once in rallying them, and succeeded in saving the few brave fellows who had already entered the fort, and been exposed there to a fearful conflict. They shut the rear-gate, out of which the enemy had fled, drew a chain across it, and further secured it by a bayonet. Two of their number, Lieutenants Cadell and Hawtrey, returned to bring assistance; but ere Shelton had the fugitives rallied, the Afghans returned, forced away the chain and bayonet, and attacked the few who were in the fort. There Colonel Mackerrall fell, mortally wounded;

and Lieutenant Bird, of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, with two sepoy, took shelter in a stable, and barring the door of it, kept up a fire through some air-holes. Against this frail post the enemy dashed with all their fury; but the three men defended their lives most resolutely: they shot down thirty of their assailants. When succour came at last, and the fort was taken, one of the faithful sepoy had fallen; but Bird and the other were found unharmed, with only five cartridges left, and a pile of Afghan dead heaped up before the stable door.*

In this affair we had 200 men killed or wounded. Captain M'Crea, of the 44th, was cut down in the first attack upon the gateway, and Captain Westmeath was shot outside. The effect of our success was such that the enemy abandoned the adjacent forts; and in one of these some grain was found, and during the day fatigue parties removed much of it to a safer place. By the commissary a guard was applied for, to protect the rest during the night; but, with the infatuation which characterised everything connected with the command of this unfortunate army, his request was refused, and before dawn it was all carried off by the enemy.

On the 13th of November the latter appeared in unusual force on the Beymaroo Hills, which lay westward of the cantonments and the Kohistan road, across which they fired, with two guns, into the former. Urged by Macnaghten, the general was induced to send out a strong force in three columns, with two guns, to dislodge them; but on this occasion all the troops, European and native, displayed such a lack of common courage as to excite the astonishment of their officers. Of the latter the men did not doubt the bravery; but they had lost all confidence in their commander-in-chief, and were loth to throw away their lives in futile enterprises. One of the enemy's guns was captured, however, but the other was protected by a heavy fire from the Afghan matchlocks; and neither by words nor example could the officers of the 44th get their men to advance against it, though it lay abandoned in a ravine. As if to shame them, Lieutenant Eyre, attended by one horse artillery gunner, went forward to the gun, spiked it, and returned untouched.

The bad example set by the 44th—a regiment which had distinguished itself in Egypt, in Spain, and at Waterloo—infected the whole native troops; but the attack on the heights had a salutary effect on the Afghans, who for nearly a week offered us no molestation; and Elphinstone, well content to be let alone, left the enemy to adopt their own course.

* Thornton.

On the 22nd of November a contest ensued at the village of Beymaroo, which lies northward of the heights of that name. Though it afforded the troops supplies, it was left utterly unprotected; hence, to cut off our resources, the Afghans took quiet possession of it. On this, General Elphinstone ordered an attack to be made upon it, before daybreak on the 23rd, by a strong force of horse and foot, under Brigadier Shelton and Major Swayne, of the 44th, with a single gun. A standing order had been issued by the Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General, to the effect, "that under no circumstances, unless where a second could not be obtained, were less than two guns to be taken into the field;" and the events of this day showed the propriety of his rule.

By two o'clock a.m., Shelton had the gun in position upon a knoll, from whence it opened with grape upon an enclosure of the village which seemed full of the enemy; and he contented himself with this distant firing instead of dashing on with the bayonet, and taking them by surprise. Meanwhile, the Afghans had begun to ply their juzails (long matchlocks, which are fired over a forked rest, and carry further than the muskets of those days), and the sound brought thousands of the insurgents from the city across the hills to take part in the conflict. When day broke the opposing parties saw each other's position distinctly—the British in possession of one hill, and the enemy holding another, with a ravine between them. The juzail fire having become destructive, the brigadier left five companies on a flank of the hill overhanging the village, and hurrying across the ravine with the remainder, took post with the gun on the brow of the enemy's hill. There he formed his infantry in two hollow squares, with the cavalry in their rear. This singular formation was not productive of mischief so long as the solitary gun, which was ably worked by Sergeant Mulhall, told with effect on the crowded Afghans; but when, from incessant firing, it became hot and unserviceable, the folly of not having another soon became apparent.

The long range of the Afghan juzails enabled them to pour in a murderous fire, which the British were unable to return; and most disastrous was the result. Why these useless squares, covered by cavalry, were kept in such a position, neither advancing nor retreating, has never been explained; but the spirit of the troops was so completely broken that they were incapable of resisting the terror which began to seize them. Led by some fanatical Ghazees, the Afghans, whose movements had been concealed by a ridge, now rushed, yelling,

from behind it, and in an instant all was confusion in our ranks. The squares broke. When ordered to charge, the cavalry, like the infantry, wheeled about and fled, leaving the gun in the hands of the enemy.

All seemed lost, when Shelton had the presence of mind to order a halt to be sounded. Mechanically, by mere force of habit, the men obeyed, re-formed, and advanced upon the enemy. It was now the turn of the Ghazees to fly, the gun was re-taken, and the tide of the conflict flowed to and fro over the hill; but the village remained uncaptured; and when it was suggested that the troops should return to the cantonments while they could do so with honour—"Oh, no," replied Shelton, "we shall keep the hill a little longer." And his ground he certainly kept, losing many

valuable lives, till another rush of yelling Ghazees caused another panic, and the troops gave way again. They fled in such confusion, pursuers and pursued all mingled, that had the Afghans known how to use their advantage, even the cantonments must have fallen into their hands.

It is said that the brigadier had the folly to inquire that evening of Lady Sale if she did approve of all the troops had done; and we are told that "this brave woman, accustomed to witness the heroic deeds of her illustrious husband, and the military genius which distinguished him, answered with indignant censure, pointing out the absurdities, in a military point of view, of the way in which the undertaking had been conducted and had failed."

CHAPTER XIX.

MOHAMMED SHUREEF'S FORT RE-CAPTURED.—EVACUATION OF THE BALAHISSAR.—TREATY WITH THE AFGHANS.—MURDER OF THE ENVOY, ETC.

HARASSED by being kept perpetually on the alert day and night, pining with cold, hunger, hopelessness, and exhausted by incessant fatigue, the spirit of our troops was broken, and, without shame, they fled from foes whom they despised. What was to be done now? A retreat to the Balahissar was still open, and the shah was in such alarm that he would now gladly have seen the red-coats guarding its walls. But another resource was deemed preferable—to treat for terms with the insurgents; and the envoy, having ascertained that they were willing to do so, dispatched a message to the Afghan chiefs, requesting them to appoint deputies to discuss the preliminaries of a treaty.

On the 25th of November the meeting was held, at an intermediate spot, Sultan Mohammed Khan and Meerza Ahmed Ali representing the Afghans, and Captains Lawrence and Trevor the British. The former, though representing chiefs, some of whom had betrayed Dost Mohammed, and were now ready to betray Shah Sujah, assumed a tone so arrogant, that after two hours' discussion no progress had been made.

At last they requested to see Sir W. Macnaghten, and had an interview with him in one of the gateways of the cantonments. During that conference a bullet whistled over his head; but his hour was not yet come. It was unavailing. The Afghan

chiefs demanded that the British should surrender as prisoners of war, delivering up their arms, ammunition, and treasure. These terms were, of course, rejected, and the Afghan chiefs departed, muttering dark menaces. Some days passed now without active measures being taken; but this delay, while it improved the position of the enemy, was most ruinous to our army.

Their stores were consumed faster than they could be replaced, and it became obvious that, at last, they would be starved into accepting any terms. Daily the soldiers became more demoralised, and, on more than one occasion, exhibited the most despicable cowardice; and hence, on the 6th of December, Mohammed Shureef's fort, which it had cost us so much trouble to gain, was re-captured.

The Afghans tried to blow up the gate with powder, but not understanding the process, the explosion only did harm to themselves. They then tried a mine, but Lieutenant Sturt—Sale's heroic son-in-law—entered it in the night and destroyed it; then the cowardice of the 44th, or East Essex Regiment, betrayed the fort. The garrison consisted of one company of that corps, and one of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry. On seeing some Afghans, who had mounted to a window, using their crooked sticks as ladders, they

fled like sheep to the gates. Not a man of the 44th was touched when they thus abandoned Lieutenant Alured Gray, while getting his wound dressed. "They all ran as fast as they could. The 44th say that the 37th ran first, and as they were too weak they went too."* But Lieutenant Hawtrey, the officer in command, said, "There was not a pin to choose—all were cowards alike." A company of the 44th, which held the bazaar, endeavoured to run away like their comrades in the fort, but their officers, by desperate exertions,

the country by what he called "honourable terms." On the 11th of December, 1841, there was but *one* day's food in the commissariat for the fighting men, and then the envoy opened a negotiation with the enemy. The conference took place on the bank of the Cabul river, about a mile from the cantonments. It was attended by Ackbar Khan, the most able of the sons of Dost Mohammed, a young soldier of great energy and great ferocity, with a fiery and ungovernable temper, who had arrived in Cabul and assumed the leadership of the



WELL IN THE HYRCANIAN DESERT.

prevented them, and a guard of sepoy had to be placed at the entrance to prevent the Europeans from deserting! At last discipline began to fail in the cantonments as well as in the field; and there also the luckless 44th set the evil example.

In the now terrible dilemma, the envoy showed more spirit than the general. The latter thought of nothing but negotiating, while the former urged that the sick and wounded should be sent to the Balahissar under cloud of night, and that the whole of the troops should fight their way thither, after destroying all ordnance and stores that could not be removed. But the feeble general could see no relief, beyond getting out of the cantonments or

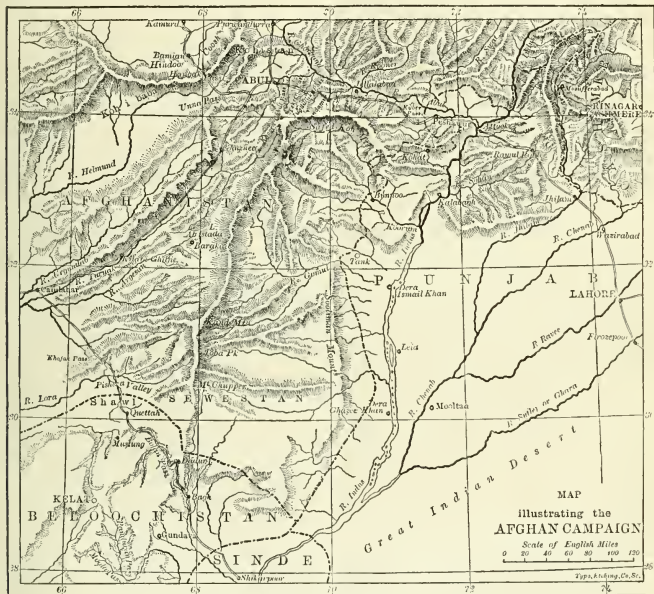
* Lady Sale's "Journal."

national confederacy, the principal chiefs of which attended him. With the envoy were Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie. The former read the draft of a treaty which he had previously prepared, and which stipulated that the troops now at Cabul would march to Peshawur, and thence to India, without delay, the chiefs engaging to keep them unmolested, and to furnish "all possible assistance in arms and provisions;" that Shah Sujah should have the option of remaining in Afghanistan, on a maintenance of not less than three lacs of rupees per annum, or of accompanying the troops, and that immediate arrangements would be made for the return of Dost Mohammed and other noble Afghans now detained in India.

As he read, he received but one interruption from Ackbar Khan, who said, bluntly, that there would be no occasion to supply the troops with provisions, as their march from the cantonments might be commenced on the following day. The other chiefs checked his impetuosity, and the reading continued to the end of this document, the most disgraceful in the brilliant annals of British India.

"Environed and hemmed in by difficulties and dangers—overwhelmed with responsibilities there were none to share—the lives of 15,000 resting on his decision—the honour of his country at stake—with a perfidious enemy at his back, he was driven to negotiate by the imbecility of his companions."

The Afghans were crafty, ferocious, avaricious and vindictive, and we could have no guarantee



MAP OF AFGHANISTAN.

In its extenuation, the envoy placed on record that "we had been fighting forty days against superior numbers, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, with deplorable loss of life, and in a day or two must have perished of hunger. The terms I secured were the best obtainable, and the destruction of 15,000 human beings would little have benefited our country, while the Government would have been almost compelled to avenge our fate, at whatever cost." Sir J. W. Kaye more accurately describes his position thus:—

that, after agreeing to the conditions, they would fulfil them. On the third day our troops were to evacuate the cantonments, and this done, without hostages, they would be entirely at the mercy of the enemy, who had the option of destroying them by starvation or the sword; and it never was their intention to permit the escape of the Europeans.

Our troops in the Balahissar, 600 strong, were to evacuate it on the 13th of December, and proceed to the cantonments; and, as it was most necessary that their store of grain, amounting to 1,600

maunds, should not be left behind, every arrangement was made for its removal; but this occupied so much time that night fell before they were ready to march. Ackbar Khan, who had undertaken to guide and protect them, had his men under arms apparently for that purpose. As soon as the head of the column began to emerge from the gate, some of these made a rush at it to force an entrance. On this our troops closed it, and, lining the walls, opened a destructive and indiscriminate fire on friends and foes alike.

On this, Ackbar Khan declared that he could not guarantee the safety of our troops if they persisted in marching in the dark, as the Seeah Sung hills, along which they must pass, were crowded with Ghiljies, whom no power could restrain. The result was, that our troops, most of whom were sepoys, were compelled to remain outside the walls, without either food or shelter, exposed to the severity of such a winter night as they had never experienced before. Indiscriminate slaughter might have befallen them had Ackbar proved treacherous; but he kept his faith then, and, though much exhausted, they reached the cantonments next morning.

The adjacent forts were now resigned to the enemy, and Ackbar Khan received letters to the commandants at Candahar and other military stations, ordering them to retire. The chiefs were now allowed to enter our magazines, and assist themselves to whatever stores they fancied, while officers and soldiers looked indignantly on; but the supplies furnished scarcely sufficed to appease hunger, and Ackbar Khan and his compatriots, while withholding the necessary carriage and provisions for the march, raised their demands, and insisted not only on the surrender of stores and ammunition of every description, but on the delivery of all the married families as hostages.

Under these desperate circumstances, Macnaghten directed Mohun Lal to open negotiations with other tribes, and inform them if any portion of the Afghans declared to the shah that they wished him to remain, he would break with the faithless Barukzies, the tribe of Ackbar, to whom he had shown his friendship by making him a present of his carriage and horses. It was at this most critical juncture that Sir William received a most unexpected message from Ackbar, with a new proposal that the British forces should remain till spring; that in conjunction with his troops they should attack the fort and seize the person of Ameen-oolah-Khan, the projector of the insurrection; that Shah Sujah should retain the throne; and that Ackbar be appointed vizier, receiving

from our Government an immediate payment of thirty lacs, and an annual stipend of four lacs. In an hour that was alike one of evil for his reputation and safety, the envoy agreed to these terms in writing, and promised to attend a meeting which was appointed to be held next day.

The game which Sir William Macnaghten was playing, in seeking to set one portion of the tribes against the other, while apparently leaguings with both, scarcely deserved to succeed; and while he smiled at his own dexterity in keeping it secret, the chiefs knew it all, and believed themselves well entitled to checkmate him.

Though the envoy had frequently been warned of the danger of intriguing with one so artful as Ackbar Khan, he had apparently made up his mind to risk all now, rather than endure suspense. Accordingly, after breakfast on the 23rd, he sent for Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, to accompany him to a conference with Ackbar. The greater prudence or keener perception of Mackenzie led him to be suspicious, and he stigmatised the conference as "a trap." "Trust to me for that," replied the envoy confidently. As yet, General Elphinstone had been kept in the dark as to the new plans and proposals; and when told of them, he was far from satisfied, and asked "what part the other Barukzye chiefs had taken in the negotiation." "They are not in the plot," replied the envoy. "Do you not then apprehend treachery?" asked the general. "None whatever," replied Macnaghten; "and I am certain the plan will succeed. What I wish you to do is, to have two regiments and two guns quickly ready, and, without making any show, be prepared to move towards the fort of Mohammed Khan." Elphinstone still doubted and remonstrated, until Macnaghten almost rudely cut him short by saying, "Leave it all to me—I understand these things better than you do."

Accompanied by Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, with a small escort, the envoy, about noon on the 23rd, repaired to the place of meeting, about 600 yards eastward of the cantonments, near where a bridge crossed the Cabul river. It was situated on a green slope among some knolls, and was indicated by a number of horse-cloths, which had been spread on the grass for the occasion. While proceeding, the envoy remembered that a beautiful and valuable Arab horse, which he intended to present to Ackbar Khan, who coveted it, had been left behind. He requested Captain Mackenzie to return for it, and meanwhile he, with the other two officers, was occupying his thoughts on the subject, and unable, it would appear, to repress some foreboding of the fate that was so near

him now, he said, "Death is preferable to the life we are leading here!"

Ackbar Khan was most profuse in his thanks for the present of the Arab horse, and also for a very handsome pair of pistols, which he had also coveted at a previous meeting. Sir William reclined on the slope, and Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves close to him; but Lawrence, who was full of undefined suspicion, remained standing, till, on being importuned, he knelt on one knee, but ready to start at a moment's notice; and meanwhile, the two battalions in the cantonment were getting under arms. "Are you ready to carry out the proposals of the past evening?" said Ackbar Khan abruptly. "Why not?" replied Sir William; but Lawrence now called attention to the Afghans who were crowding about them, and said that "if the conference was to be a secret one, intruders should be removed."

Then some of the chiefs made a pretence of clearing the circle with their riding-whips. "Their presence can do no harm," exclaimed Ackbar Khan, "as they are all in the secret." What the latter was did not remain long a doubt. The envoy and his companions were seized suddenly behind, and, incapable of resistance, were roughly dragged away, and placed each behind an Afghan trooper, who galloped with his prey towards the great square fort of Mohammed Khan. Trevor fell from his seat on the way, and was instantly cut to pieces by the Ghazees, while Lawrence and Mackenzie were flung into the fort. In the meantime, Sir William had been grasped by the ruffian, Ackbar Khan, and together they struggled desperately on the ground. Whether he merely meant to drag him away like the others is now unknown; but in the fury of resistance Ackbar's rage became roused, and he shot Macnaghten dead with one of the pistols so recently presented to him. Horror and wonder were seen in the face of the doomed man as he received his death-shot; and the only words he was heard to utter were, "*Az barae Khoda!*" (for God's sake!) The body was then hacked to pieces by armed fanatics. The hands were hewn off, carried about, and then flung into the window of the room where the two surviving officers were imprisoned. The head was taken into the city, and triumphantly shown to Captain Conolly, who was a prisoner there. As soon as the officers were seized, their escort, instead of attempting to rescue them, fled—all save one man, who was instantly cut to pieces.

Sir William was severely blamed for trusting to Ackbar, but no other course remained open to him. His murder, however, completely changed

the relations that previously existed between the British and the Afghans, and left it optional for the former to choose their own course. "The highest representative of a government," it has been said, "an ambassador whose very office hedged him round with a sacredness which all nations not absolutely barbarous recognise and revere, had been decoyed into an ambush and treacherously murdered. With a people capable of doing such a deed, and boasting of it after it was done, engagements, however solemnly made, were useless; and all, therefore, that now remained for the British, was to avenge their wrongs; or at all events, if that was beyond their power, to become once more their own protectors, and trust to nothing but Providence and their own stout hearts and swords!"

But in those wretched cantonments, the spirit of honour, and even of indignation—save with a few—seemed dead. No call was made upon the army, and no effort of valour or devotion was made to rescue the living or to avenge the slain. Nothing of chivalry, bravery, wisdom, or nobility was essayed, and the blundering generals listened to the new tale of horror, and simply wondered over it. Macnaghten was the only civilian in Cabul, yet there was no truer-hearted soldier there. He had served several years in the Madras army, and little doubt has been expressed that if he could have assumed the command of the forces, they would have escaped the dreadful doom that befell them.*

At first it was not believed in the cantonments that the envoy had been murdered, and instead of taking means to dispel all doubt on the subject, to each regiment a message was sent to calm alarm, intimating that the conference had been interrupted by Ghazees, and that the envoy and the officers who accompanied him had gone into the city, whence their immediate return might be expected.

On the following day a letter came from Captain Lawrence, ending all doubts on the subject, and containing overtures from the murderers for a renewal of negotiations; but instead of being met with scorn and repugnance, the propositions were embraced with eagerness. They differed but little from the treaty framed by the envoy; and when the chiefs found the generals so very facile, they sent back the draft with four new articles appended thereto. 1. All treasure in the military chest to be given up. 2. All the cannon, except six pieces. 3. All spare arms in store to be left behind. 4. General Sale (then commanding at Jelalabad), with his wife and daughter, and the other gentlemen of rank who were married and had families, to remain as guests or hostages at Cabul, until the arrival of

* Marshman, vol. iii.

Dost Mohammed Khan, and other Afghans, from Hindostan."

These humiliating articles were submitted to, except the last, and it is supposed that it was not complied with, merely because it could not be enforced.

On the 6th of January, 1842, the humiliated British troops, after waiting in vain for the safeguard promised by the faithless Afghan chiefs, got under arms to commence that which may justly be termed, the death-march of the whole force. The plains were deep with snow; in the passes it lay deeper still, and the magnificent yet terrible mountain ranges presented to their eyes vast piles of dazzling white, upheaved against a cold blue sky, while the frosty atmosphere was so keen that no

clothing was a protection. The army amounted now to nearly 4,500 fighting men, with 12,000 camp-followers. The former may be enumerated as follows:—One troop of Horse Artillery, 90 men; H.M. 44th Foot, 600; total Europeans, 690. The 5th Cavalry, 260 sabres; 5th Shah's Irregulars (Anderson's Horse), 500; Skinner's Horse (one rissala), 70; Body-Guard, 70 = 900 Horse. 5th Native Infantry, 700; 37th Native Infantry, 600; 54th Native Infantry, 650; 6th Shah's Infantry, 600; sappers and miners, 20; Shah's ditto, 240; half the mountain train, 30 = 2,840; total, 4,430; with six horse artillery and three mountain guns.*

Of all that force but one man—and he then covered with wounds—was fated to reach Jelalabad, the bourne for which they were now departing.

CHAPTER XX.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ARMY IN THE KHYBER PASSES.

PRECISELY at nine in the morning the advance-guard left the cantonments; the throng continued to pour out, not by the gates, but through a large opening made over-night in the rampart; but evening had darkened on the snow-clad wastes ere the rearguard had passed forth. The Newab Zernaun Khan, whom the Afghans had set up as their king, wrote to Pottinger, warning him of the peril of departing without the promised safeguard; but it was too late now, so the fatal march went forward. It was six o'clock ere the rear-guard was on the way, and after a fierce conflict with Ghazees and other plunderers, pushed on after the main body. The Afghans had, early in the day, commenced firing on the former, and in this manner murdered Lieutenant Hardyman and fifty troopers of the 5th Cavalry; and it is said, that as soon as the British cleared the cantonments, the incapacity of the commanders became more than ever conspicuous.

The body they commanded ceased to be an army, and the whole became a disorganised mass of fugitives, whose confusion increased as night deepened upon the weary and terrible way they had to pursue. Rearward the darkness was somewhat dispelled by the glare from the spacious cantonments and residency, whence sheets of ruddy flame shot skyward, the whole place having been set on fire. Many of the sepoy and camp-followers dropped

dead among the snow before the generals could order a halt, on the right bank of the Cabul river, near Begrammee, about two hours after night, and there many more perished.

When the cold grim dawn of the 7th stole in, a fearful scene presented itself. Hundreds of Hindoo women and children lay dying among the snow; while soldiers and camp-followers, and the baggage animals—horses, camels, and Cabul ponies—were all huddled together in hopeless confusion. One of the shah's regiments deserted in the night to the enemy, small parties of whom hovered on the flanks. These were supposed at first to be the escort promised by the chiefs who had obtained bills for fourteen lacs of rupees; but a furious attack on the rearguard soon dispelled this illusion.

The force detailed for this duty consisted of the 44th Regiment, the mountain-guns, and a squadron of irregular cavalry; but in one sudden and unexpected onset the guns were captured, and the gunners nearly destroyed. The 44th were ordered to retake them, but being now without shame, failed, or refused to advance; but a lieutenant named White, with a few gholandazees, spiked them in the face of the enemy.†

The snow now became so deep that the horses were unable to drag the artillery, and some pieces

* Lieutenant V. Eyre.

† Lady Sale's "Journal."

were accordingly spiked and abandoned. The army had but one chance of escape—a rapid march, by which the passes might have been traversed before the enemy could effectually block them up; but that was impossible now. Zemaun Khan having promised to disperse the fanatic and marauding bands that hovered on the flanks, and to send supplies of food and fuel to Boothauk, General Elphinstone was induced to halt there, though it had been his intention to continue the march all night, had not the sudden appearance of Ackbar Khan on the scene induced him to abandon it.

Coming on at the head of 600 horse, this unscrupulous personage announced that he was to act as a safeguard; but, at the same time, to demand hostages for the evacuation of Jelalabad; and till these were given—and Sale had actually quitted the city—he was instructed to detain the retreating force, but to furnish it with supplies. From the tenor of these announcements, it became apparent that the extermination of the whole army was the real object in view.

Another night of bivouacking in the snow amid the intense cold of the mountains might have achieved this, but the best chance of escape was to push on at all hazards; yet instead of doing this the general halted, and, as usual, endeavoured to make terms. Another night of horrors, death, and suffering was passed, and then Ackbar Khan agreed to accept of Major Pottinger and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie as hostages, and to permit the retreat to be continued to Tizeen, the way to which lay through the Khoord Cabul Pass—that terrific gorge, which is five miles in length, and so narrow that the rays of the sun never penetrate its depths. At the bottom runs an impetuous torrent, which the road—if such it can be called—crosses twenty-eight times; and it was through this tremendous defile that the disordered and helpless mass of human beings pressed wildly on, inspired by one maddening desire to escape destruction. Above and around them rang, with a thousand reverberations, the roar of carnage and the shrieks of the falling; for the Ghiljies poured an incessant fire from every rock upon the crowd beneath, with arms that were unerring, and that carried death at 800 yards. Here more than 3,000 perished, and it was amid this dreadful place that delicate English ladies, some with infants in their arms, had to run the gauntlet of the Afghan bullets, amid a tempest of falling snow; but they all escaped save Lady Sale, who had a ball lodged in her left wrist.

On the evening of the 8th the survivors reached the fort of Khoord Cabul; but there the suffering

was increased. The altitude and the cold were greater; there were neither tents, fuel, nor food; and the groans and cries of the hungry and the destitute were heard during the whole night.*

Before sunrise on the 9th the march was resumed; and three-fourths of the troops, without waiting for orders, or for their officers, pushed on with the camp-followers. The remainder had followed about a mile when another of these fatal halts was made at the instigation of the artful Ackbar, with one of his usual assurances of protection and supplies. The Afghans had never lost sight of their demand to get the married officers and their families into their power, and the terrible proceedings of the previous day afforded Ackbar a plausible pretext for renewing the obnoxious proposal and to Elphinstone for granting it, amid the grumbling—almost uproar—of his perishing troops, who were constrained to remain idle another whole day in the snow.

Ackbar offered to take all the ladies and children to Peshawur. Since leaving Cabul they had almost been without food; they were poorly clad, and were without shelter from the ever-falling snow. Major Pottinger—already Ackbar's prisoner—felt that it would be impossible for them to survive these hardships, even if they escaped another day's murderous conflict; and, in accordance with his advice, Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and nine other ladies, with fifteen children, were sent to Ackbar's camp, and were thus rescued from destruction. It was a horrible alternative, and when the tale of their abandonment became known in Britain, the keenest anxiety was manifested for their future fate in hands so horrible; and we may imagine, rather than express, the emotions of Lady Macnaghten, on finding herself a hostage in the power of her husband's murderer. The general felt, perhaps, more confidence in the measure from the fact that all Ackbar's family were in our hands at Calcutta.

On the morning of the 10th the march was resumed once more; but before evening the unfortunate sepoy had almost disappeared. All did not perish; they were prepared to desert, and as the shah's troops had set the example, they were not slow in following it. "The Europeans," says Eyre, "were now almost the only efficient men left, the Hindostanees having all suffered more or less from the effects of frost in their hands or feet. Few were able to hold a musket, much less to pull a trigger; in fact the prolonged delay in the snow had paralysed the mental and bodily powers of the strongest men, rendering them incapable of any

* Vincent Eyre.

useful exertion. Hope seemed to have died in every breast; the wildness of terror was exhibited in every countenance."

Panic-stricken, and thus benumbed with cold, it was evident that the end of all was approaching now. The remorseless Ghiljies still hovered on the heights with their deadly musketry, while the inextricable mass in the narrow defile kept struggling onward, mechanically, as it were, to a destruction that was inevitable. The narrow defile between the two hills was soon choked up with the dying and the dead. On went the dreadful slaughter, till of the thousands who had left Cabul not more than a fourth were alive.

Of the Europeans there were now only 250 men of the 44th, 150 cavalry, fifty horse artillery, and only one gun. On observing this unparalleled slaughter, General Elphinstone called upon Ackbar, who had looked on it idly and complaisantly, to make good his promised and purchased protection; but he replied that he could do nothing unless the British troops laid down their arms and submitted at discretion. There was still spirit enough in the dying band to spurn a proposal so humiliating. By a rapid movement, the defile—where already so many of the camp-followers had perished that it was impossible to move without treading on their corpses—was reached; but before it was left behind, the enemy had opened a destructive fire upon our rear.

The one-armed old soldier, Shelton, who commanded there, on being well seconded by a few of the 44th, won a brief respite for the whole; and as Ackbar Khan, on his being again appealed to, renewed his degrading proposal, a rapid night march was made to Jugdulluk, where the survivors, now fewer in number and faint with fatigue and want of food, found a temporary shelter behind some ruined walls. There, on the snowy earth, they endeavoured to get a little repose, but once again the roar of musketry rang around them, and volley after volley was poured into the wretched bivouac.

Rushing forth with bullet and bayonet, they cleared the ground of the foe, and, as night closed in, again took shelter behind the ruins, while Ackbar schemed out a new work of treachery. He sent a messenger inviting to a conference General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnstone of the 44th. They rashly went, and found themselves entrapped. Sir Robert Sale had not yet evacuated Jelalabad, so he resolved to detain them as further hostages. The general pleaded that his personal and unexplained disappearance from what remained of his army would

cover him with disgrace; but Ackbar Khan was inexorable.

On the morning of the 12th the troops prolonged their halt to await the issue of the supposed conference, at which the three detained officers implored the interposition of Ackbar to save the little remnant that survived, and he engaged his father-in-law, a powerful Ghiljie chief, on payment of two lacs of rupees, to withhold the hands of his savage countrymen. He pocketed the money, or the orders for it, and returned about dusk, to state that he had arranged all comfortably for the safe conduct of the troops to Jelalabad.

Even as the ruffian spoke, the sound of firing was heard, which gave the lie to his words, and told that the Ghiljies had again remorselessly assailed the bivouac; and Ackbar, having now the persons of the principal officers, as well as the ladies, in his possession, quietly abandoned the remnant of the troops to their fate. Fairly at bay at last, the latter inflicted a chastisement so severe on the enemy that the first portion of the next march was effected without much more loss; but the worst struggle was yet to come, as they had to clear the Pass of Jugdulluk, up which the steep road winds between precipices. The summit was won, and then a formidable barricade, composed of fallen trees, opposed their passage, and rendered advance impossible; and so likewise was retreat. All around were the enemy in ambush, thick as bees and fierce as famished tigers. But why prolong this weary story of days that were not of glory, but of disaster and death!

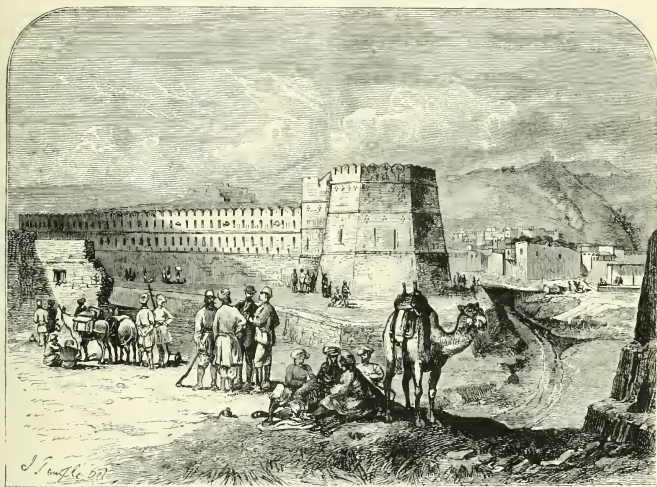
The unequal struggle was ended by the total destruction of the force. There fell Brigadier Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, and ten other officers, with several men. During the contest, about twenty officers and forty-five privates contrived to force the barricade, and made their way to Gundamuck as day was breaking on the 13th; but the respite was short, for again the enemy was upon them, with yells of "Death to the Feringhees! death to the infidel dogs!" Only two rounds of ammunition were in the pouches now; and two measures only could be taken—to seek for terms, and, if these were refused—to die fighting.

Major Griffiths, the senior officer in command, advanced in front of all that remained, viz., seventy-five of all ranks, with 300 camp-followers, to meet the chief, when the savage horde burst in upon his little band, with drawn knives, and murdered every man of them, save Captain Souter and four privates of the 44th. A few officers, who, being mounted, had got in advance of the whole, still remained; but they were all shot down in succession till only

six were left; and these, while snatching a hasty meal at Futteahbad, were attacked by an armed mob. Two were cut down on the spot; three overtaken elsewhere, and Dr. Brydone, a Scottish medical officer of the Shah's 6th Infantry, the last survivor and representative of a whole army, rode wildly and blindly on with a broken sword in his hand, and so covered with wounds that he could scarcely keep his saddle. Mr. Gleig tells that, as our sentries saw him galloping thus towards Jelala-

destroyed.' Under such circumstances, it is little to be wondered at if men's blood curdled while they watched the advance of the solitary horseman; and the voice of Dennie sounded like the response of an oracle when he exclaimed, 'Did I not say so? Here comes the messenger!' *

A cavalry escort was sent out to meet the doctor, who had fought so toughly that nothing was left of his sword but the hilt; † and the soldiers regarded him with pity and awe when he announced himself



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bad, it is impossible to describe the thrill that ran through their veins.

"Slowly he approached; and strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that Colonel Dennie (13th Foot) foretold the nature of the tidings of which he was bearer: for it is a fact that almost from the first Colonel Dennie had boded ill of the force left in Cabul; and that, subsequently to the receipt of the earliest intelligence which told of the warfare in which they had been engaged, and of the disastrous results to which it led, he repeatedly declared his conviction, that to a man the army would be destroyed. His words were 'You'll see. Not a soul will escape from Cabul but one man, and he will come to tell us that the rest are

to be what he believed he was, the last survivor of Elphinstone's once magnificent army—the last, says Marshman, "save 120 in captivity, of 15,000 men."

Instead of one, however, there were several, and among them those in whom the keenest interest was felt. Though captives, the British ladies and children were yet alive, and might be recovered; but how they were so belongs to another part of this history.

Dr. Brydone survived his many wounds, and died in 1876, at a green old age, as surgeon of the Inverness Volunteer Rifle Corps.

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

† Ibid.

CHAPTER XXI.

SALE'S BRIGADE IN JELALABAD.—COLONEL DENNIE KILLED.—ACKBAR DEFEATED.—ADVANCE OF GENERAL POLLOCK.—COMBAT OF URGHANDAUB.

THE destruction of our Afghan army was the heaviest blow that had ever yet befallen us in the East; but so strongly had our power there been consolidated, that no demonstrations of hostility were induced from native powers, nor was any commotion among them observable, as when Monson's force was destroyed in 1804, or when the Nepaulese campaign failed in later years, or when the army of Burmah proceeded so slowly in 1825.

Though undoubtedly overwhelmed by the greatness of the calamity, Lord Auckland issued a proclamation to the effect that "the Governor-General regarded the partial reverse which had overtaken a body of British troops in a country removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour, as a new occasion for displaying the vigour and stability of British power, and the admirable spirit and vigour of the British Indian army."

After "this spasm of energy he relapsed into a spirit of dejection," says Marshman, and instead of considering how most effectually to restore our military superiority, the sole basis of our high position in India, he was timidly prepared to leave it without vindication, and thought only how he could withdraw General Sale safely and quietly from Afghanistan. Unluckily, the commander-in-chief was somewhat of the same opinion; but Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Clerk, a spirited Scotsman, who entered the Indian Civil Service in 1818, and was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Western Provinces, when our political agent in the Punjaub, on hearing of the blockade of the Cabul cantonment, had hurried on the brigade which had been ordered to relieve the regiments falling back from Afghanistan; but it was placed under the command of Colonel Wyld, who was obliged to advance without either cannon or cavalry.

He moved so slowly through the Punjaub, that he was thirty-five days in reaching Peshawur. The sepoys were all eagerness to rescue their comrades, but he lingered there until their discipline was nearly destroyed by intercourse with the auxiliary Sikhs of Runjeet Sing's successor. They had been sent to co-operate with Wyld; but, on reaching Jumrood and beholding the mountain pass—like the terrified Hessian troops at Killiecrankie—they wheeled about and marched back again. The

colonel then entered it without them; but the frail guns they had lent him proved unserviceable after the first discharge; his sepoys lost heart, and allowed themselves to be ignominiously repulsed, with the loss of the borrowed cannon, which fell into the hands of the Afreedies.

Lord Auckland, in the excess of his caution, was unwilling to send on a second brigade to relieve the oppressed force at Cabul; but Clerk's persevering energy overcame all objections, and on the 4th of January, a corps of 3,000 men crossed the Sutelej. It was led by General (afterwards Sir George) Pollock, G.C.B. and K.S.I., a most distinguished artillery officer, whose father was a Scotsman, settled in London, where the general was born in 1786. Pollock had seen hard service under Lord Lake at Deeg and Bhurtpore, and his sagacity, caution, decision, and valour, eminently qualified him for the arduous task before him.

On the 22nd of January the entire destruction of the Cabul force became known at head-quarters, and Mr. Clerk met the commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, to discuss the measures necessary to meet the crisis. Sir Jasper—an officer who had served in the old Mahratta war, under Cathcart in Hanover, Crawford in South America, and Moore at Corunna—actually stated that the only object now to be pursued, was to withdraw Sir Robert Sale's column safely back to India; but Clerk, in a spirit more worthy of a Briton, maintained that our honour imperatively required that not only should the Jelalabad garrison be reinforced, but that, in conjunction with the troops at Candahar it should march upon Cabul, and inflict on the Afghans a signal punishment for all our late disgraces. The energy of his appeal and his fiery nature could not be resisted, and a third brigade was held in readiness to join General Pollock; but Lord Auckland's last communication cautiously and timidly informed him that "his sole business was to secure the safe return of our people and troops detained beyond the Indus."

We have already referred to the difficulties encountered by Sir Robert Sale in marching his brigade downward from Cabul, and his subsequent refusal to risk its entire loss by returning at the instructions of the late unfortunate envoy. When

the latter's first order was received, the brigade was encamped at Gundamuck, prior to which it had been so roughly handled, and was so imperfectly supplied with the requisite munition of war for marching back through one of the most difficult countries in the world, full of hardy and hostile enemies, that a council of war—though not unanimous—decided that the march should be continued to Jelalabad.

Even this could not be done without sacrifice. In order to move lightly and expeditiously, much valuable property was left in Gundamuck, with no better guardians than some of the Shah's Irregular Horse, who, as might have been foreseen, lost no time in fraternising with the insurgents. The buildings were given to the flames, the property vanished, and the revolt spread wider than ever.

On the 11th November the brigade began its march, and daybreak on the morning of the 12th, showed the adjacent hills covered with armed men, watching the opportunity for rushing down to sweep all before them. The task of keeping them in check was entrusted to the rear-guard under Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Dennie, a veteran of Lake's wars, who, after a running fight had been maintained for some time, had recourse to a manoeuvre. Concealing the cavalry in ambush, he led on the infantry of his command, with instructions to wheel about when near the enemy, as if seized with a panic. Mistaking this for a real flight, the enemy, with wild shouts came rushing into the lower ground to complete the victory with their deadly knives; but a gallant charge of cavalry threw them suddenly into hopeless confusion, and they fled, leaving the valley covered with their dead and wounded. After this, no further opposition was made to the progress of the brigade, which took possession of Jelalabad on the 13th of January, 1842. Like other Afghan cities of note, it had its Balahissar, half palace and half citadel, which stood in the heart of it, forming with bare walls a kind of inner town, and furnishing but indifferent accommodation to those who dwelt there. When Sale entered the city, as many of its people as could escape, fled through its opposite gates, so the place was won with whatever stores might be in it, by our weary and foot-sore troops, without the snap of a musket.*

Sir Robert's intention was to hold it as an intermediate post, from whence reinforcements that came by the way of Peshawur might be pushed on to Cabul, and where the force there might find a place of safety if compelled to retreat; but to hold such a place was no easy task. "I found the

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

walls of Jelalabad," he wrote, "in a state which might have justified despair as to the possibility of defending them. The enceinte was far too extensive for my small force, embracing a circumference of upwards of 2,300 yards. Its tracing was vicious in the extreme. It had no parapet, excepting for a few hundred yards, which there was not more than two feet high. There was a space of 400 yards together, on which none of the garrison could show themselves, except at one spot; the population within was disaffected, and the whole enceinte was surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which a fire could be opened at twenty or thirty yards."

The difficulty of holding such a place seemed great, but great was the spirit there, for "the very same circumstances which General Elphinstone mismanaged, so as to bring disgrace and ruin on the Cabul force, sufficed to make Sir Robert Sale and his brigade a band of heroes." The first question he had to consider was, whether the whole city ought to be held, or merely the citadel. Strong reasons for the latter course were not wanting, but the bolder course was preferred, and it was determined not to yield up a foot of the city, save under dire pressure. When our troops entered it, they and their cattle were short of two days' food, and the surrounding country, from whence it alone could be procured, was completely in the hands of the insurgents, 5,000 of whom could be seen posted on some heights close by.

To proceed with defences while the workers would be exposed to the Afghan marksmen, would have been vain; so the first thing to be done was to teach the latter to keep their distance. A general attack being arranged on the 14th November, Colonel Monteith of the 35th Bengal Native Infantry moved out at daybreak with 300 men of his own corps, 300 of H.M. 13th, 100 sappers, and 200 men of the Khyber corps, a squadron of the 5th Cavalry, some irregular horse, and three guns, in all only 1,100 men, to give battle to foes five times their number. The attack was made with such spirit, that the latter gave way at every point, and suffered so much in their flight, that a fortnight elapsed ere they ventured to show themselves again.

Meanwhile, strong working parties toiled daily, repairing breaches in the town walls, and deepening the ditches; every tree that stood in the line of fire was cut down, and every wall, house, and inequality was levelled. Along the ramparts parapets were run up, sand-bags and even the saddles of the baggage animals being used in their construction. Ten pieces of cannon of various calibre, and

mounted on strange carriages, with two mortars, were run into the bastions, while with strong escorts, foraging parties gathered from the adjacent villages grain, sheep, fuel, and all manner of necessary articles. By the energy of Sale, Jelalabad in a few days was rendered fit to be defended. At half rations there was food enough in store for one month's consumption, but not one drop of spirits, and the alarming discovery was made, that, including what the men had in their pouches, not more than 120 rounds per man remained in store, hence the greatest care was necessary, that, when under fire, not a single shot was to be thrown away.

As the enemy were again pressing close to the walls, another demonstration against them became necessary, and this task was entrusted to Colonel Dennie, who made a vigorous sortie on the 1st of December, and once more put the insurgents to rout with an amount of slaughter that was terrific, and, singular to say, he lost only one man.

But now, the tidings from Cabul that reached our brave fellows in Jelalabad, became darker and more gloomy in succession. On the 29th of December, 1841, there came to Captain Macgregor a letter bearing the signatures of Eldred Pottinger, at the head of the Cabul mission, and W. Keith Elphinstone, the general. The bearer of it was an Afghan horseman, and it ran thus :—

"It having been found necessary to conclude an agreement founded on that of the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, for the evacuation of Afghanistan by our troops, we have the honour to request, that you will intimate to the officer commanding at Jelalabad, our wish, that the troops now in that place should return to India, commencing their march immediately after the receipt of this letter, leaving all guns the property of Dost Mohammed Khan, with the new governor, as also such stores and baggage as there may not be the means of carrying away, and the provisions in store for our use on arriving at Jelalabad. Abdool Ghuffoor Khan, who is the bearer of this letter, will render you all the assistance in his power. He has been appointed governor of Jelalabad on the part of the existing government."

This document placed both Sale and Macgregor in a dilemma, but the mode in which they met it was subsequently approved by Government. They disregarded the order to give up the city, as the neighbouring chiefs were all in arms, and the brigade had no security for its march unmolested downward to Peshawar, and four days after, the arrival of Dr. Brydone, with his dreadful narrative, convinced these officers that they had acted wisely,

as the destruction of their force would have been certain to follow next.

They had refused to yield up Jelalabad, and the next idea was, would they be able to retain it? Sale's first resolution was to add to the real strength of his garrison, by curtailing it of the Khyber corps, a detachment of Juzailchees, and some Hindostanee gunners who had once served Dost Mohammed, and on all whom no reliance could be placed. They were disarmed and dismissed, about the same time that the disheartening tidings came of Colonel's Wyld's brigade being defeated in the Khyber Pass near Jumrood.

Wyld's retreat was a serious disappointment to the small and isolated force in Jelalabad, and was soon followed by a disaster, which no human effort could avert, when, on the 19th of February, 1842, an earthquake shook down all the parapets so recently constructed, injured several of the bastions, demolished a third of the town, made a great breach in the wall, and reduced the Cabul Gate to a mass of shapeless ruins. "It savours of romance," wrote Sir Robert, "but it is a sober fact that the city was thrown into alarm within the space of little more than one month, by the repetition of fully one hundred shocks of this terrific phenomenon of nature."

While the garrison worked hard to repair their defences, Ackbar Khan, whom the destruction of the Cabul army had left idle, suddenly made his appearance, with a large body of troops, at Murkail, within seven miles of Jelalabad, where for a time he contented himself with cutting off Sale's foraging parties. In repelling these attempts the bastion guns did excellent service. "The whole country within long range of the walls had been carefully measured by the artillery officers, and certain marks set up by which the distance could be accurately calculated; and the consequence was, that every shot thrown where a group of Afghans presented themselves, told. Indeed, to such perfection was the gunnery of the place carried, that a man and horse, at 800 or 1,000 yards' distance, ran extreme risk of being cut down by a round shot; and on one occasion Captain Backhouse struck down a cavalier who could not have approached within a mile of the fort."*

After a time Ackbar ventured on bolder courses. He established two camps, one with his headquarters, two miles to the west, and another about a mile to the eastward, thus blockading Jelalabad with rigour. The result of this was a series of skirmishes most harassing to the British, whose only object was to protect their parties of foragers or workers; and some of the younger officers devised

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

an amusing scheme for the latter. They dressed a wooden figure in uniform, painted its face, put a cocked hat on its head, and, by raising it from time to time above the parapet, drew such a storm of fire in that direction as left the working party free elsewhere. When it was allowed to fall, triumphant shouts rang from the enemy.

On the 10th of March, from a suspicion that the Afghans were preparing a mine, a vigorous sortie was made, and they were put to flight; but from deficiency in food and ammunition, the situation of the garrison became daily more and more critical, till the 1st of April, when, by a well-conducted sally, three fine flocks of sheep were captured, chiefly by the cavalry; and then the garrison took heart anew, as tidings came that General Pollock was on his march towards them from Peshawur.

On the 6th of April the guns of Ackbar fired a royal salute, of the cause for which different accounts were given. One was that a victory had been won over Pollock in the fatal Khyber Pass; another, that it was preparatory to the departure of Ackbar to Cabul, where a new revolution had taken place. Whatever the cause, Sale deemed it advisable to attack the Afghan camp. At daybreak on the 7th the troops, in three columns, moved out of the western gate; and Ackbar drew up his forces, 6,000 strong, to receive them, with his right resting on a fort, and his left on the Cabul river. Our central column turned all its efforts against the fort, which, as it had given annoyance on several occasions, it was thought proper to capture. The struggle was a severe one, and in it the gallant Colonel Dennie (a subaltern of 1800) lost his life. He was leading his brave men of the 13th straight to the breach, when a ball entered his side, through his waist-belt, and he fell forward on his horse's mane. He was carried to the rear, and there he died, "with the sound of battle in his ears, hoping, but not living to be assured, that it would end triumphantly."*

Meanwhile his brother-officer, Henry Have-lock, had penetrated to the extreme left, and, sweeping round by the river in order to turn the flank of the enemy, became exposed to their cavalry, against whom his force formed square. The three columns now combined and made an attack upon the camp, when the foe gave way on all hands; and had our slender cavalry force been equal to the task, few would have escaped to tell the story of their overthrow. As it was, the fugitives, being driven towards the river, rushed madly in, and perished in hundreds, some amid the deep water, and others under the balls and

bayonets of their pursuers. Never was victory more complete. Camp, baggage, artillery, ammunition, standards, horses, and arms—all fell into the hands of the victors. The camp was given to flames, and all the spoil was taken into Jelalabad.

General Pollock was now at hand, and, on the 16th of April, only nine days after their victory, the sound of his drums was heard, and the garrison had the happiness to receive him, and the ample succours he had brought, within their gates.

On the 5th of February, 1842, he had reached Peshawur, and found the state of our troops there worse than he could have anticipated. Colonel Wyld's defeat had filled them with dismay, and delegates from the different native regiments of his brigade were actually holding meetings by night, for the purpose of resisting any order which might be given for an advance towards these dreadful passes of Afghanistan. While such a lack of spirit existed he could expect no success, and he was doubtful whether to await reinforcements which he knew to be on the march, or start with such troops as he had. Prudence suggested that he should wait; but such was the urgency of Sale's position that he was compelled to move. His force was intended to be 12,000 men, but 4,000 of them, chiefly Europeans, had not yet joined, and a considerable portion of the 8,000 actually under the colours were Sikhs, upon whose faith he could not depend.

With the greatest possible silence and secrecy he began his march, at half-past three a.m. on the 5th of April. Immediately at the entrance of the pass he had to penetrate, the Khyberees had thrown up a strong barricade. Pollock might have stormed it, but he preferred to take it in flank, and for this purpose two columns of infantry ascended the heights on either side. The mountaineers, on seeing this, lost heart, and gave way as soon as they were attacked. Their barricade was left undefended, and the main body of the troops, with their long train of baggage animals, poured slowly through that dreadful defile, which is twenty-five miles long, and where the road is often merely the bed of a mountain torrent. In this place the Khyberees were wont to levy a toll on passengers, "but in times of trouble they are all upon the alert. If a single traveller attempts to make his way through, the noise of his horse's feet sounds up the long, narrow valleys, and soon brings the Khyberees in troops from the hills and ravines; but if they expect a caravan they assemble in hundreds on the side of a hill, and sit patiently, with their matchlocks in their hands, watching its approach."*

* Gleig.

* Mountstuart Elphinstone.

Before evening fell, Pollock's troops reached the great hill-fort of Ali Musjid, the key of the pass, perched on the summit of a precipitous rock. It was found to be evacuated. From thence the way was open to Jelalabad, the garrison of which, after five months of heroic daring and bitter privation, was triumphantly relieved.

Meanwhile General Nott was nobly doing his

solved to strengthen his works and victual his stores, so as to be ready for any eventuality. The people of the town had not been turned out, and they repaid the kindness of being permitted to remain, by treacherously admitting the enemy; and the consequence was that our troops had to shut themselves up in the citadel.

There they maintained themselves bravely, but



PORTRAIT OF LADY SALE.

duty at Candahar; but Ghuznee had fallen into the hands of the Afghans.

Colonel Maclaren's brigade, after a vain attempt to reach Cabul, had retraced its steps and rejoined Nott at Candahar in December. Ghuznee had been invested by the adjacent tribes as early as the 20th of the preceding month. It was provided neither for siege nor blockade, and the garrison found with joy that the enemy, alarmed by Maclaren's partial advance, had suddenly retired. On this Colonel Palmer, the officer in command, re-

solved with difficulty, till a letter of similar import to that which Elphinstone and Pottinger had sent to Jelalabad arrived.

Colonel Palmer did not wisely disregard the order as Sale and Macgregor did. He therefore agreed, on the 1st of March, to evacuate the place. The sepoys of his garrison, who would seem to have lost all discipline, were destroyed almost to a man as they attempted to force their way across the country to Peshawur, which, in their ignorance, they believed to be only fifty miles distant, while

their British officers, who had surrendered on the solemn promise of "honourable treatment," were disarmed and thrown into rigorous confinement.

Our forces at Candahar, under Nott, were 9,000 strong. He was a man of indomitable spirit and great ability, but he had, in addition to the open hostility of the people, to dread treachery in his own camp; and of the latter he had a painful example on the 27th December, when two corps of Janbaz, or Afghan cavalry, belonging to Shah Sujah's contingent, after murdering one British officer, Lieutenant Golding, with singular barbarity, and leaving another, Lieutenant Paterson, dreadfully mutilated and for dead, marched off with a quantity of treasure entrusted to them. They were, however, overtaken by Captain Leeson's cavalry, who slew about eighty of them, and brought back with him the head of the chief instigator of Golding's murder.*

Only two days after this event, Prince Sufter Jung, a younger son of the shah, proved a traitor, and joined Atta Mohammed, a Ghiljie chief, who was mustering a large army, with which he fully hoped to keep Nott's division amply occupied during the winter. He had set up his camp in the Urghandaub valley, about forty miles west of Cabul.

On the 12th of January, Sufter Jung and Atta Mohammed came within fifteen miles of Candahar, at the head of nearly 20,000 men, and took up a position on the right bank of the Urghandaub river; so Nott lost no time in taking the field against them. He took with him Blood's Artillery; four nine-pounders; twelve six-pounders of Shah Sujah's Horse Artillery; Leeson's Cavalry; two rissalas of Skinner's Horse under Captain Haldane; H.M. 40th, 2nd, 16th, and 38th Regiments; and a wing of the 43rd Bengal Native Infantry, and the 3rd Shah's Infantry.

Under Colonel Maclaren, H.M. 2nd, 16th, and 40th, were to form the right column, and to advance into the Urghandaub valley by a narrow gorge called the Baboowalla Pass. The remainder were to move round the hills to the left; Maclaren threw out his skirmishers as he neared the pass; and though parties of the enemy were in sight, they did not dispute the way, but fell back on their main

* Captain M. B. Neill.

body, which, on clearing the pass, our troops saw drawn up about three miles distant on the opposite side of the stream, where they had a very imposing appearance from the number of gaily-coloured banners they displayed.*

On both sides of the river were numerous pretty villages, surrounded by mud walls and luxuriant orchards. On the forces effecting a junction, General Nott crossed the river by a ford two miles below the pass, for the purpose of attacking the enemy, who took up a strong position at the fortified village of Killa Sheik, with their right and left resting upon orchards, the walls of which they loop-holed.

Before opening fire, General Nott made it known that he would give 5,000 rupees for the head of Atta Mohammed. The troops advanced against the enemy through a swamp, where the mud rose to the knee, and the fire became general along the whole line on both sides.

Theirs "began to move as we approached," says Captain Neill, "and when at length the bayonets were brought to the charge, and the British cheer struck their astonished ears, they fell back, broke, and retreated in complete disorder across the plain. Our cavalry had now to make a wide *détour* to avoid the swamp, and we did not derive the advantage which we should have enjoyed had they been well placed. The enemy continued their retrograde movement, but at length rallied and reformed on the plain. Long before the infantry could get within musket-shot of them they resumed their retreat in good order; our cavalry and one of the troops of horse artillery, which had now come up, were sent in pursuit, and overtaking them, cut up numbers of the infantry, who were abandoned by their sows. . . . Our loss was slight: six or eight officers wounded, and a few men killed and wounded; that of the enemy was said to have been very great, which I can easily imagine—our artillery, which was beautifully served, having such dense masses on which to play."

Prince Sufter Jung and Atta Mohammed commanded in person. The latter rode about enveloped in a shroud to evince his determination to die in the field rather than surrender. Yet he was among the first who fled.

* "Four Years with the 40th Reg." &c.

CHAPTER XXII.

ATTEMPT TO RE-CAPTURE CANDAHAR.—LORD ELLENBOROUGH GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—GENERAL ENGLAND DEFEATED IN THE KOJUCK PASS.

THE TIDINGS of Sir William Macnaghten's murder reached Candahar on the 30th of January, and prepared Nott and his soldiers for the more dismal events that were to follow. The time for active operations in the field was somewhat passed now, but neither of the armies seemed disposed to sheathe the sword, and while the British troops held the city, the insurgents, led by Meerza Ahmed, a great Dooranee chief, established their camp at no great distance. In the meantime, Nott was unremitting in his exertions: he repaired the fortifications, and secured five months' provisions. He was more sanguine than ever, after the late affair at Urghandaub, of being able to defend Candahar, when, to his astonishment, the letter of Pottinger and Elphinstone arrived, directing the evacuation of that city, and also of Khelat-i-Ghilzie. It was addressed to Major Henry C. Rawlinson, the political Resident, and in tenor was precisely similar to that received by Sale at Jelalabad.

Rawlinson deemed it wise to disregard the order for retiring, but at the same time desirable to make it the basis of a negotiation, the terms of which might enable us, even in the event of abandoning Afghanistan, to retain a certain political influence there; but Nott, more soldierly in spirit, could not brook this temporising policy, and in answer to the major's official letter on the subject of evacuation, wrote thus:—"I have only to repeat that I will not treat with any person whatever for the retirement of the British troops from Afghanistan until I shall have received instructions from the supreme government. The letter signed 'Eldred Pottinger' and 'W. K. Elphinstone' may, or may not, be a forgery. I conceive that these officers were not free agents at Cabul, and, therefore, their letter or order can have no weight with me."

To prepare for the defence of Candahar upon one hand, and the attack of Meerza Ahmed's camp on the other, it became necessary to expel from the city all who were supposed to be antagonistic to the cause of Shah Sujah. Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, an order was issued for 1,000 families of pure Afghan descent, making a total of about 5,000 persons, to quit the place. On the third day thereafter the clearance was complete; and on the 7th, Nott, leaving only 2,600 men to garrison the city, marched forth with 4,000 fighting men, including

Shah Sujah's and Skinner's Horse, six six-pounders, and four nine-pounders, with their gunners; H.M. 40th; the 16th, 38th, and 42nd Native Infantry; six companies of the 43rd; and a wing of the Shah's 2nd Regiment.

Though the enemy numbered 12,000 men, of whom 6,000 were cavalry, in proportion as Nott advanced they retired, first across the Turnuk and then beyond the Urghandaub, keeping sufficiently distant to prevent our infantry from reaching them; and Nott's cavalry, only a squadron, were too feeble to push forward. At last our guns got within range of them and opened, on which they broke and fled; but this plan was only a portion of a premeditated scheme, as they made a circuit, which brought them into our rear, and after that they hastened on to Candahar, hoping to gain it by assault while the greater part of the garrison was absent.

On the 10th large bodies of Afghans began to occupy the cantonments and some gardens in their vicinity. During the day their numbers continued to increase, and towards evening Prince Sufter Jung and Meerza Ahmed arrived, while a small body of cavalry were left far afield, to hover near Nott and deceive him as to the whereabouts of the main body. After sunset, a villager, pretending to have come from a great distance, presented himself at the Herat Gate, where Lieutenant Cooke, of the 2nd Bengal Native Infantry, was on guard, and asked permission to take in a donkey-load of faggots. This was, of course, refused, as it was contrary to orders to admit any one at that hour. On this, he said he would leave the wood till next morning, and, throwing it against the gate, departed.

About eight o'clock, a party of the enemy stole softly up, unseen, poured oil and ghee over the faggots, set them on fire, and the flames quickly spread to the old gate, which burned like tinder.*

Prior to this, a similar trick had been played at the citadel gate; but something induced the quartermaster of H.M. 40th, who was the officer on guard there, to look out, and on seeing the heap of faggots, some undefinable suspicion made him have them carried inside.

Meanwhile, at the blazing Herat Gate, the enemy were attempting to force an entrance, but were frustrated chiefly by the presence of mind displayed

* "Four Years with the 40th Reg."

by the Commissary-General, who formed within it a barricade of bags of flour. This the enemy gained by a rush, but were repulsed. Again and again they renewed the assault, but so hot was the fire that was poured upon them, that they were compelled to retire over a rampart of their own dead. Had both gates been attacked thus, Candahar must have been lost, with all Nott's stores, ammunition, and two eighteen-pounders; and there can be little doubt that he committed a military error in marching so far from it.

In consequence of the disasters in Afghanistan, the position of the Governor-General was rendered more embarrassed by the state of parties at home. Disgraced by the blunders of their career, the Whig ministry were tottering to their fall, and were about to be succeeded by the Tories, who had not failed to make capital out of the horrors of the Khyber Pass. And now vacillation and diffidence succeeded the former confidence of Lord Auckland, and as he had no hope that the Government, on his resignation, would be carried out in accordance with his own views, he resolved for the little term that remained to him, to conduct it in such a manner as would be least embarrassing to his successor. But the state of Afghanistan destroyed all hope of the country being tranquil before that successor arrived; and when it seemed but too probable that nothing remained for our troops but to fight their way home, the Governor-General and his council lost no time in timidly announcing their intention of shunning further conflict.

Thus Sir Jasper Nicolls was directed to forward troops to Peshawur, to assist the army in the intended retreat, and, accordingly, Pollock had hastened to that place, under the impression that he was only to relieve Sale in Jelalabad, and assist in the evacuation of Afghanistan. Nott's command in the south was confirmed, and each officer was made superior to the political Residents at their respective posts—an arrangement, the expediency of which in countries where the sword is the sole arbiter, cannot be questioned. "At the date of the resolution conferring new and, to some extent, discretionary powers on the military commanders, the full extent of the Cabul disaster was not known at Calcutta; but on the 30th of January letters were received which destroyed all hope, and made the reality even worse than had been apprehended. Severe as the blow must have been felt, not a day was lost in publishing it to the world, and at the same time, pledging the Government to the adoption and steadfast prosecution of the most active measures 'for expediting powerful reinforcements to the Afghan frontier, and for assisting such

operations as may be required in that quarter for the maintenance of the honour and interests of the British Government.' A proclamation, issued from Fort William on the 31st, after making the above declaration, and adding that 'the ample military means at the disposal of the British Government will be strenuously applied to these objects, so as at once to support external operations, and cause efficient protection for its subjects and allies,' continues thus, as we have already quoted, 'a faithless enemy, stained by the foul crime of assassination, has, through a failure of supplies, followed by consummate treachery, been able to overcome a body of British troops, in a country removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour. But the Governor-General in council, while he most deeply laments the loss of brave officers and men, regards the partial reverse only as a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British Indian army.'"

All this sounded very well, but most puerile were the attempts to follow it up; and when Colonel Wyld's column was repulsed in the Khyber Pass, Lord Auckland's heart failed him, and mortified deeply that the last military operation undertaken during his administration should prove a miserable failure, he saw nothing for it but to abandon Afghanistan; and though we had yet to take vengeance on its people, on the 19th February, 1842, he wrote thus:—"Since we have heard of the misfortunes of the Khyber Pass, and have been convinced, that from the difficulties at present opposed to us, and in the actual state of our preparations, we could not expect, at least in this year, to maintain a position in the Jelalabad districts for any effective purpose, we have made our directions in regard to withdrawal from Jelalabad clear and positive, and we shall rejoice to learn that Major-General Pollock will have anticipated these more express orders, by confining his efforts to the same objects."

The arrival of Lord Ellenborough in Calcutta on the 28th February brought Lord Auckland's desponding and disastrous administration to a close.

He wrote a benevolent minute on education, and, in the interests of science, he strove to promote them; but his administration comprised a short series of transactions—the conquest, the occupation, and the disasters of Afghanistan. It commenced with a surplus revenue of a crore and a half, and it closed with a deficit of two crores, and a large addition to the debt. The Tories

contributed an inefficient Governor-General in Lord Amherst, and the Whigs another in Lord Auckland. The one wasted thirteen crores in the Burmese war, and the other squandered an equal sum in the Afghan expedition.*

Lord Ellenborough, the new Governor-General, having previously held the office of President of the Board of Trade, was not ignorant of the duties on which he entered, and possessed both the talents and the knowledge to discharge them with success. He was a statesman of high reputation, an eloquent orator, and for many years had taken a special interest in the affairs of India, which he reached at a time when on all sides "men's hearts were failing them because of fear." After arriving there, to use the language of an Indian journal, he "took two or three months to look about him. He found that the administration of his predecessor had been a 'secretariat administration,' and to that cause alone he attributed the fact that, after an experiment of five years, it had closed in dismay and defeat. He therefore resolved to take the executive power from the hands of his secretaries and to wield it himself. Hence it was that the country which he found distracted, shaking to pieces, with an exhausted treasury and a discontented army, he left in a condition to which it had never before attained: the coffers overflowing, the army enthusiastic, and the secretaries in their proper places. Hence, too, his unpopularity with the civil service."

He was known to possess great energy and decision of character; thus the community in India augured a happy relief from the weak and vacillating policy of his predecessor. In a letter, dated the 15th of March, 1842, addressed by him to the commander-in-chief, he gave a rapid survey of recent affairs, and drew a conclusion that the tripartite treaty, in consequence of the suspicious conduct which Shah Sujah had lately been pursuing, was no longer binding upon us, and we were under no obligation to peril our armies, and even the Indian empire, in seeking to carry out its provisions. "Whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations; and hence, in the first instance, regard must be had to the detached bodies of our troops at Jelalabad, at Ghuznee, at Khelat-i-Ghilzie, and Candahar; to the security of our troops now in the field from all unnecessary risk; and, finally, to the re-establishment of our military reputation, by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, to our own subjects, and our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit

atrocities and violate their faith; and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed."

On the part of Lord Ellenborough there was great activity, and apparent resolution; and, to be nearer the scene of operations, he started from Calcutta on the 6th of April, and, breaking loose from all official trammels, left his council behind him; but the language he adopted at Benares somewhat belied the spirit of his first proclamation, and he spoke of withdrawing Major-Generals Pollock and Nott, with their troops, into positions where they should have easier communication with India. The former was ordered to fall back upon Peshawur; the latter to withdraw his garrison from Khelat-i-Ghilzie, and to take up a position at Quetta, in Beloochistan, till the season should permit of his retiring to Sukkur.

This remarkable and unexpected change of views could only be accounted for by gloomy intelligence which he received from Afghanistan, and which perplexed him. While cheered by the steady heroism of Sale at Jelalabad, the dispersion of Ackbar Khan's troops, the junction of Sale and Pollock, he learned that these successes in the north were nearly counterbalanced by reverses in the south. Ghuznee had fallen; Khelat, though far less tenable, was sorely pressed, and General England had met with a disaster in the Kojuck Pass.

That officer, then in command of the Scinde field force, having been ordered to march from Dadur through the Bolan Pass towards Quetta, and from thence to traverse the Kojuck Pass, for the purpose of reinforcing General Nott, for whom he had supplies of treasure, ammunition, and medicine, took with him only five companies of H.M. 41st Welsh Regiment, six of Bombay Infantry, one troop of Bombay Cavalry, fifty Poonah Horse, and four Horse Artillery guns. He was an officer who had served at Flushing and Antwerp, and subsequently at Tarifa and in Sicily in 1810. On the 28th of March he reached the entrance of a defile that leads to the village of Hykulzye, where he intended to halt for the rest of his brigade, then threading its way through the Bolan Pass. It would appear that, in the hope that General Nott would send two or three battalions to the Kojuck Pass, he had resolved to halt in the Pisheen Valley till they should arrive; and it was only after learning that no such movement would be made, that he moved on towards Hykulzye.

* Marshman, vol. iii.

He had been distinctly warned that the enemy, in strength, were in readiness to contest his passage; and yet, without waiting till all his troops were concentrated, while in total ignorance of the country and of the whereabouts of the Afghans, he continued to advance rashly.

In consequence, he was suddenly attacked, when at the head of only 500 men, and compelled to give way, with the loss of 100 killed or wounded. Among the former were Major Apthorpe, of the Bombay service, and Captain May, of the 41st. He ordered the whole to retreat to Quettah, where, as if he had been pursued, he proceeded to intrench himself. Our loss was small, but the moral effect of the combat was great, and to it was ascribed the Governor-General's change of policy.

His peremptory orders for Pollock and Nott to withdraw were most mortifying to these officers, and neither were slow in bitterly expressing it; while the former, in the hope that the order might be cancelled, dexterously availed himself of a deficiency in carriage, and urged that, until it was supplied, he would be unable to fall back upon Peshawur. Meanwhile, Brigadier England (who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 41st) seemed to have made up his mind that it was no use attempting to enter the Kojuck Pass, and announced that he would wait till General Nott came in his direction. Nott lost all patience now, and wrote him peremptorily thus:—"I think it absolutely necessary that a strong brigade of 2,500 men should be immediately pushed from Quettah to Candahar with the supplies noted. I therefore have to acquaint you that I will direct a brigade of three companies of infantry, with a body of cavalry, to march from Candahar on the morning of the 25th instant. This force will certainly be at Chummun, at the northern foot of the Kojuck, on the morning of the 1st of May, and possibly on the 30th of this month. I shall, therefore, fully rely on your marching a brigade so that it may reach the southern side of the pass on the above-mentioned date."

As this was an order which he dared not disobey, he marched from Quettah on the 26th of April. Two days later he was at Hykulzye, where the way was barricaded and the enemy in strength; but he handled his troops so well that the Afghans fled, and on the 30th he reached the southern end of the Kojuck Pass, and on sending his advance-guard along the heights, he had the satisfaction to find those in front already in possession of the Candahar troops.

After forming the junction, the whole continued their march to the city, which they reached on the 10th of May. Now, it was at this very time, when

the active and impatient Nott had received those supplies, for want of which he had been kept inactive, that Lord Ellenborough's obnoxious letter reached him. It was indicative of timid and retrograde policy at a crisis when Nott hoped to be able to relieve Khelat-i-Ghilzie, or somewhere strike a blow to retrieve our tarnished honour. So great was his mortification that he could not trust himself to write on the subject to his seniors; but Major Rawlinson wrote thus, next day, to the gallant Outram:—"The peremptory order to retire has come upon us like a thunderclap. No one at Candahar is aware of such an order having been received, except the general and myself, and we must preserve profound secrecy as long as possible.

. When our intended retirement is once known, we must expect to have the whole country up in arms, and to obtain no cattle, except such as we can violently lay hands on. If the worst comes to the worst, we must abandon all baggage and stores, and be content to march with sufficient food to carry us to Quettah."

But for the courage of such men as Nott and Sale, the Cabul disasters would have been repeated. When the whole extent of our loss then became known, the former had written to Lord Auckland, urging him not to be disheartened for a moment, and cheerfully undertaking to march through the corpse-strewn passes from Candahar to Cabul as soon as the roads should be passable. Nott scorned the panic which prevailed at Calcutta, and exclaimed—"Stupid blunders caused disasters at Cabul; is that a reason for the despair of a mighty empire? I do greatly wonder at such deep folly."

"Had I not been sternly determined," he wrote, at a later period, "there would have been no advance on Ghuznee and Cabul, and we should have left Afghanistan in disgrace, being laughed at by the whole world, and all India would have been up in arms. I was obliged, more than once, to save their honour and their lives in spite of themselves. My sepoys always acted nobly, and I could have done anything with them. . . . But when among our own countrymen all was panic and infatuation, from Lord Auckland down to the drum-boy; when I endeavoured to uphold the honour of my country, and save it from disgrace, I was told—mark this! it is on official record—I was told, 'Your conduct has been injudicious, and shows that you are unfit for any command.'"^{*} But a time came when Lord Ellenborough was among the first to value and appreciate Nott.

Notwithstanding the apprehensions expressed in Rawlinson's letter to Outram, General Nott, aware

^{*} Sir W. Nott's Papers, *Quarterly Review*, 1846.

that, as a soldier, his first duty was obedience, prepared to execute the orders of the Governor-General, and, as a beginning, on the 19th of May he dispatched a brigade, consisting of H.M. 40th and two Bengal battalions, with some cavalry, and a company of Bombay European gunners, having some nine-pounders, under Colonel Wymer, to Khelat-i-Ghilzie, to assist the garrison in the evacuation of the place and the destruction of its works. Only two days before, the defenders, under Captain Halkett Craigie, had repulsed and slain 500 of the enemy, and now, to that officer's mortification, "the only result was something like an acknowledgment of defeat by an abandonment of the place as no longer tenable."

The last sheep in the garrison had been killed on the day before Colonel Wymer's arrival, and after three days were spent in the destruction of the fortifications, the whole force, accompanied by Craigie's garrison, marched back to Candahar.

"The order for the immediate evacuation of Afghanistan excited a burst of indignation throughout India. It was universally felt that to retire before our honour had been vindicated, or the prisoners rescued, would inflict a deeper stigma on the national character than the capitulation

at Cabul, and which might be considered one of the chances of the war. With all the contempt Lord Ellenborough expressed for public opinion, he could scarcely be indifferent to this unanimous expression of feeling, and he changed his mind again. On the 4th July, General Nott was assured, in an official communication, that the resolution of the Governor-General to withdraw the troops remained without alteration. On the same day Lord Ellenborough wrote himself to the general, suggesting that it might possibly be feasible for him to withdraw from Afghanistan by advancing to Ghuznee and Cabul, over the scenes of our late disasters; that this would have a grand effect upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, of our own countrymen, and of foreign nations in Europe. It was an object unquestionably great. A copy of this letter was sent to General Pollock, with the suggestion that he might possibly feel disposed to advance to Cabul and co-operate with General Nott. Both officers were too happy to move up to the capital and retrieve our honour, to think for a moment of the responsibility thus thrust upon them, and which the Governor-General, as the head of the state, should have had the courage to have taken upon himself."*

CHAPTER XXIII.

FATE OF SHAH SUJAH.—NOTT TAKES THE FIELD.—THE MARCH OF POLLOCK.—CABUL RE-CAPTURED AND PARTIALLY DESTROYED.

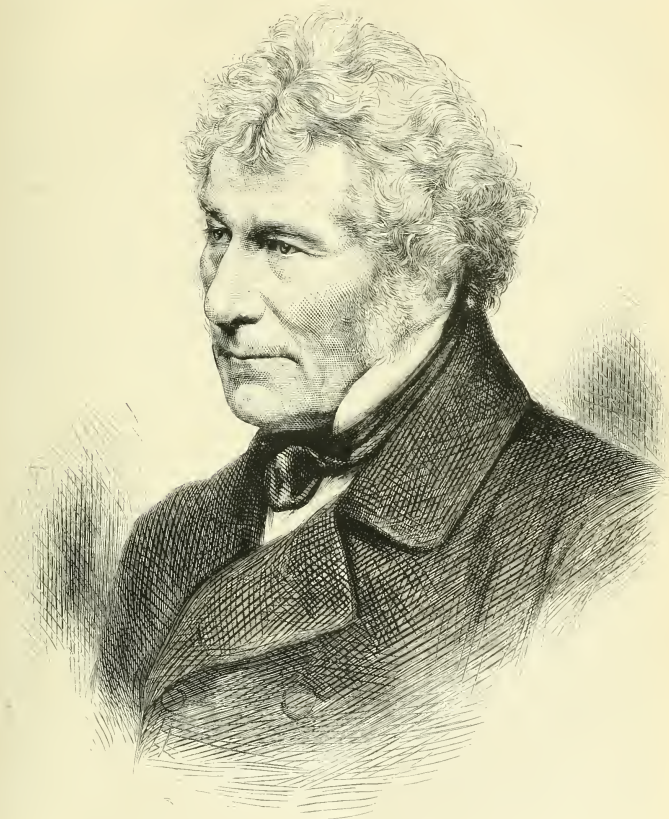
WHEN our army began that retreat from Cabul—a retreat which had no end, save death—Shah Sujah was acknowledged as king, and permitted to occupy the Balahissar, though the insurgent chiefs held all the powers of the State. To Jelalabad he sent repeated messages expressive of his unchangeable adherence to the British Government, with some cravings for money, though he had contrived to save twenty lacs of rupees out of the sums given him since he left Loodiana. But, as there was an irreconcilable hatred between the Afghans and the British, it was impossible that he could be the friend of both. Hence, when he protested his constant faith to the national cause, the chiefs of the Afghan clans desired him to demonstrate it by placing himself at the head of the army they were

about to march for the expulsion of Sale from Jelalabad. "He was totally unworthy of the support which the British Government in an evil hour had resolved to give him, and he was now endeavouring to play a double game, in which it was hardly possible for him not to be a loser. He was safe only while he remained within the Balahissar; and, therefore, the chiefs who were bent on his destruction used every means in their power to lure him beyond its walls."

As it was rumoured that he would be murdered or blinded by the Barukzyes, to lure him proved no easy task, but the proposal that he should march to Jelalabad, as a test of his truth, wrung a reluctant consent from him, and his personal safety

* Marshman's "India."

having been guaranteed by the most solemn oaths | on the following morning he would review the
sworn on the Koran, he moved out of the citadel | troops now encamped near the hills of Seeah



PORTRAIT OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

on the 4th of April, and returned to it unharmed | Sung, and then march with them for Jelalabad.
on the same day. As this seemed to prove that | At an early hour on the 5th he left the Balahissar
his fears were groundless, it was announced that | under a salute of cannon, wearing his most costly

jewels and all the insignia of royalty, and was riding towards the camp, when a band of Afghan *juzailchees*, who lay in ambush, poured upon him a murderous volley. One of the balls pierced his brain. Sujah-ul-Dowlah, son of the Nawab Zemaun Khan, the chief of the assassins, now rushed forward to ascertain that the king was dead, and then stood idly by while the others stripped the bloody corpse and tossed it into a ditch.

It would seem that the regicides had been ignorant of their real influence, as before night closed, Futtah Jung, Sujah's second son, was proclaimed king in the Balahissar, and was able to rescue his father's dead body from further indignity, and inter it with all the honours due to his rank. But the proclamation of the prince was followed by confusion and anarchy, amid which the guns of the Balahissar were turned again and again on the city; the rival factions fought deadly battles in its streets, and these ended in the complete ascendancy of Ackbar Khan.

While Lord Ellenborough had been changing his policy, he was anxious to disguise the fact that he was doing so; thus, while he continued to address letters to Generals Nott and Pollock, in which he constantly reminded them that to "withdraw" was still his intention, he in the same documents gave them express permission to advance on Cabul. The inflexible resolution to withdraw, with the permission to advance, were very like a contradiction, but the legal education of the Governor-General will account for any tergiversation of which he was then apparently guilty. Of this Beveridge, himself a lawyer, says: "Withdraw was still the order of the day, but there were different modes of effecting it. General Nott, for instance, instead of taking the shortest road, and retiring into Scinde by the Bolan Pass, might prefer to go a thousand miles about, and after traversing Afghanistan from north to south, reach India by the Khyber Pass and the Punjaub. Some may say that to speak of such a march as a 'withdrawal,' was a mere play upon words—in short, a despicable quibble. The Governor-General thought differently, and saw in this very quibble the means of at once saving his own consistency and retrieving the honour of the British arms."

Eventually the whole responsibility was thrown upon General Nott, whom Ellenborough knew was too much of a soldier not to accept it with joy; and he concludes his second letter of the 4th of July thus:—"If you should be enabled by *coup de main* to get possession of Ghuznee and Cabul, you will act as you see fit, and leave decisive proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its

humanity. You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee his club, which hangs over it, and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the Temple of Somnauth. These will be just trophies of your successful march."

As an artful, but additional inducement to choose the route to Ghuznee, Nott was informed that a copy of the letter would be forwarded to Pollock, with instructions to facilitate the advance by a forward movement, and that the operations of the two armies should be in conjunction, so as to effect, with the smallest amount of loss, the occupation of Cabul, while keeping open our communication between that place and Peshawur.

Our soldiers heard the welcome tidings of the intended advance with joy; and with joy, too, did the generals accept that responsibility which was selfishly and ungenerously thrown on them, and which, in the event of failure, might have ended dubiously for them both.

Nott, as having the longer march to perform, was the first to uncase the colours. Having dispatched Brigadier England, with five regiments and a half, twelve guns, and some cavalry, to march by the Bolan Pass, he prepared to take the longer and more difficult route with his main body; and on the 9th of August he made his first march northward in the direction of Ghuznee. The route was continued without interruption as far as Mookur, a large village, distant 130 miles from Candahar, when some of the enemy's cavalry came in sight, on which our light companies were sent to the front. That night an attempt made on the baggage was repulsed, and sixty Afghans were sabred; but on the following day, the 28th of August, the first actual skirmish occurred, with a result not at all creditable to the British arms.

A report having been brought into camp that a portion of Shumshoodeen Khan's army had attacked the grass-cutters who had gone out to forage, Captain Delamaine, who commanded the cavalry, moved to the front, while dispatching a messenger to the adjutant-general that he had done so. This message was not delivered in proper time, and hence Delamaine was unsupported. He overtook and repulsed the enemy, with loss. Elated by this, the cavalry rode on, and by pursuing the fugitives too far, fell among the whole of Shumshoodeen's army in difficult ground, full of ravines, from whence the matchlock-men repulsed them by a heavy fire; and the first tidings the infantry had of an encounter was the sound of it. Clouds of whirling dust obscured the scene of the strife, and out of these some riderless horses were seen

galloping wildly into camp. The whole cavalry fell back in good order, till a kind of panic ensued among them on being charged by only 150 of the enemy's horse. On seeing Nott's main body approaching, the Afghans moved off, satisfied with what they had done.

Among the slain were Captains Bury and Reeves, of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry. When a regiment, with some field-pieces, went to the front to recover the bodies of those who fell—fifty in number—they were all found to be deprived of their heads, hands, and otherwise shockingly mutilated. At Ghuznee, Captain Reeves' head was exhibited as that of General Nott, who, it was said, had been entirely defeated near Mookur, himself killed, his army dispersed, and his guns taken.*

The effect of all this was to add greatly to the forces of Shumshoodeen Khan, and, at the same time, to inflate him with such confidence, that he began to think of assuming the offensive. Accordingly, on the 30th, when Nott was marching upon Ghoiné, he took up a position on some hills in front of the British. The country there was finely wooded and studded with little square forts, having round towers at each angle. To lure him to a trial of strength, Nott, about three in the afternoon, moved out with half his force. The challenge was at once accepted. Beating tom-toms, and uttering discordant yells, the Afghans came pouring down, and there ensued a conflict which Nott describes with brevity in his despatch :—"The enemy advanced in the most bold and gallant manner, each division cheering as they came into position; their left being upon a hill of some elevation, their centre and right along a low ridge, until their flank rested on a fort filled with men. They opened a fire of small arms, supported by two six-pounder horse artillery guns, which were admirably served; our columns advanced upon the different points with great regularity and steadiness, and after a short but spirited contest completely defeated the enemy, capturing their guns, tents, ammunition, &c., dispersing them in every direction. One hour more of daylight would have enabled me to destroy the whole of their infantry. Shumshoodeen fled in the direction of Ghuznee, accompanied by about thirty horsemen."

The two guns had been worked by Mussulman deserters from our service. Our total in killed and wounded was 104 officers and men, and seventy-eight horses, including thirteen missing. Next day Nott was joined by a body of Huzaurehs, men of a tribe from the Paropamisian mountains, supposed to be of Tartar extraction. They professed a great

friendship for the British, and an equal detestation for the Afghans. As devout followers of Ali, they implored the general to exterminate all the Soonees, to rase Ghuznee, but more particularly to carry off or destroy "Jubber Jung," as they named a famous sixty-four-pound brass gun, for which they appeared to entertain a deep religious horror. These men are always good shots alike with bow and match-lock; in addition to which their arms are a Persian sword, a long narrow dagger in a wooden sheath, and sometimes a spear.*

On the morning of the 5th of September, Nott was before the lofty city of Ghuznee. It was full of armed men, he tells us in his despatch to the Indian Government, and on a range of mountains that lie north-east of the fortress there hovered heavy bodies of cavalry and infantry. Major Saunders, of the Engineers, with the 16th Bengal Infantry, proceeded to reconnoitre it to select a point for breaching; but, as he approached the village of Bullab, which occupies a spur of the mountains, about 600 yards from the walls, he was attacked by the enemy in such numbers that it became necessary to support the 16th. Captain Ferdinand White, of H.M. 40th, moved up with the light companies. Then Nott advanced with the other troops, and the firing became general. The village was captured, and Shumshoodeen Khan, who had been considerably reinforced by Sultan Jan, from Cabul, retired, with his infantry, within the walls, but not before we had lost forty-six men and sixteen horses. Two regiments of infantry and some light guns were left in Bullab to guard the formation of the breaching battery, while the rest of the troops encamped on the Cabul road. The enemy waited patiently till all the tents were up and the drums had beaten for breakfast, when a tremendous report was heard, and a shot from "Jubber Jung" whizzed over the mess-tent of H.M. 40th, and landing among the camels in the rear, killed several of them. Shot after shot came from it with amazing rapidity, and as these were roughly made of hammered iron, they hissed in their passage through the air. The camp was therefore transferred to Rosah, where the tents were set up amid vineyards and orchards. As the guns for the battery were being moved into position on the morning of the 6th, it was found that Ghuznee was empty. The enemy had abandoned it under cloud of night.

We thus entered the famous fortress without firing another shot. The Cabul Gate, by which Lord Keane had marched in, was found built up, and in the citadel where our officers had been

* Captain Neill.

* Elphinstone's "Account of Cabul."

imprisoned their names were written on the wall, with the statement of Colonel Palmer having been there put to torture. The mace that had hung above the white tomb of Mahmood—a weapon of wood, but with a metal head so heavy that few men could wield it—was gone; so was that mighty warrior's shield; but the sandal-wood gates, which, it was said, he had brought from Somnauth eight centuries before, were secured; and on hearing of this, Lord Ellenborough expressed his delight in a private letter to General Nott, abounding in minute and frivolous detail as to the mode in which the gates were to be paraded on the march homeward, and conveyed to their final destination. They were removed by a company of our 40th Regiment, amid the tears, curses, and wailings of the fakirs who watched the shrine. "Jubber Jung" was found to be a brass gun of the finest kind, and beautifully ornamented. All the guns taken in Ghuznee were burst, by order of the general. The fortifications were blown up, the woodwork set on fire, and the flames of this ancient and renowned citadel, the cradle of the Moslem power and faith in India, lighted the sky during a whole night.

Carrying with him the alleged gates of Somnauth, which Mahmood had reft from the famous temple in 1024, General Nott, on the 10th of September, marched from Ghuznee, and met with no opposition till the fourth day, when, on arriving at Maidan (twenty miles from Cabul), he found Shumshoodeen Khan, Sultan Jan, and other Afghan chiefs, at the head of 12,000 men, in possession of some heights, and prepared to dispute his passage. He immediately attacked them, and, as he states in his despatch to General Pollock, commanding west of the Indus, "our troops dislodged them in gallant style, and their conduct afforded me the greatest satisfaction." He had only two men killed, but several wounded, including three subalterns.*

The march of the 17th of September brought our Candahar force within five miles of the blood-stained capital, which was already in possession of General Pollock, who had entered it on the preceding day, and of whose triumphant march we must now give a brief account.

At the head of 8,000 men, he left Jelalabad, and on the 23rd reached Gundamuck, where the enemy were found in sufficient force to justify certain manoeuvres that, though necessary, are not worth detailing; but it was not until the 7th of September that the march was resumed by the first column, under Sale, while the second, under General McCaskill, prepared to follow on the 8th. On that day, when our advance reached Jugdulluk,

the enemy were seen in strong force occupying some heights forming a kind of amphitheatre to the left of the road; and Pollock, impatient for battle and vengeance, without waiting for the second column, ordered an attack. The foe met this with great firmness for some time, resolutely maintaining their posts, though the shells of our howitzers burst in showers among them; but the fiery gallantry of the veterans of Jelalabad was irresistible, and the heights were triumphantly stormed. Singular to say, we had only one man killed—an officer—and sixty-five wounded, among whom was one officer.

This success facilitated the progress of the second column, and both formed a junction at Tizeen on the 11th. Already had the Afghan chiefs become aware of the futility of resistance, and thought of obtaining terms. With this view, Ackbar Khan, who held Captain Troup as a species of hostage, sent for that officer, and told him "that he was immediately to proceed to Gundamuck, to General Pollock, and offer, on the part of the Afghan chiefs, submission to any terms he might be pleased to dictate, provided he would stay the advance of his army on Cabul." Troup, aware that the time for negotiation was passed, and that for punishment was come, urged the futility of the proposed journey. Ackbar seems to have become sensible of that, too; and the moment he learned that the British troops were halting in the Pass of Jugdulluk, and might be entangled there like their luckless comrades, he moved his camp to Khoord Cabul, and then pushed on to Tizeen, where the position of the British was certainly a perilous one.

They were in the bottom of a valley, encompassed by great mountains, and there Pollock's pickets were attacked with such boldness on the evening of the 12th September that, though the assault was repulsed by the energy and personal valour of Colonel Taylor, it was evident that progress through the pass beyond would be hotly contested. On the 13th it became necessary for Pollock to decide whether that gloomy vale, where the bones of our dead lay whitening in thousands—as, indeed, they were all over the route—was again to become the scene of another dreadful carnage, or whether it was to witness the condign punishment of Afghan perfidy.

On entering the Tizeen Pass next day, its heights were seen to be crowned with 16,000 men, under Ackbar Khan, and in the battle that ensued the utmost energies of the combatants on both sides were keenly called forth. "The Afghans, elated by their previous success on the same spot, hoped that they were to achieve a second and more glorious victory, while they also knew that

* Despatches.

defeat would involve the loss of their capital, and, it might be, of their national independence. The British were animated by still stronger motives. Their companions in arms, whose remains lay scattered around them, were calling aloud for vengeance, and the only question now was, whether, by victory, they were to give a true response to this call, or, by defeat, to be in a like manner exterminated."

The battle was begun by a body of Afghan horse, who, full of confidence and the desire for plunder, descended into the plain to attack our baggage, ere they could reach which, our cavalry fell upon them like a human tempest, threw them into instant confusion, and cut them to pieces. Meanwhile, our infantry had won the crest of the heights, and, trusting chiefly to the bayonet, carried all before them. Though the flower of the Ghiljies and other tribes were under their most able chiefs, their efforts were vain, for the troops with whom they had to deal were unlike the dispirited fugitives of Elphinstone, who, long ere this, had died in the Tower of Tizeen. Deprived of the double advantage which they hoped to possess, in their elevated position and the long range of their juzzails, on the near approach of our infantry they acknowledged their defeat by flight; but not before we lost 162 men killed and wounded, exclusive of four officers among the latter.

Leaving his army to its fate, Ackbar Khan fled, almost alone, to the Ghorebund Valley, while General Pollock continued his march, without further molestation, through Khoord Cabul and Boothauk, and on the 15th of September he encamped on the race-course at Cabul. On the morning of the 16th he hoisted the British colours on the Balahissar, while our bands played the National Anthem, and the cheers of the soldiers rose "with triumphant vehemence, as if they would rend the heavens."

The next occupation of our troops after entering Cabul was the collection and reverent interment of the bones of their brother-soldiers and others who had fallen in that terrible retreat. In many places the skeletons lay in piles, and nearly all headless, the Afghans having taken the skulls as trophies. We are told that horrible and agonising were the efforts made by many of our officers and their men to trace, in the skulls and shattered bones, the remains of some dear friend or comrade. On the spot where the unhappy "44th made their last stand, more than 200 skeletons were found lying close together."

General Pollock's first attention was turned to the release of the captives, whom Ackbar Khan,

on the 25th of August, after stripping them of everything of value, had hurried over the barren wastes and steep ascents of the Hindoo Coosh, many thousand feet above the level of the sea, to Bamean, where they arrived on the 3rd of September. Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the military secretary, was now dispatched after them, at the head of 600 Kuzzilbash Lancers. The ladies and officers were then under the charge of Saleh Mohammed, who had been a native commandant in a local Afghan regiment, but had deserted it in the previous year. On the 11th of September he had called Captains Johnson, Lawrence, and Major Pottinger aside, and produced a letter from Ackbar Khan, desiring him to convey the helpless prisoners to the higher regions of the Hindoo Coosh, and deliver them over to the Usbec Tartar chief of Khooloom, in which case, too probably, we should never have heard of them more. At the same time, he exhibited a letter from Mohun Lall, the moonshiee of the assassinated envoy, promising, on the part of General Pollock, a gratuity of 20,000 rupees, with an annuity of 12,000, if he would restore the captives. "I know nothing," said he, "of General Pollock; but if you three gentlemen will swear to me by your Saviour to make the offer good, I will deliver you over to your own people."

The proposal was rapturously received, and the officers and ladies united in making themselves responsible by a deed for the funds. Major Pottinger now, by common consent, assumed direction of their movements. He deposed the governor of Bamean, and laid under contribution a caravan of Lohanee merchants which passed it. He secured the Afghan escort of 250 men by promising them four months' pay on reaching Cabul, and issued proclamations to the neighbouring chiefs to make their obeisance to him, while he granted them remissions of revenue. To be ready for a siege, the hero of Herat repaired the fortifications, dug wells, and laid in provisions; and on the 15th a passing horseman brought the glorious tidings that Ackbar Khan was a fugitive in the Toba Mountains, that the Afghan army was annihilated, and that Pollock was in full march for Cabul.

Major Pottinger now determined to return there with his fellow-prisoners, who all moved on the 16th, and slept that night on the bare rocks, unconscious, amid their joy, of suffering or fatigue. Next afternoon, when they were resting in the sunshine under the walls of an old fort, Sir Richmond Shakespeare came galloping up with his Kuzzilbashes, and was received with heartfelt pleasure; and more than ever did the rescued—especially the ladies, with their children—feel



MOUNTAINEERS OF THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS.

thankful for "the grace and protecting providence of a forbearing and merciful God."*

But the party had still a long march through a difficult and disturbed country; and as Shakespeare was not without fears that Ackbar might make an effort to recover his prey, he forwarded an urgent message to General Pollock to send troops to their support, as the Pass of Suffed Khak, through which they had to march, was said to be beset. At the

"It was a glorious rescue," says another writer, "but, alas! that the number rescued should be so small. Major-General Shelton, of H.M. 44th Foot, stands at the head of the list. The total number of all who were released and recovered by Nott and Pollock's brilliant advance to Cabul, and by Sale's forward movement, was only 122. Of this number nine were ladies, and three the wives of non-commissioned officers, there were twenty-two



PORTRAIT OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

same time, it was resolved that the party should move forward by forced marches, for which every facility was afforded by the Kuzzilbash chiefs, who supplied fresh horses; and on the 20th they met a British officer, who gave them the welcome intelligence that the gallant Sale, with his noble brigade, was but a few miles distant, on the road to meet them. "All doubt was now at an end," says Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir Vincent) Eyre: "we were once more under the safeguard of British troops. General Sale was there in person, and his happiness in regaining his long-lost wife and daughter may be imagined."

* Lieutenant Eyre's "Journal."

children, and thirty-four officers. The rest, with the exception of two or three regimental clerks, were British non-commissioned officers and privates."

Many of them had no other garment than a sheep-skin; others had the flowing garb of Afghanistan. Our camp at Cabul rang with acclamations when they entered it, and never since the establishment of British India had so intense a feeling of anxiety pervaded the community as the fate of the prisoners excited, and the thrill of delight which vibrated throughout the country on the announcement of their safety may be more easily conceived than described.*

* Marshman.

Cabul was won, but the fighting was not entirely over. Under Ameen Oolah Khan, the most bitter of our enemies, the scattered bands of the Afghan army were gathering in Kohistan, or the highlands of the country, and it was deemed necessary to disperse them. For this purpose General McCaskill marched against Istaliff; but prior to his departure, an interesting ceremony was performed in Lady Sale's tent, when some of the infants who had been born in captivity were baptised by a military chaplain.

Istaliff, boasted as the virgin fortress of Afghanistan, had hence been selected by the insurgents as the place where to leave their families and treasure. It occupies a spur of the Hindoo Coosh, distant twenty miles from Cabul, and McCaskill found its strength had not been over-rated. The town rose in terraces on the mountain slope, and besides being protected by numerous forts, was accessible only by climbing heights, separated by deep ravines and narrow avenues, lined on each side by the strong walls of gardens and vineyards. Confident in the traditional strength of Istaliff, the enemy were disdainfully careless in their arrangements for its defence; thus, when the British troops advanced on the morning of the 29th, they cleared the approaches with ease. The town was stormed, and much booty found, and by some means about a third of the place was burned down. No lives were taken after resistance ceased. A large number of women and children were collected and placed under guard for transmission to their friends, and they were treated with every care and consideration; but considering all that happened there—how the people had murdered Captain Codrington, Lieutenant Rattray, and others, when dwelling peacefully in their midst—how Major Pottinger had escaped covered with wounds, after all his people were slain—it might not have excited surprise had every armed man in the place been put to death. As there were no means for transporting their booty, our soldiers threw into the flames all that they could not convey about their persons.*

General McCaskill next marched to Charikur, where our regiment of Ghoorkas had perished by wholesale slaughter, and burned it down. The objects of the new expedition had been accomplished; the surviving prisoners had been released; Afghanistan had been re-conquered, and our military reputation thus restored; but one thing more was necessary, to leave some retributive and lasting mark of our vengeance on its capital.

Prior to doing this, our generals, somewhat unwisely, set up another puppet-king at Cabul. Futch Jung, the son of the murdered Shah Sujah, found

his way, in a state of utter destitution, to General Pollock's camp at Gundamuck, from whence he accompanied our troops to Cabul, where he was again installed as king. But this availed him nothing, for when the departure of our army was announced, he resolved to return with it rather than wear a crown which would cost him his life, and a younger brother took his place, only to be dethroned before we crossed the Indus. The Bala-hissar, which had been doomed to destruction, was, most unwisely, left untouched, but the great bazaar of Cabul, the most splendid edifice of its kind in Central Asia, was undermined and blown up, as having been the place where Macnaghten's mutilated corpse had been exposed to the insults of a mob for days.

The British colours were lowered on the Bala-hissar, and with emotions of high satisfaction, our two armies began their homeward march, accompanied by the family of Shah Sujah. This was on the 12th of October, 1842. Lord Ellenborough was all impatience to publish their triumphs to the world in official proclamations. He was at Simla, in the house from which Lord Auckland had sent the declaration of war four years before, and he issued a proclamation announcing the termination of it, and that some dramatic effect should not be wanting, he dated it on the same day of the month with Lord Auckland's manifesto, though it was not issued till ten days later, and it was much censured for its unseemly remarks upon his predecessor.

"Disasters," wrote Lord Ellenborough, "unparalleled in their extent, except by the errors in which they originated, have, in one short campaign, been avenged on every scene of past misfortune. . . . The combined army of Britain and India," he continued, "superior in equipment, in discipline, and in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength on its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and honour."

With Nott and other generals, and not with Lord Ellenborough, lay the glory that had been won; but in his inflation, his proclamation about the captured gates excited ridicule as a parody on Napoleon's famous bulletin.

"My friends and brothers," he said, in his address to the princes of India, "our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of the Sultan Mahmood looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee! The insult of 800 years is at last avenged. . . . To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwara,

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

of Malwah, and of Goojerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful warfare. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit these gates of sandal-wood to the restored temple of Somnauth."

This document excited such laughter, that many persons doubted its genuineness. The gates which Nott was ordered to guard as he would his colours, and which an old Fakir predicted would never reach Somnauth, were borne in a wagon covered with costly trappings, escorted by Hindoo volunteers from the 2nd Grenadiers,* and taken in Lord Ellenborough's train to Agra, while, as the procession went forward, hundreds of frantic Hindoos prostrated themselves before it, and made pooja, as if it were a deity; but the gates never went further than Agra, and were thrown into a lumber room of the fort. Moreover, the gates proved in the end not to be those of Somnauth, as their date was found to be much more recent than the time of Mahmood of Ghuznee.

Partly to overawe the Sikhs, and partly to get up a grand ovation, the Governor-General mustered a large army at Ferozepore, and there, at the bridge

* Captain Neill—Appendix.

of the Sutlej, amidst hundreds of elephants, which he had collected to do honour to the returning troops, he welcomed General Pollock with the rescued captives, and General Nott—who must have felt some contempt for the whole affair—with the gates in their wagon. The officers were feasted in a magnificent tent, while a repast of their favourite sweetmeats was given to the sepoys. All the troops in camp now mustered 40,000 men, and if imposing, it was also a judicious display after our recent military disasters beyond the Indus.

The Afghan prisoners were now liberated; and on taking leave of Dost Mohammed, Lord Ellenborough asked his opinion of the British after all he had seen in India. "I have been struck," replied the Dost, "with the magnitude of your resources, your ships, your arsenals; but what I cannot understand is, why the rulers of an empire so vast and flourishing should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country."

The surprise expressed by the Dost, says Marshman, was equally shared by the community in Britain and India; and here the curtain drops on the dark tragedy of Afghanistan.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CAPTURE OF CANTON.—RELATIONS WITH SCINDE.—THE PERFDY OF ALI MORAD.—EMAUMGHUR DESTROYED.—BATTLE OF MEANEE.

To preserve coherence in the foregoing narrative of the Afghan war, we have omitted, chronologically, a reference to the expedition to the coast of China, in May, 1840.

In our dispute concerning the opium trade, Lord Palmerston, in 1839, gave instructions to our Resident at Canton to inform all British merchants and masters of vessels that to traffic in that drug was illegal; that "the British Government could not interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade." Nevertheless, smuggling was greatly carried on, the Chinese authorities at Canton conniving at it, while the supreme government, like the British Resident, issued proclamations against it. In the February of 1839, strict orders came from Peking to carry the official decrees into effect, and hence, a Chinese accused of smuggling was publicly strangled in front of the foreign factories.

Captain Elliot, our Resident, thereupon ordered all British craft not having licenses to proceed outside the Bogue. On the 10th of March the imperial commissioner, Lin, arrived at Canton, and on the 18th he issued two edicts, one to Hong merchants, and the other to foreigners; the latter requiring every particle of opium in the store-ships, as well as in the vessels without the Chinese waters, to be delivered up to the government on the penalty of death. Captain Elliot, and other residents at Canton, who had never been concerned in any opium transactions, were seized, and threatened with execution unless the mandate was complied with in three days. Our representative had only the alternative of death or implicit obedience. To save lives he chose the latter, and promised to give up opium to the value of £2,500,000, a great part of which was at the time on the high seas, and entirely beyond the control of the Chinese government.

All the opium in these vessels was delivered up; but Lin contended that the specified amount was not made good, and detained Captain Elliot under the same threat of death, compelling him to purchase opium, to the value of about £40,000, to make up the quantity. A convention entered into by the Chinese commissioner for carrying on the outside trade was, on some pretence, broken; and a rencontre took place between H.M. ships *Volage* and *Hyacinth* and a fleet of war-junks, which ended in the utter destruction of the latter. Various attempts were made to burn the British ships in the roads, and to poison their crews. To demand redress and compensation for these insults, and the vast destruction of property, an expedition was sent from India, under Sir Hugh Gough, who captured Canton in May, 1840, and also took possession of the whole river defences, which were held by our troops until 6,000,000 dollars were paid by the Chinese government,* and five ports were opened to European commerce.

Before the final evacuation of Afghanistan took place, the attention of the Governor-General had been drawn to Scinde. On the 4th of November, 1842, a draft of a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde was prepared, and several of its articles became important before the strife then raging was over. By the 2nd article the Company's rupee was to become the only coin legally current after the 1st of January, 1845. By the 5th article the Ameers renounced the privilege of coining money. Article 6 related to the cutting of wood for steamers navigating the Indus. By article 7, Kurrachee and Tatta were ceded to us, with a free passage between them. By article 8, Subsulkhote, which had been taken from the Nawab by the Ameers, and the territory between the present frontier of Bhawalpore and the town of Rohree, are ceded to "that ever faithful friend and ally of the British Government," his Highness of Bhawalpore.

Nott's advance upon Candahar the Ameers mistook for a retrograde movement, and though he afterwards destroyed Ghuznee, and joined in the retribution that fell on Cabul and Istaliff, they would assume that his measures bore the character of a flight. "It was," says Sir Charles Napier, "viewed as a proof of weakness, and the Beloochees and Brahooes became more hopeful and more confident than before. The Ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde consulted together how best to league against the Feringhees; Sikh vakeels were at Khyrpoor ready to start for Lahore, loaded with presents for the Maharajah; and at the same time letters came from the victorious Afghans, reminding the Ameers

that they were ever feudatories of the Dooranee empire, and exhorting them to act boldly in the common cause. These things led to the Ameers' final destruction: they were the forerunners of the battle by which they fell; but their primary cause, it has been shown, was deeper seated. The Scindian war was no isolated event. 'It was the tail of the Afghan storm.'"^{*}

To prosecute a war with the British, the Ameers swore upon the Koran their resolution to unite with Afghans, Sikhs, or any other allies; but, luckily for us, at this crisis there was then in command of the troops in Scinde, where he was invested with full diplomatic and military power, a soldier of the highest reputation, Sir Charles James Napier, who had served first in the Irish rebellion, and afterwards in Spain and America. He was taken prisoner at Corunna, but not until he had received five wounds, and had his ribs broken by a cannon-shot.† He was a man of heroic valour and extraordinary energy; but it is said, by Marshman, that he assumed his post in Scinde with a strong prejudice against the Ameers. The investigation of the charges of disloyalty was left to him by the Governor-General; with the distinct injunction that he was not to proceed against them without the most complete proof of their guilt; and we are also told that he did not consider the war about to be launched upon them as just. Various treaties had been forced already upon these free and independent chiefs; and now Britain treated their country as if it were a province won in war. When Lieutenant Eastwick, on behalf of the Bombay Government, laid before the Ameers the draft-treaty referred to, Noor Mohammed, one of the most powerful, took from a box all the treaties which were in force, and with some sarcasm, asked what was to become of all these; but before he could be replied to, he added, indignantly, "Here is another annoyance! Since the days that Scinde has been connected with Britain there has always been something new; your Government is never satisfied. We are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories, and now you wish to remain!"

The death of this patriotic chief facilitated the designs of Britain, which were carried out with as little sense of scruple as of justice. The Ameers had submitted with tolerable patience to much injustice under Lord Auckland's administration, but when his successor arrived, "a puerile and hot-headed policy was pursued, calculated to drive them to madness or despair. Yet, as in the case

* Lord Jocelyn's "Chinese Expedition;" Despatches, &c.

* "Conquest of Scinde."

† Hart's "Army List," 1843.

of Afghanistan, his hot vigour was followed by reaction, and he hesitated as to the expediency of forcing certain cessions of territory, which he had ordered Colonel Outram, the Resident, to demand." And it was when one of his fits of activity returned, that he placed Sir Charles Napier in civil and military command in Scinde.

On the 5th of October, 1842, that officer reported to Calcutta that the Ameers levied toll upon the Indus, contrary to a treaty which, like others, had been forced upon them by our Government, and "which," it has been said, "they had no more right to dictate, than any Scinde or Belooch robber would have to levy black-mail within the Indian territory." Although he admitted that the Ameers had been aggrieved, and had as yet committed no act of aggression, he still resolved to carry out the Governor-General's unjust policy with a resolute will, and a series of intrigues began "between certain of the Ameers, which were neither very clever nor cunning, and eventually did more to embarrass affairs and drive the Ameers to resistance, than any of the articles of the oppressive and insolent treaty forced upon them;"* and eventually, without allowing them to discuss the terms of it, Sir Charles Napier sequestered the whole of the lands stated in the first treaty, which belonged to Belooch chiefs, who were feudatories of Ameers, thus plunging them at once in penury.

These violent measures were caused by the villainy of Ali Morad. The highest dignity in Upper Scinde was the office of Rais, the symbol of which was a turban. Meer Roostum, then in his eightieth year, had long enjoyed it, and was venerated by all. According to the usage of the country, the succession to this honour belonged to his younger brother, Ali Morad, but he wished to bestow it on his own son. To make sure of the turban, the former won the confidence of Napier, whose mind he poisoned against Meer Roostum, who, terrified by three threatening messages sent by the general, fled to the castle of Ali Morad, on whose head he placed the coveted turban, an act which betokened the surrender of power. Sir Charles was not without some suspicion that the cession had been obtained by force or fraud, and wished to see the Meer on the subject. To prevent any elucidation of the matter, and preclude an interview, Ali woke his brother at midnight, and urged flight, as the British troops were coming to seize him. In fear and bewilderment the aged chief rode in the dark to the camp of some other relatives, twelve miles distant, to avoid Sir Charles Napier, who immediately issued a proclamation

to the Ameers of Scinde, announcing that he was resolved to maintain Ali Morad as chieftain of the Talpoora family. Meer Roostum sent his minister instantly to Napier, to relate the true story, and how he had been prompted to fly. To this explanation an arrogant reply was sent by the general, who announced his resolution of reducing and destroying Emaumghur in the desert, because it was deemed the "Gibraltar of Upper Scinde;" and he was determined to show the Ameers that "neither the deserts nor their negotiations could intercept the progress of a British army."

Accordingly, although we were then at peace with all the known authorities of Scinde, on the 4th of January, 1843, he made his arrangements for crossing the desert, and started on the night of the 5th, with 350 men of H.M. 22nd Regiment, mounted on camels, two soldiers on each with their muskets slung; two 24-pound howitzers, with double teams of camels, 200 of the Scinde Horse, provisions for fifteen days and water for four. On the 7th, Choonka, twenty-five miles from Deejeekote, was reached. Though the Ameers had repeatedly shown themselves, no opposition was encountered, and after a toilsome march, the 12th saw Napier before Emaumghur, a square fort built of burned brick with round towers, about fifty feet in height, and capable of resisting any force unfurnished by artillery. It was found to be deserted, so nothing remained but to destroy it, which was effectually done with 10,000 lbs. of powder, in sight of clouds of fanatical Beloochee horsemen, who hovered in the desert and looked angrily on. He then retired, and on the 21st of January reached Peer Abubeker, on the road from Khyrpoor to Hyderabad. The Duke of Wellington said it was "one of the most curious military exploits" he had ever heard of, but as poor old Meer Mohammed, to whom the fort belonged, had never given us the least offence, it was an act of wanton aggression. Moreover, his lands were confiscated in Upper Scinde, he was deprived of all power and dignity, and Sir Charles ordered all the Ameers of the upper and lower provinces to meet Major Outram at Khyrpoor, and there discuss and sign the treaty; but as some of them failed to attend, the conference was transferred to Hyderabad.

There Major Outram gave them credit for more sincerity, and so far became their dupe, as to propose that Sir Charles, who had already drawn the sword, should leave behind the army he was assembling, and come in person to Hyderabad. "This," said he, "will remove all difficulties." "Yes," replied the veteran, "and my head from my shoulders." That Napier was wise in not

* "Parliamentary Papers relating to Scinde," &c.

trusting himself in Hyderabad, was proved on the 12th of February, when twenty-five Beloochee chiefs of the Mussee tribe were arrested in arms, and, on the person of Hyat Khan, who held chief command, was found an order from Mohammed Khan, one of the Ameers of Hyderabad, directing him "to assemble every male capable of wielding a sword, and join his victorious Beloochee troops at Meanee on the 9th."

It would appear that on the very day this discovery was made, the Ameers met in solemn durbar, and with the exception of Nusseer Khan of Khyrpoor, signed that, which was to them a most obnoxious treaty, and which has been justly termed "the consummation of a system of duplicity." They had been simply seeking to gain time to complete their military preparations, but tidings of the sudden advance of Napier on Hyderabad, filled them with confusion.

As Outram, then holding the local rank of colonel, was leaving the fort after the signature of the treaty, he was surrounded by a crowd of armed and furious citizens and soldiers, who poured bitter curses on the British, as tyrants, robbers, and truce-breakers, and he, the future "Bayard of India," would have been torn to pieces, had the Ameers not personally guarded him to the residency. Next day they informed him that the Belooch troops were so exasperated, as to be no longer amenable to authority, and with more chivalry than discretion he refused to leave his post. But on the morning of the 15th February, three days after the signature of the treaty, masses of infantry surrounded the residency with a dreadful din, and after a gallant defence of three hours, Outram withdrew to an armed steamer, anchored at 500 yards distance in the river. On board of her, Captain Brown, of the Bengal Engineers, proved an efficient artillery officer, but Outram and others had to leave all their baggage and other property behind, when, subsequently, they joined the forces gathering under Sir Charles Napier.

These events rendered a general appeal to arms inevitable, and the Belooch troops flocked to the capital in greater numbers, when it was seen that Sir Charles Napier, the fiery scion of an old fighting race, persisted in advancing on it, though the treaty had been signed.

Sir Charles Napier now moved to Meanee, a town on a branch of the Indus, which is there a mile broad and eighteen feet deep. There he halted on the 17th of February, and there on that day was fought a battle, and won a British victory, second to none in the warlike annals of India.

The Beloochees were 22,000 strong; our force

but 2,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, with twelve pieces of cannon.

After a four hours' march, about nine in the morning, our troops came in sight of the enemy, whose wings rested on dense woods near Meanee. In their front lay the Failyee branch of the Indus, quite dry. Our slender force began its advance from the right in echelon of battalions; the artillery and H.M. 22nd in line taking the lead, the 25th Native Infantry the second, the 12th Native Infantry the third, the 1st Native Grenadiers the fourth. The 9th Bengal Light Cavalry formed the reserve in rear of the left wing; the Poonah Horse, together with four companies of infantry, guarded the baggage. "In this order of battle," says Napier, "we advanced as at a review, over a fine plain, swept by the cannon of the enemy."

The fighting that ensued was terrible, and when our troops got close up, after the dry nullah was crossed, they had to ascend the sloping bank, but braver men never rushed to battle than those who met at Meanee; and never was true British generalship more conspicuous than there, and no quarter was given or asked while the conflict lasted.

"The Beloochees," says Napier, "having their matchlocks laid ready in rest along the summit of the bank, waited until the assailants were within fifteen yards ere their volley was discharged; the rapid pace of the British and the steepness of the slope deceived their aim, and the result was not considerable; the next moment the 22nd were on the top of the bank, thinking to bear down all before them, but they staggered back in amazement at the forest of swords waving in their front. Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochees in their many-coloured garments and turbans; they filled the deep, broad bed of the ravine, they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun, their shouts rolling like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they dashed forward, with demoniac strength and ferocity, full against the front of the 22nd. But with shouts as loud, and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big, and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons the musket, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood. . . . Now the Beloochees closed their dense masses, and again the shouts, the rolling fire of musketry, and the dreadful rush of their swordsmen, were heard and seen along the whole line, and such a fight ensued as has seldom been known or told of in the records of war. These wild warriors continually advanced,

BATTLE
OF MEANEE
17th Feb'y 1843.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MEANEE.

sword and shield in hand, striving, in all the fierceness of their valour, to break into the opposing ranks; no fire of small arms, no thrust of bayonets, no sweeping discharges of grape from the guns, could drive these gallant soldiers back; they gave their breasts to be shot; they leaped upon the guns by twenties at a time; their dead went down the steep slope by hundreds, but the gaps in their masses were continually filled from the rear; the survivors of the front rank still pressed forward with unabated fury, and the bayonet and the sword clashed in full and frequent conflict."⁹

At one time, our whole line was nearly overborne by sheer weight and numbers, but a brilliant charge, made by the 9th Cavalry and Scinde Horse, completely relieved it, by forcing the enemy's right flank, capturing a standard, with several pieces of

artillery, and driving a body of horse beyond even their own camp. "This charge," says Sir Charles, "decided, in my opinion, the crisis of the action, for, from the moment the cavalry were seen in rear of their right flank, the resistance of the enemy slackened; the 22nd Regiment forced the bank, the 25th and 12th did the same, the latter regiment capturing several guns, and the victory was decided."

The British losses were 256 killed and wounded; those of the enemy exceeded 500; and the results of the victory were the capture of the whole of the enemy's treasure, artillery, stores, standards, and camp. Several of the Ameers personally submitted to Napier. Hyderabad surrendered, and the 20th of February saw the British colours floating on its great tower.

CHAPTER XXV.

VICTORY AT DUBBA.—CONQUEST AND ANNEXATION OF SCINDE.—THE MAHRATTAS OF GWALIOR.—

BATTLE OF MAHARAJAPORE, ETC.

BRILLIANT as this victory was, the war was not yet over. Shere Mohammed of Meerpore, the most famous of all the Ameers, had been on the march to join the confederates, when he heard of their signal defeat. Sir Charles Napier offered to accept his submission on the same terms as the others, but he scorned to submit, and kept the field, at the head of a force that rapidly augmented to 20,000 men. For some time after his victory, Napier was able barely to muster 2,000 men, and, therefore, instead of continuing offensive operations, he prudently formed an intrenched camp on the left bank of the Indus, and constructed a fort on the right bank, as a protection to the steamers which carried his supplies. There he resolved to wait for reinforcements, certain that if Shere Mohammed assailed him, he would be beaten, and that if he did not, his money would soon become exhausted. The Ameer drew near the place, and finding that he was not attacked, became confident, and when twelve miles distant, sent a letter, offering to permit the British to quit the country (though he had sworn to "Cabul them," as he phrased it), provided they restored all captives. Just as his messengers delivered the letter, the evening gun was

fired. "There," said Sir Charles, "do you hear that?" "Yes." "Well, that is your answer," he added, significantly.

The expected reinforcements came up on the 21st of March, and at the head of 5,000 men, Napier was able to assume the offensive, and marched from Hyderabad at dawn on the 24th, to a village called Dubba, where the enemy, still 20,000 strong, were strongly intrenched in rear of two parallel ditches, the first eight feet deep and twenty-two wide, and the second seventeen feet deep and forty-two wide, with a bank or ridge forty-three feet wide between them. Napier attacked instantly, the whole of his guns, nineteen in number, opening at once on the enemy's position, while the line, led as before by the 22nd, advanced in echelon from the left. In a short time, the enemy, while throwing considerable bodies to this point, were apparently falling back as if unable to oppose the cross-fire of our artillery. This was the moment to try the effect of a cavalry charge, and it was performed with great brilliance by the 3rd Cavalry under Captain Delamaine, and the Scinde Horse led by Captain Jacobs, who dashed across both nullahs, and pursued the fugitives of the enemy for several miles, but not without considerable loss.

* "Conquest of Scinde."

While this occurred on the right, the 22nd, with their usual heroism, attacked the point assigned them and carried it, but not without many casualties. Three regiments of native infantry followed them close, and thus decided the battle of Dubba, otherwise called Narajah, which the Duke of Wellington said was "a brilliant victory, in which he (Sir C. Napier) showed all the qualities of a general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops."

We lost 270 officers and men: more than half the casualties occurred in the ranks of our 22nd Foot.

On the 27th, our troops took possession of Meer-pore, the capital of Shere Mohammed, but Napier was afraid to advance further, being obliged to watch the Indus, lest the overflow of its waters should cut him off by inundation. To act still on the offensive, he sent a squadron of cavalry, on the 28th of March, to reconnoitre Omerkote, a fort in the desert, about 100 miles from Hyderabad, which, though supposed to be garrisoned by 4,000 men, was eventually found to be abandoned; and the importance attached to its capture gave Napier occasion to write thus:—"Omerkote is ours. . . . This completes the conquest of Scinde; every place is in my possession; and, thank God! I have done with war. Never again am I likely to see a shot fired in anger."

But this was a rash anticipation, for Shere Mohammed, returning from the sandy desert to which he had fled, was able, towards the end of April, to rank 8,000 men under his standard at Khoonera, about sixty miles from Hyderabad, while his brother, Shah Mohammed, at the head of several thousands more, with four guns, had gone down to Sehwan, with a view to cross the Indus, and join in a preconcerted revolt at Hyderabad. Meer Hossein, the son of Meer Roostum, was in the desert of Shaghur, with 2,000 men, and with several refractory chieftains, was menacing Ali Morad at Khyrpoor; 20,000 predatory Beloochees were traversing the Delta of the Ganges; and to the east of it, beyond the Poorana branch of the river, a tribe 5,000 strong, was threatening to cut off all communication with Bombay. Therefore, instead of the peace expected by Napier, there was every prospect of renewal of the war, and a necessity for the most decisive measures, lest Shere Mohammed should double his force amid the predatory hordes in the Delta of the Indus.

The first encounter was with his brother, upon whom Colonel Roberts came by surprise, at Sehwan, dispersed his troops, burned his camp, took him prisoner, and sent him under escort to

Hyderabad. To attack Shere Mohammed, Sir Charles Napier marched out of the city in the middle of the hot season. The sufferings of the troops from thirst, fatigue, and heat, were of a dreadful nature. On the 15th of June, Sir Charles and forty-three other Europeans were struck down by sunstroke, and within three hours all were dead, save himself, an escape which he attributed to his extremely temperate habits. Another circumstance, he added, "roused me from my lethargy, as much as the bleeding." This was a message from Colonel Jacob, intimating that he had, without the loss of a man, utterly routed Shere Mohammed. Ali strife was completely over now, and, as Governor of Scinde, Sir Charles could devote himself to the work of internal improvement—a department in which the veteran soldier displayed administrative talents of the very highest order.

Lord Ellenborough had, prior to this, on hearing of the victory at Meanee, issued a proclamation, annexing Scinde, "fertile as Egypt," to the dominions of the Company. The triumphs of our army there, as contrasted with the disastrous extirpation of the one at Cabul, created great exultation in India, though somewhat damped by the conviction that the act was altogether lawless, grasping, and indefensible; and Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, remarked, that the conquest would never have taken place, if Lord Ellenborough had been fully aware of the perfidy of Ali Morad. But before Sir Charles became cognisant of that matter, he wrote:—"We only want a pretext to coerce the Ameers. . . . The more powerful government will swallow up the weaker." Elsewhere he wrote—"We have no right to seize Scinde, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be."

The troops had a rich harvest of prize money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of Sir Charles Napier, but on the finances of India the annexation inflicted a loss of two crores and a half of rupees in the course of fifteen years.*

Burnet gives us a pleasing description of the somewhat lawless Ameers of Scinde. They and their attendants, he tells us, were habited nearly alike, in tunics of fine white muslin, neatly prepared, and plaited so as to resemble dimity, with sashes of silk and gold, wide Turkish trousers of silk, chiefly dark blue, and tied at the ankle, and Scindian caps of gold brocade or embroidered velvet. A pair of cashmere shawls of rare beauty were usually thrown over the arm, and a Persian dagger at the girdle, richly ornamented with

* Marshman's "India."

diamonds, or other precious stones, completed the dress and decoration of such princes as Noor Mohammed and Morad Ali.*

The unwarrantable annexation of the free country of Scinde eventually brought its own punishment, as it injured alike the loyalty and the discipline of the native army, and gave us a foreshadowing of the dreadful climax which, thirteen years subsequently, was to end in its total destruction. The land of the Ameers had now become a British province, and the sepoys, accustomed to extra batta granted to them there when it was foreign soil, failed to see any reason why it should be taken from them now, because Scinde had become a portion of British India. Hence, in February, 1844, the 34th Bengal Native Infantry (known as the *Bradsaw-ka-Pulhan*) refused to march to Scinde, without the same field allowance that had been given as before to troops beyond the Indus. The 7th Cavalry and some Bengal Artillery, being animated by the same spirit, were marched back. The 4th Bengal Native Infantry, raised in 1759, and the 69th, ordered in their stead, refused to enter the boats at Ferozepore, while the 64th openly mutinied at Loodiana and Moodkee, and on none of those occasions was the spirit of discipline enforced, or the honour of the state vindicated. The Government, finding it impossible to garrison the new conquest with Bengal troops, turned to Bombay and Madras; but a regiment of the former presidency, on finding the usual allowance was not to be granted, also mutinied; so the province was turned over to the Presidency of Bombay, which made satisfactory arrangements for the pay of its sepoys.

The conquest of Scinde did not terminate the warlike operations of Lord Ellenborough's active administration. Junkojee Rao Scindia, who succeeded by adoption, in 1827, to Dowlut Rao Scindia, died childless on the 7th of February, 1843, and the Government acknowledged as his successor the young Maharajah Tyajee Rao Scindia, who was nearest in blood, and the widow, with the approval of the Mahratta chiefs of Gwalior, was appointed regent during the minority; but she wisely transferred that dignity to Mama Sahib, the Maharajah's maternal uncle; with this Lord Ellenborough concurred, and the British Resident explained to the assembled chiefs that the Mama was recognised as the head of the State, and as such would receive our support. Yet, within a very short time the Mama Sahib was with violence compelled to quit the Gwalior State, despite the remonstrances of the Resident. By the widow of

the late Maharajah, men so inimical to British interests were placed in office that the Resident had also to quit Gwalior.

The Dada Khan Walla, though opposed by several of the chiefs, usurped the whole royal power in the state, which the British Government was bound to maintain in the house of Scindia. A demand was made that the Dada be expelled or delivered up to us as a necessary preliminary to the re-establishment of our usual relations with Gwalior. The widow and her faction, after much delay, yielded this point, but soon after set up men who were more turbulent than the Dada had been, and consequently the country was rent by factions, plots, insurrections, conspiracies, and murders. The British Government could neither permit the existence of an unfriendly government in Gwalior, nor leave that territory without one capable of controlling its own subjects, particularly the troops, who were 40,000 strong, 10,000 being cavalry, mutinous, arrogant, and always in arrears of pay.

With this view, an army, under Sir Hugh Gough, assembled. The Governor-General attended it, and vakeels from certain Mahratta chiefs sought him for the purpose of negotiation, but simply as a ruse to gain delay, for the usurping powers were determined to appeal to the sword in the end.

The time was certainly one of alarm, and events which had recently occurred in Lahore would not permit acquiescence in a policy suited only to a state of peace. Sir Hugh Gough's army got in motion, not as the enemy, but as the friend of the young Maharajah, to restore tranquillity, and secure his rights and person.*

Ere this, on the 21st, our first brigade had crossed the Chumbul, and encamped six miles to the south, beyond the ravines and defiles. The headquarters moved on the 22nd, and by the 26th our whole right wing, with the heavy guns, had crossed, and been placed in position at Hingona. Up to the 27th it was deemed possible that the troops of Gwalior, after all their vaunts and menaces, would not dare to oppose the advance of the British; but on the 25th, Bapoo Setowlea, who had been appointed dewan, and had been expressing an earnest desire for the restoration of friendship, and had come with that pretended view to the British camp, suddenly quitted it; and on the following day it was ascertained that both troops and guns had left Gwalior, and were moving in two columns towards Chandore and Hingona, the former to encounter General Grey, who was coming on with the left wing through Bundelcund, and the latter to repel the advance of the right, under Sir Hugh Gough.

* Burnet's "Visit to Scinde."

* Proclamation from Hingona Camp, 25th Dec., 1843.

On the 28th of December, when a small party was reconnoitring the ground at a short distance from Chounda, where the Mahratta army occupied a strong position, a fire from their batteries was suddenly opened upon it, thus ending all doubt as to hostile intentions; and the Gwalior troops, by thus taking the initiative, hurled defiance at us from the mouths of their guns. Both armies now prepared for a battle, in which the inequality of numbers, usually so frequent an event in our Indian wars, was less apparent; as on that day, the 29th December, 1843, the British troops were 14,000 strong, with forty guns; the Mahrattas 18,000 strong, with 100 guns.

By eight a.m. the whole British troops, after passing over a district of extreme difficulty, intersected by deep ravines, crossed the Kohary in three columns, and halted in position, in front of Maharajahpore. Unknown to our general, during the previous night the enemy had occupied this place, with seven regiments of infantry and twenty-eight pieces of cannon. The latter opened immediately on our advances, and rendered a change of plans at once necessary. So unexpected was this fire, that Lord Ellenborough, Lady Gough, with many other ladies and civilians who were in the field on elephants, were suddenly exposed for a time to all the fury of the cannonade.

Major-General Littler's column being exactly in front of Maharajahpore, was ordered to advance direct, while that of Major-General Valiant took it in reverse, both supported by the column of Major-General Dennis; but all underwent a terrific and unexpected cannonade by which many perished, whose lives, by proper management, might have been saved; yet, as the despatch has it, "nothing could withstand the rush of British soldiers." Our siege-train had unaccountably been left behind on the surrender of the Dada; thus our light field-pieces were speedily silenced by the heavy ordnance of the enemy, at whose batteries the troops were instantly launched.

The brave old 39th, with "*Primus in India*" and "Plassey" on its green colours, and the 56th Native Infantry, burst into the village shoulder to shoulder, driving the enemy from their posts, bayoneting the gunners at their guns. "Here a most sanguinary conflict ensued; the Mahratta troops, after discharging their matchlocks, fought, sword in hand, with the most determined courage." *

The brigade of General Valiant, in which was H.M. 40th, with equal spirit took the village in reverse. In this, two officers of that regiment, Major Stopford and Captain Codrington, each of

whom had captured standards, fell under the muzzles of the guns, every one of which was captured, though the Mahratta swordsmen clung to them with desperate tenacity.

On the extreme left, Brigadier Scott was opposed by a column of the enemy's cavalry; but by some well-executed charges made by the 4th Lancers and 10th Cavalry, supported by the plunging showers of grape from Captain Grant's troop of horse artillery, they were driven back; more guns were captured, and two standards. After this decisive success at Maharajahpore, the intrenched position at Chounda was carried, and the victory was complete. The foe dispersed and fled, with the loss of 3,000 in killed and wounded, and of forty-three brass and ten iron guns. Our loss was also severe, making a total of 797 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the first were seven officers.

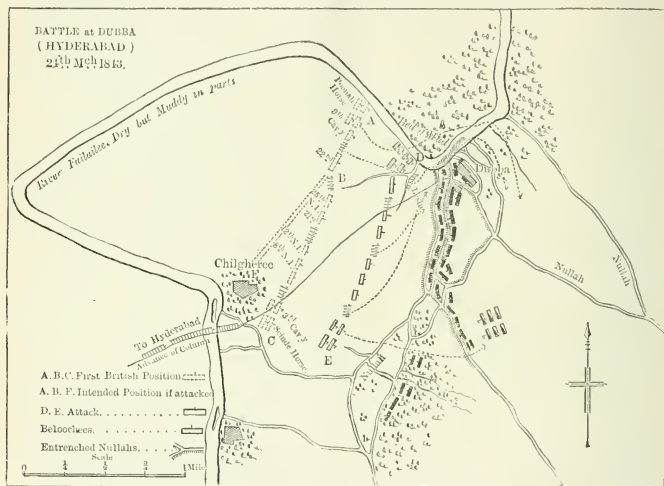
While Gough was fighting the somewhat confused battle of Maharajahpore, General Grey was winning the battle of Punniar, where he acted with equal promptitude and vigilance. At that place, which is within twelve miles of Gwalior he found his progress to the capital disputed by about 12,000 Mahrattas, who showed themselves in a strong position on some heights near a fortified village. He immediately attacked them, and they were driven from height to height and utterly routed. Our casualties were 215, and would have been less, but that the troops were fatigued by a long and sultry march.

The junction of the two *corps d'armée*, after having each won a decisive battle, under the walls of Gwalior, awed the durbar into submission, for the whole kingdom of Scindia was thus at the disposal of Lord Ellenborough, who had hitherto always talked of Gwalior as an independent state; but now, as a conqueror, he not only set the rights of the Maharanee aside, but changed its form of government. In future, she was to be a dependant on the Company, with a revenue of three lacs of rupees, but no political authority; and during the minority of the Maharajah, the administration was to be conducted by a council of regency acting in accordance with the advice of the British Resident; and the vacancies in which, when occurring by death or otherwise, could only be filled up with the sanction of the Indian Government; thus virtually converting the once proud state of Scindia into a British dependency, by a regular treaty, which was not negotiated, but actually dictated by the Governor-General, in the stately fortress of Gwalior, an edifice so vast in strength and magnificence, that it is impossible to convey any idea of it without the aid of the pencil.

* Gough's Despatch.

The treaty consisted of twelve articles, of which, in addition to the stipulation above, the most important were those which limited the strength of the Gwalior army to 9,000 men, of whom not more than 3,000 were to be infantry, with twelve field-pieces and 200 gholandazees. On the other hand, the British subsidiary force was largely increased, and the fort of Gwalior was to be garrisoned by the Reformed Contingent (of which we have elsewhere written), under Brigadier Stubbs, who was to

ing Scinde was strongly objected to. "He had," it was averred, "concocted a series of charges against the Ameers on insufficient evidence, and then made them the pretext for imposing a final treaty, to which he might have foreseen they would never submit without coercion. In this way, when the exhaustion of the Indian treasury by the disasters of Afghanistan made it most desirable that peace should be maintained, he provoked a war of the most formidable description, which, but for the



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF DUBBA.

act as commander of all the forces, which were to be recruited by high-caste Brahmins and Rajpoots—men of athletic frames and high courage, and also of unlimited presumption, as we found to our cost in 1857.

While carrying matters thus with a high hand at Gwalior, Lord Ellenborough was subjected to a severe ordeal in the Court of Directors. By his bombastic proclamation about the gates of Somnauth, he had somewhat impaired the confidence placed in his sound judgment, and by circumstances, to a certain measure beyond his control, the whole course of his administration but little accorded with the pacific policy to which he had pledged himself on leaving Britain; and that regard-

singular ability of the military commander, might have proved ruinous, and which, after the most brilliant victories, had only added to our already overgrown Indian empire a tract of territory, which, for years to come, would not pay the expense of governing it. His policy in Gwalior was of a similar description, and there was reason to suspect, from hints which he had thrown out, that he was meditating a greater war than any he had yet carried on.*

He had continued to provoke jealousies and animosities between the civil and military branches of the public service. Under Lord Auckland it had been the rule to make the political subordinate

* "Comprehensive Hist. of India."

to the military department; but this, which had hitherto been the exception, was made by Lord Ellenborough the established custom: so much so, indeed, that he always spoke and acted as if the first qualification for office of any kind was the profession of arms; hence the time came when he found himself at enmity with the most able and influential officials in India, and nothing but the urgent remonstrance of the Cabinet prevented the

imprudence, and as "the most indiscreet exercise of power he had ever known." The mortification which Lord Ellenborough undoubtedly felt was somewhat softened by the fact that he was to be succeeded in office by his brother-in-law, who would naturally be more tender of his reputation than a stranger, and would innovate as little as possible on the policy of his predecessor. Military experience would seem to have been regarded by Lord

Battle Order of the British Army

at FEROEZESHAH.

2.30. P. M. 21st December 1845.

General, Sir H. Gough, G. C. B. Commander in Chief.

Maj. Gen. Sir J. Littler.

Lieut. Gen. Sir H. Hardinge.

Maj. Gen. Gilbert.

B^r Brookes.

B^r Ashburnham.

B^r Reed.

B^r Wallace.

♣♣
Troop
8 Ist
How^{er}

♣♣
Two
9 Pst
Batt^{ment}

B^r M^r Laren.

B^r Taylor.

♣♣ 64. 32. 44. 14. 12. 62. 2 Troops
9 Pst H. A.
Batt^{ment}

♣♣ 73. 26. 9. 2.
N. I. N. I.

♣♣ 2 Troops 16. 45. 41. 80. 29. One
H. A. Troop H. A.

B^r Harriot.

♣♣
3 Ist 6 Ist
Irr. L. C.

B^r Gough.

♣♣
5 Ist L. C.

B^r White.

♣♣

Maj. Gen. Sir H. Smith.

B^r Wheeler.

♣♣ 48. 42. 50.
H. A.

B^r Ryan.

♣♣ One Troop
H. A.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE ORDER OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT FEROEZESHAH.

Directors from exercising the power of recall, which they undoubtedly possessed, though they had not exercised it. At last, on the 21st of April, 1844, Sir Robert Peel, then Premier, in reply to a question put to him by Mr. Macaulay, said that "Her Majesty's Government had received a communication from the Court of Directors that they had exercised the power which the law gives them to recall, at their will and pleasure, the Governor-General of India."

Cheers from the Opposition benches greeted this announcement; but the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, stigmatised the recall as an

Ellenborough as the chief qualification for the office he held, and thus, turning his back on the seat of government, and oblivious of any attempt at internal reform, he spent most of his time under canvas. At a farewell banquet given him before he quitted Calcutta, which he did on the 14th of July, 1844, he said: "The only regret I feel at leaving India is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life, has been that which I have found here in cantonments and in camps."

He was raised to the peerage as Earl of Ellenborough, and died on the 22nd December, 1871.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—THE SIKH WAR.—ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ.—BATTLES OF MOODKEE AND FEROZESHAH.—THE 62ND REGIMENT.

THE new Governor-General, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge, K.C.B., Colonel of the 97th Regiment, reached Calcutta on the 23rd of July, 1844, and immediately entered on the duties of his office. No man was more universally esteemed than Sir Henry, who, like the conqueror of Scinde, had fought at Corunna, and was by the side of Moore when the hero received his death-wound. Dismounting, he raised him from the ground, strove in vain to stop the effusion of blood with his silk sash, and wept when his beloved leader was borne to the rear by the mourning men of the Black Watch. He was gentle-hearted as he was brave, and never "allowed the sun to go down upon his wrath." As Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Portuguese army, he served throughout the whole Peninsular War, from the battle of Roliça to that of Orthes, and lost a hand at Ligny in 1815. He had now been forty-six years in harness, and his conduct at Albuera had won him from a great historian the commendation of being then "a young soldier, with the eye of a general and the soul of a hero."

The first months of his government were given to making judicious arrangements for the improvement of the civil service, to the removal of grievances, the maintenance of strict discipline in the native army, and in opening up new avenues to prosperity by the construction of railways and the encouragement of steam navigation; but while engaged in these peaceful plans for a happy future to India, it was but too apparent that he would soon have to draw the sword. The Punjab had fallen into anarchy, while a large Sikh army, that defied all control, was hovering on our frontier.

The death of old Runjeet Sing had been followed by confusion and bloodshed not often equalled in India. He had been succeeded by his imbecile son, Khurruk Sing, whose son, Nao Nihal Sing, a gallant youth, the equal of old Runjeet in talent and courage, ruled the state, but was obliged to share that rule with Dhyan Sing, one of the most influential men in the Punjab, who was a member of the Dogra family. Gholab Sing, the head of it, had originally been a running footman, who had attracted the notice of Runjeet Sing, risen high in his service, and was endowed with the territory of Jummo. Being a Rajpoot, and not a Sikh, his

power rendered him an object of hatred and envy. Khurruk died, the premature victim of many excesses, and, singularly enough, his son, Nao Nihal, when returning from his funeral, was killed by the fall of a gateway as he was entering Lahore.

Runjeet's reputed son, Shere Sing (though never fully acknowledged, his birth being doubtful), having suborned a portion of the troops, marched to Lahore, and seized on the government in the January of 1841. Though shrewd and frank, he was the slave alike of sensuality and of the Jummo family, from whose control he could not free himself; thus the chief power was centred in Dhyan Sing, who had been prime minister to Runjeet. Ultimately, the intrigues of Shere Sing's boon companions began to prevail, and the old wuzer found his life in danger. This fear induced him to sanction the assassination of the Maharajah, a crime quickly followed by that of his son, Pertaub Sing, while Dhyan was shot dead by Ajeet Sing, the same chief who had murdered his master. After these atrocities the land was plunged in anarchy, yet Dhuleep Sing, another son of Runjeet, was placed upon the throne, and Heera Sing, son of the murdered prime minister, succeeded to his father's office. The army, now conscious of the part they had played in effecting these various changes—a compact and martial body of Sikhs, united by the strongest national and religious sympathies, proud of their past achievements, and conscious of their good discipline (though they did occasionally blow an officer from the gun)—began to clamour for increased pay, and took dire vengeance on all who were opposed to this demand. In this way Heera Sing met his fate, and Juwaheer Sing, uncle of the young Maharajah Dhuleep, was also destroyed before the eyes of him and his mother, who, in her capacity of guardian, then assumed the government of Lahore. Her power was nominal, as all real authority lay with the army, who exercised it by means of delegates, and issued imperious mandates, which neither she nor her adherents dared to disobey. That war would be the result of this military despotism was apparent to all. Sufficient in numbers to form a mighty host, the soldiers had inexhaustible stores, but there was no arena for glory or plunder save the British territories, which they resolved to invade.

Though averse to the unprovoked war, the raneer was compelled to give a formal assent to it; and while this rash resolve seemed, to all appearance, that of the army and the durbar, Gholab Sing, of Jummo, brother of the murdered wuzer, continued to keep aloof, and to play with dexterity a double game, externally complying with the fierce demands of the army, but secretly professing a friendship for the British Government.*

Sir Henry Hardinge was perfectly cognisant of all that was passing at Lahore, but he was resolved not to bring out his array till the last moment, or till there could be no possible mistake as to the intentions of those fiery soldiers, whose lawless will was law in the land beyond the Sutlej. He was not quite satisfied with the state of preparation to meet, or even to repel, a Sikh invasion; thus, before he was three months in India he had several strong columns marching from the most remote confines of Bengal towards the north-western frontier; but so quietly was every post at Ferozepore, Loodiana, Umballa, and elsewhere, reinforced, that even in our provinces the operations passed unnoticed; and so strong was the desire of the Directors for a period of peace, that Sir Henry proceeded with extreme caution; and though censured by the uninformed for being unprepared, he was fully ready for action when the crisis came. The accompanying table will show how the forces stood on his arrival in India in July, 1844, and when the war broke out in the December of the following year:—

At Ferozepore	{ July, 1844... 4,596 men, 12 guns.
	{ Dec., 1845... 10,472 " 24 "
At Loodiana...	{ July, 1844... 3,030 " 12 "
	{ Dec., 1845... 7,235 " 12 "
At Umballa....	{ July, 1844... 4,113 " 24 "
	{ Dec., 1845... 12,972 " 32 "

We had in garrison at the hill stations, during both periods, 1,800 men. Thus, when Sir Henry landed in India, in the first line from Umballa to the Sutlej there were but 13,539 men, with forty-eight guns; but when the war broke out, there were 32,479 men, with sixty-eight guns, giving an increase of nearly 19,000 men and twenty guns.

The Meerut force, consisting of 5,873 men, with eighteen guns, was augmented to 9,844 men, with twenty-five guns; but being 250 miles in the rear, was rather for the support of the Umballa column than actually available for repelling invasion; and, with what was now called the army of the Sutlej, there were serving H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons; 9th and 16th Lancers; 9th, 10th, 29th, 31st, 50th, 53rd, 62nd, and 80th Regiments of Infantry.

* Macgregor's "Hist. of the Sikhs," &c.

To give an idea of the power of the Sikhs, their army on the 1st July, 1844, according to a statement made by our adjutant-general on the north-western frontier, was as follows:—101,020 infantry; 33,925 cavalry; artillery, 5,180 men, 552 guns, and 995 camel swivels.

On the 2nd of December, 1845. Sir Henry was at Umballa, and on the 6th he moved his camp towards Loodiana, to carry out his previously-announced intention of visiting our protected Sikh States, as his predecessors in office had done. "His movements," it would seem, "were made in as peaceful a manner as possible, because he was not only anxious not to furnish the Sikhs with any pretext for hostility, but had not ceased to hope for an amicable settlement. He only deemed it probable that some act of aggression might be committed by parties of plunderers for the purpose of compelling the British Government to interfere, and, as nothing was further from his wish than to be thus involved in war, he resolved to carry his forbearance as far as possible. The wisdom of this resolution may be questioned," continues Beveridge; "a more spirited conduct might have made the Sikhs pause, whereas forbearance, being only regarded by them as a symptom of fear, probably hastened the crisis."

On the other hand, it has been supposed, not without reason, that the great force massed on the frontier, together with the appearance of fifty-six large boats brought up from Scinde to Ferozepore, had kindled the suspicion of the Sikhs, and led them to anticipate our views, whatever they were, by invading our territories; and yet, considering the disordered state of the Lahore government, with the most efficient army ever marshalled under the banner of any native state, panting for battle and glory, and hovering on our frontier, Sir Henry would have been held inexcusable had he failed to prepare for the storm that might burst at any hour. The invasion that came was the work of the Sikh leaders, Lal Sing and Teh Sing, less than of "the Messalina of the North," as Sir Henry termed the raneer, as they felt that the only way to maintain their power in the Punjab was to hurl their battalions on our territories for their own security, to involve their army in a quarrel with Britain, and by the destruction of Delhi and Benares, to avert that of Lahore. On the 17th of November the order was issued to cross the Sutlej.

Our political agent on the frontier, Major Broadfoot, urged the most energetic action without delay; but Sir Henry still clung to the hope of peace, and sent another remonstrance to the durbar, the only reply to which was the command to march; and,

full of the highest enthusiasm and religious rancour, 50,000 Khalsa soldiers, with 40,000 well-armed camp-followers, and 155 guns of the largest calibre, poured across the Sutlej in four days, and by the 16th of December were in front of Ferozepore, which was held by Sir John Littler, one of the best officers of the Indian army, with some 10,000 men and twenty-one guns.

On the 13th, Sir Henry heard of their invading British territory, and on the same day he issued an order which said:—"The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories. The Governor-General must, therefore, take measures for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace. The Governor-General hereby declares the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, on the left, or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and annexed to the British territories. The Governor-General will respect the existing rights of all jagheerdars, zemindars, and tenants in the said possessions, who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government."*

Ferozepore, where Littler was in command, was about 150 miles north-west of Umballa; there, on the 11th December, Sir Thomas Gough was seriously menaced the moment the Sikhs, led by an able warrior, Teh Sing, advanced against it. On that night our officers at Umballa were making preparations for a grand ball in the state tent of the Commander-in-chief, when tidings came of the invasion; the ball was abandoned, and the time spent in preparing to aid Littler. Hours were now priceless, and our troops, heavily accoutred, performed a march never before known in India, by which they compassed the whole distance in six days through deep sand, without time to cook their food, and scarcely one hour of repose. The day after the Sikh army crossed the river a large body of it, said to be 25,000 strong, with eighty-eight guns, under Lal Sing (another account says 20,000 men, with only twenty-two guns), pushed on to Ferozeshah, where they began to construct works of the most substantial nature, to protect the walls, leaving Teh Sing to watch Sir John Littler, with 23,000 men and sixty-seven guns.

On the 18th of December, the army, after performing a most fatiguing march of twenty-one miles over an arid plain, not having broken bread since the preceding night, and when just about to halt and cook, saw clouds of dust whirling up in front, and then the booming of cannon announced the foe, under Lal Sing.

* War in India: Despatches, 1846.

The scene of the battle of Moodkee is a flat country, covered in part with low scrubby jungle, and dotted with hillocks, most of them bare and sandy. The jungle and inequalities of the ground enabled the Sikhs to cover their infantry and artillery, presenting a good position, which was occupied by troops giving every indication of perfect confidence in themselves. As in most accounts of Moodkee, the number of men and guns in the field vary, we shall here adhere to the despatch of Sir Hugh Gough, addressed to the Governor-General on the day after the battle.

Amid clouds of dust and smoke, deepened by the shadows of the closing day, the troops advanced into action.

"I immediately pushed forward the horse artillery, directing the infantry to move forward in support. . . . The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy, and as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions, without advancing the artillery too near the jungle, I directed the cavalry, under Brigadiers White and Gough, to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threatening and turning that flank if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry, the 3rd Light Dragoons, with the 2nd brigade of cavalry, consisting of the Body Guard and 5th Light Dragoons, with a portion of the 4th Lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. While this was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th Lancers and the 9th Irregular Cavalry, under Brigadier Mactier, to threaten their right. This manœuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges of cavalry would have been productive of greater effect. When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry, under Major-Generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John McCaskill, attacked in echelon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible among wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced; and the roll of fire from this powerful

arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected, and their whole force was driven from position to position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of very heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever they stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim star-light, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object. I regret to say, this successful and gallant attack was attended with considerable loss; the force bivouacked upon the field, and only returned to its encampment after ascertaining that it had no enemy before it, and that night prevented the possibility of a regular pursuit.*

The grand total of all ranks killed and wounded amounted to 872, of whom 215 were among the former. Two general officers fell—old Sir John McCaskill, shot dead when gallantly leading on his column, and Sir Robert Sale, “the hero of Jelalabad,” whose left thigh was shattered by a grape-shot, and who died on the field.

For about sixty years past it had been the practice of the home authorities to unite the office of Commander-in-chief with that of Governor-General, when he happened to be a military man; but it was unfortunately omitted in the case of Sir Henry Hardinge, who, feeling not quite satisfied with the tactics displayed at Moodkee, placed his services at the disposal of Sir Hugh Gough, and chivalrously took the post of second in command; but it must be borne in mind that, though both were lieutenant-generals of November, 1841, Gough stood senior in the list.

For two days the army remained at Moodkee, to take repose and bury the dead, and then it was reinforced by two European and two native regiments, brought on by forced marches, through the active exertions of Sir Henry Hardinge. Without provisions or tents, it marched on the morning of the 21st against the intrenched camp of the Sikhs at Ferozeshah. Sir John Littler was directed to join about the computed hour of its arrival, and moved out at dawn, deceiving Teh Sing by leaving his tents pitched and bazaar flags flying, with his cavalry pickets standing, and before noon formed a junction with the main body, at the head of 5,500 men, with twenty-two guns.

The Sikh intrenchment at Ferozeshah was in form a parallelogram, about one mile in length and half a mile broad, with the village in its centre. The number of troops now under Lal Sing was

computed at 35,000 men, with 100 guns and 250 zumboorucks or camel-swivels; with 50,000 men and 188 heavy guns, according to one account. The batteries were armed, not with field-pieces, but heavy siege guns. The day was the shortest in the year, “and with such an enemy as the Sikhs proved themselves to be at Moodkee, every moment was of inestimable value; but three hours were strangely frittered away after Sir John Littler’s arrival, and it was nearly four in the afternoon before the first shot was fired.”* To this delay no reference is made in the despatch of Sir Hugh Gough.

The British mustered 15,700 men, with sixty-nine guns, chiefly of the horse artillery.

The command of the left wing was taken by Sir Henry Hardinge, while Sir Hugh led the right. Upwards of 100 guns, says the latter’s despatch, opened on our troops as they advanced, and this fire the practice of our lighter pieces failed to silence; but in the face of a dreadful storm of round shot, grape, and musketry, our matchless infantry rushed up the works, threw themselves headlong on the cannon with bayonet and clubbed musket, and wrested them from the grasp of the enemy; “but when the batteries were partially within our grasp, our soldiery had to face such a fire of musketry from the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that in spite of their most heroic efforts, a portion only of the intrenchment could be carried. Night fell while the conflict was everywhere raging. Although,” continues Sir Hugh, “I brought up Major-General Sir Harry Smith’s division, and he captured and long retained another point of the position, and H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the long night wore away.”

Elsewhere, Sir John Littler’s column, at the muzzles of the battery guns, was arrested by the overwhelming fire; and the 62nd Regiment, mowed down by round and grape shot, after losing every officer but six, was checked and compelled to retire, but not without honour, as we shall ere long show. Terrible indeed was the resistance shown everywhere that night around the fatal village of Ferozeshah. “The guns were dismounted,” says the historian

* Despatches, 1846.

* Marshman.

of the Sikhs, "and the ammunition blown into the air; the squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion hurled back upon its shattered ranks; and it was not until long after sunset that portions of the enemy's position were finally carried. Darkness and the obstinacy of the conflict threw the British into confusion, and all ranks were mixed together. Generals were doubtful of the fact or extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they

Meanwhile, there were stormy councils and fierce recriminations passing in the camp of the enemy; their military chest had been pillaged, and confusion was beginning to reign, when at day-dawn Sir Henry and Sir Hugh collected the scattered soldiers of General Gilbert's corps, formed them in line, flanked by horse artillery, and, aided by a fire from these and a flight of rockets, once more attacked the village, and bore down all before them, driving the Sikhs completely out. The



THE BATTLE OF FEROSHESH.

commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part."*

All this was doubtless the result of the three hours' delay, of fighting in the dark, and of attacking the strong batteries with cold steel instead of two points where no such heavy guns were placed. Sir Henry Hardinge had no less than five aides-de-camp struck down by his side; but the one-handed veteran of Ligny and the Peninsular War spent the night in passing from corps to corps, sustaining the ardour of the toil-worn soldiers, and instead of falling back, as he was more than once advised to do, determined to grapple anew with the foe in the morning.

* Macgregor.

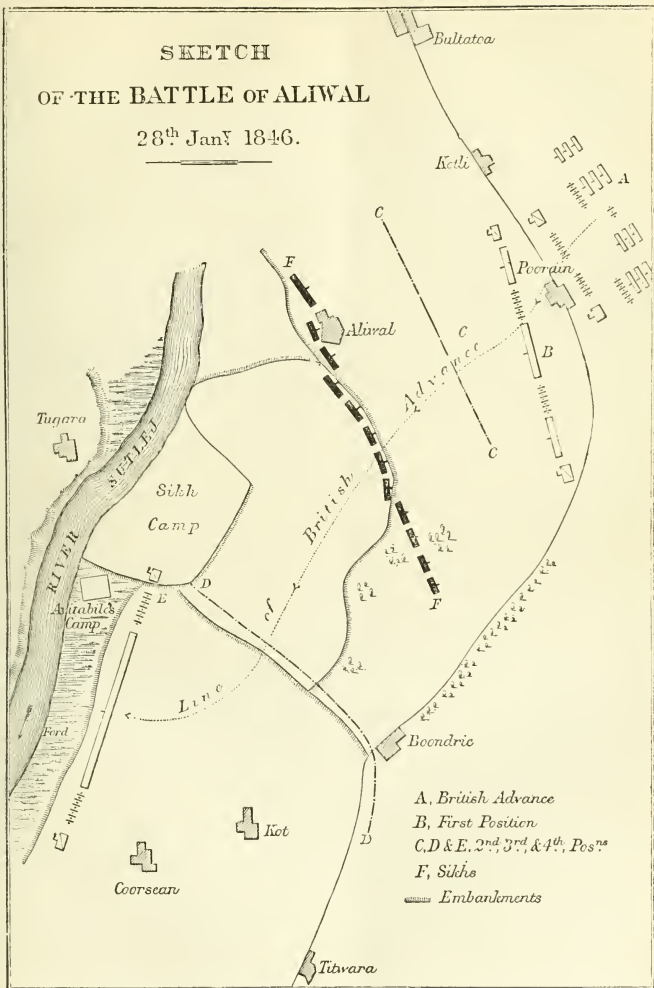
whole line then halted beyond, breathless and flushed, "but as if on a day of manoeuvre, and received its two leaders as they rode along the front with a gratifying cheer."*

We had taken three stands, upwards of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the field. The cheers along the line had scarcely died away, when clouds of dust announced the approach of other foes. These were the forces of the Sirdir Teh Sing, who, on finding how Littler had eluded him, brought on from Ferozepore fresh battalions and a large field artillery, supported by 30,000 Ghorepurras, who hitherto had been quietly encamped by the bank of the river.

* Gough's Despatch.

SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF ALI WAL

28th Jan^y 1846.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF ALI WAL.

At this terrible crisis, the British troops were sinking from sheer hunger, no food having passed their lips for six-and-thirty hours, and now they were almost without ammunition, that for the guns being entirely expended. Hence, when those of Teh Sing opened, ours were unable to reply by a single shot. He drove in our cavalry outposts, and made vigorous attempts to regain Ferozeshah, compelling us to change front to the left; but Gough directed our now exhausted cavalry to menace him on both flanks at once, while the infantry prepared to advance in support, movements which made him suddenly cease firing, and quit the field with precipitation.

British India was again saved by British valour, against enormous masses, as of old; but our loss was 2,415, including 103 officers, and it was quite as much the deficiency in our tactics and in our gun ammunition, as the native courage of the Sikhs, that gave for a time a fatal equality to the struggle. The Sikh loss was estimated at four times that of ours.

Prince Waldemar of Prussia, with Counts

Grueben and Oriola as volunteers, rode with the staff at Ferozeshah, as also at Moodkee.

In both actions, our officers and men behaved nobly; yet old Sir John Littler, in the hurry and confusion of his despatch to the adjutant-general, stated, unfortunately, that the havoc was such "as to cause an immediate panic and hesitation in H.M. 62nd Foot." But never was charge more groundless, for that regiment has ever been second to none in the field or elsewhere, and the accusation was well rebutted at the time. Before it fell back, it had seven officers killed and ten wounded, eighty-eight rank and file killed and 161 wounded, out of its weak ranks, and its loss was greater than that of any European regiment there, save H.M. 9th Foot, whose total losses of every kind were 297.* Both the Governor-General and Sir Hugh Gough did all in their power to remove the impression caused by Littler's mistake; and in the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington stood manfully forward to vindicate the fame of a gallant old regiment, which in other days had formed a portion of his Peninsular army.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMBAT AT BUDDIWAL.—BATTLES OF ALIWAL AND SOBRAON.—THE PUNJAB ENTERED.—ITS SETTLEMENT, ETC.

AFTER their second defeat, the Sikhs hastened to place the Sutlej between themselves and the victors. Their expectation was that they would be immediately followed up; but it was deemed imprudent to pursue them until the arrival of Sir John Grey, who, with an auxiliary force and a powerful battering train, was coming on from Meerut. Emboldened by this delay, which they attributed to doubt or fear, their Sirdars took heart anew, and with the intention of recrossing the river, began to construct a pontoon bridge a little below Hurrekee. Sir Harry Smith had, in the meanwhile, been detached, with a single brigade of his division and a field battery, against the town and fort of Durrumkote, which cover the road from Ferozepore to Loodiana. Brigadier Cureton's cavalry were ordered to march by Jugroon towards the latter place, and a brigade under Brigadier Wheeler moved on to support him.*

Smith's task had barely been accomplished,

when he was obliged to push on to Loodiana, where Brigadier Godby, with only three battalions, was menaced by 10,000 Sikhs, under Runjoor Sing, who had crossed the Sutlej and intrenched himself in the vicinity. Sir Harry pushed with his small force along the direct road to Loodiana, but at a place called Buddiwal he received a serious check; so his march proved a disastrous one, and he was thrown out of communication with General Wheeler, a matter of serious strategical importance. Runjoor, relying on his superiority in force, sought to intercept his progress by moving parallel with his flank, and at length cannonaded him furiously. According to Sir Harry's despatch, some of his baggage fell into the hands of the enemy. The reality was, that amid the many manœuvres which the activity of the enemy compelled him to make, nearly the whole of it was captured, and he was checked, with the loss of 131 rank and file,

* Major Hough.

* Adjutant-General's Return, Lahore, March, 1846.

of whom forty-seven were reported missing,* and these, no doubt, would be butchered by the enemy.

By a series of able manœuvres, Sir Harry succeeded eventually in effecting his communication with Loodiana.

In addition to the reinforcement obtained from Brigadier Godby, he soon after obtained another of greater importance, by the advance of his second brigade, which had moved to support Wheeler. It was now his turn to resume the offensive against Runjoor Sing, who, elated by the result of the combat at Buddiwal, had retired to his intrenched camp.

These little operations preluded the great battle of Aliwal.

Runjoor had still the superiority in force, as Sir Harry mustered only 10,000 men, with thirty-two guns, while the former had 15,000 men intrenched, with fifty-six guns; and on the 26th of January, this disparity in strength was still further increased by the arrival of 4,000 of the regular, or *Aïen* troops, the corps of the veteran Italian, General Avitabile, with twelve guns and a large cavalry force. Strengthened thus, Runjoor was compelled to yield to the clamorous impatience of his troops to fight. They believed that Smith's retreat from their cannonade at Buddiwal was equivalent to a confession of inferiority, and they, full of confidence that victory must be theirs, on the 28th advanced, and when the British came in sight of them, were formed in order of battle close to the village of Aliwal, eighteen miles west of Loodiana, with their left resting on their intrenchments next the Sutlej, and their right occupying a ridge towards Boondree. Aliwal stood on their left front, and masses of jhow jungle, with a dry nullah, lay in their rear.

Our cavalry, under Brigadier Cureton, and the horse artillery, under Major Lawrenson, formed two brigades, one under Brigadier Macdonald, of the 16th Lancers, and the other under Brigadier Stedman, 7th Cavalry. The 1st Division of Infantry consisted of two brigades: H.M. 53rd and the 30th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Wilson, of the latter corps; the 36th Native Infantry and Nusseree Battalion, under Brigadier Godby, of the latter corps; and the Shekawatee Brigade, under Major Foster. The Sirmoor Battalion was in Wheeler's brigade, and the 42nd Native Infantry guarded the head-quarters.

The cavalry led the attack with the celerity and precision of a home review; as they approached, they wheeled off to either flank, uncovering the steadily-advancing infantry and artillery, the

bayonets flashing and the colours rustling in the wind, forming a grand and imposing scene. There were the glittering lines of the Sikhs, many of whom were clad in complete coats of mail, led by the chiefs with their aigrettes in their steel helmets, which sparkled like silver in the sun along the jungly slope. After gaining the exact range, their dark-looming guns opened a steady and perilous cannonade.

"I was compelled," says Sir Harry, in his despatch to the Adjutant-General, "to halt the line for a few moments, though under fire, until I ascertained that by bringing up my right and carrying the village of Aliwal, I could with great effect precipitate myself upon his left and centre. I therefore quickly brought up Brigadier Godby's brigade, and with it and the first brigade, under Brigadier Hicks, made a rapid and noble charge, carried the village, and two guns of large calibre. The line I ordered to advance—H.M. 31st Foot and the native regiments—and the battle became general."

Aliwal was occupied by hill-men, who, singular to say, made a feeble resistance; but the Sikh gunners died, nearly to a man, around their guns. Our cavalry, on the right, charged the enemy's overlapping left, through jungle, smoke, fire, and everything, and broke up a large portion of Runjoor's force; but, at the same time, his right, consisting of his best troops, outflanked us by numbers, till a charge of cavalry changed the complexion of the conflict.

The Sikhs threw themselves into squares, against which our lancers hurled all the weight of man and horse and weapon. They rode right through; but we are told that as they did so "the Sikhs closed behind, as some of the British squares did when partially penetrated at Waterloo." Their infantry, casting aside their muskets, betook them to sword and dagger, and received these British lances on their large dark-brown shields, against which many of the tough ash shafts splintered and broke. Again our horsemen charged through, and by a happy but singular manœuvre changed the lance to the bridle-hand. The Sikhs being unprepared for this, received in their bodies, instead of on their bucklers, the thrusts of the 16th and other regiments; but the latter had to ride a third time through these squares before they were utterly broken, mixed up together, and dispersed; yet it was a conflict in which cavalry, by the use of all their weapons in succession, sword, lance, and pistol or carbine, effected wonders against these brave swarthy infantry.

Cureton led the cavalry in these charges. He was an old Peninsular veteran, and had been under

* Adjutant-General's Return.

fire a hundred times. He had been wounded by balls at Mondego and Fuentes d'Onoro, where his skull was also fractured by a sabre.

Brigadiers Wheeler and Wilson had been equally tried, in the meanwhile, and had been equally successful on their side in driving back the enemy and capturing their guns, and nothing remained but to dispossess the latter of the village of Boondree, which they had occupied strongly to cover their retreat and secure to them the passage of the river. This gallantly achieved, the battle was won.

"Every gun of the enemy fell into our hands," reported Sir Harry, "as I infer, from his never opening one upon us from the opposite bank of the river, which is high and favourable for the purpose; fifty-two guns are now in the ordnance park, and four were spiked on the opposite bank, making a total of fifty-six pieces captured or destroyed."*

Our whole troops advanced in splendid order to the common focus, the passage of the Sutlej. Hemmed in on every hand, fleeing wildly from our fire, with their shields slung behind, the enemy precipitated themselves in disordered masses into the ford and boats in confusion and terror; our eight-inch howitzers soon began to play upon the straggling multitude, and ere long the debris of the Sikh army was seen flying in consternation in every direction beyond the high bank of the river.

Our grand total of killed, wounded, and missing was 589 men and 353 horses. The quantity of stores of every kind taken was "beyond accurate calculation." The loss of the foe was unknown; but when the dead bodies of both armies floated down the Sutlej to Sobraon, it became first known there that a great battle had been fought, "and these silent and appalling witnesses bore evidence conclusive on which side the victory lay."

Moving up the left bank of the Sutlej, the British army, on the 18th of January, 1845, encamped at Khodawala, nearly opposite to where the Sikhs had constructed their new bridge. This work they had been permitted to complete without molestation, and had further strengthened it by a *tête de pont*, skilfully constructed by a Spanish engineer named Hobron, who next proceeded to form it into an intrenched camp of the most formidable character. The disasters of the Sikhs in the open field had been too terrible for them to tempt the fortune of war there again; but the stern resistance which they had been able to offer

among their jungles at Ferozeshah, had convinced them that behind the trenches of a stronger camp, they would be able to repel any attack.

Hobron's camp at Sobraon they therefore occupied with 37,000 of their best troops, and manned its ramparts with a numerous and heavy artillery.* Our army, after waiting at Khodawala for the arrival of the siege-train from Delhi, and the junction of Sir Harry's victorious troops, moved out of camp under Sir Hugh, at three in the morning of the 10th of February. It was intended that our whole park of artillery, siege and field guns alike, should be posted in a semi-circle, so as to embrace within its fire the entire radius of the enemy's works, and should open at daybreak; but so heavy a mist shrouded all the plain and the river, which there makes a bold sweep, or reach, that it became necessary to wait till the rays of the sun exhaled it.

There were several Spanish and French officers of high reputation serving in the army of the Sikhs, whose jealousy and pride often led them to oppose the sound advice given by these soldiers of fortune.

Gough's army was 15,000 strong; of these 5,000 were Europeans. After describing the position assigned to the various corps, the despatch tells us that our guns opened at seven a.m. The Sikhs answered flash for flash from sixty-seven pieces of artillery, and by nine it was found that our cannonade made no impression on their position; the ammunition was already beginning to fall short, and after having waited seven weeks for these guns, it was discovered that they were of little avail, and that to the musket and bayonet must the final issue be left, after about 120 pieces of ordnance had been thundering for hours in the valley of the Sutlej. Accordingly, "at nine o'clock," says Sir Hugh, in his despatch to Sir Henry Hardinge, "Brigadier Stacy's brigade, supported on either flank by Captains Horsford's and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieut.-Colonel Lane's troop of horse artillery, moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other co-relatively. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted to correct when necessary. The latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within 300 yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs; but notwithstanding the coolness and scientific nature of this assault, which Brigadier Wilson well supported, so hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and zumborucks, kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some time impossible that the intrenchments could be won

* Despatches: "Eleven guns were sunk in the river; total, sixty-seven pieces."

* Despatches, p. 129.

under it; but soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the good fortune to see Brigadier Stacy's soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampment. The 10th Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, now for the first time brought into action, greatly distinguished itself. This regiment never fired a shot until it got within the works of the enemy. The onset of H.M. 53rd Foot was as gallant and effective. The 43rd and 59th Native Infantry, brigaded with them, emulated both in cool determination."*

The general plan of attack was in three divisions, on three points, by Generals Dick, Gilbert, and Smith. That of Sir Robert Dick, K.C.B. (a very old officer, who served with the 78th Highlanders in Sicily, and led the Black Watch at Waterloo after Macara fell), charging home with the bayonet, cleared the ditch and mounted the rampart. The enemy perceiving that this was to be the chief point of assault, slackened the defence of their works elsewhere, and concentrated their guns upon it. Fresh regiments rushed on to succour Dick, who here received a mortal wound, but they were checked and staggered by the terrible resistance they encountered. The other two divisions were then ordered to press on. The enemy no sooner perceived this, than they rushed back to the posts they had quitted, and from every foot of the ramparts they poured a withering fire of all arms; but the most remarkable occurrence of the day was the charge of General Gilbert's division on the centre: his troops were repeatedly driven back, but returning to the assault over their own fallen, by the most indomitable courage they carried the works, with the loss of 689 killed and wounded.

The defences were stormed on three points. Teh Sing was among the first to fly, and either by accident or design, the bridge was broken down after he had safely crossed it. Pressed on three sides into a disordered mass, the valiant Sikhs still continued to dispute every inch of the ground, till they were hurled upon the bridge, and, preferring slaughter to yielding, plunged wildly into the stream, which having risen in the night, flooded the ford by which they had hoped to cross, so the current swept them away by hundreds.

As they rushed to the broken bridge, our cavalry cut them down like ripened grain, while flights of roaring rockets and showers of vertical grape blew their heads off, or tore their bodies to pieces, and the carnage, it was said, was horrible for human hand to inflict, and human eye to witness; but what would it have been with us had we been

defeated? In addition to those who perished in the river, hundreds lay dead and mangled on the bridge, till the crashing of round shot and the explosive shells rent the pontoon itself to pieces, and then its ruins, with the dead, the dying, and the drowning, were all swept away by the stream, which was crimsoned with blood.

Many fought their way along the bank, and reaching fords that were known to them, escaped across, and continued their flight to Lahore. A few thousands escaped thus; but they acknowledged their loss to be 14,000 men, including eight great Sirdirs; while our losses presented a grand total of 320 killed and 2,063 wounded. Among the former were Brigadier Cyril and Sir Robert Dick, "who fell gloriously at the moment of victory, displaying the same energy and intrepidity as when, thirty-five years ago in Spain, he was the distinguished leader of the 42nd Highlanders."* A monument has since been erected to him in his native place in Perthshire. Old Brigadier Mac-laren, borne off the field, mortally wounded, when put to bed, declared that he must cross the Sutlej at the head of his beloved European Light Infantry, even if they carried him in a litter; "but the conquerors, as they beheld the trenches filled with the bodies of their iron-hearted defenders, and the fords of the Sutlej choked up with thousands of corpses, and the great river itself exhibiting in every direction the wreck of a great army, did not fail to pay a tribute of admiration to the gallantry and devotedness of the Khalsa legions."†

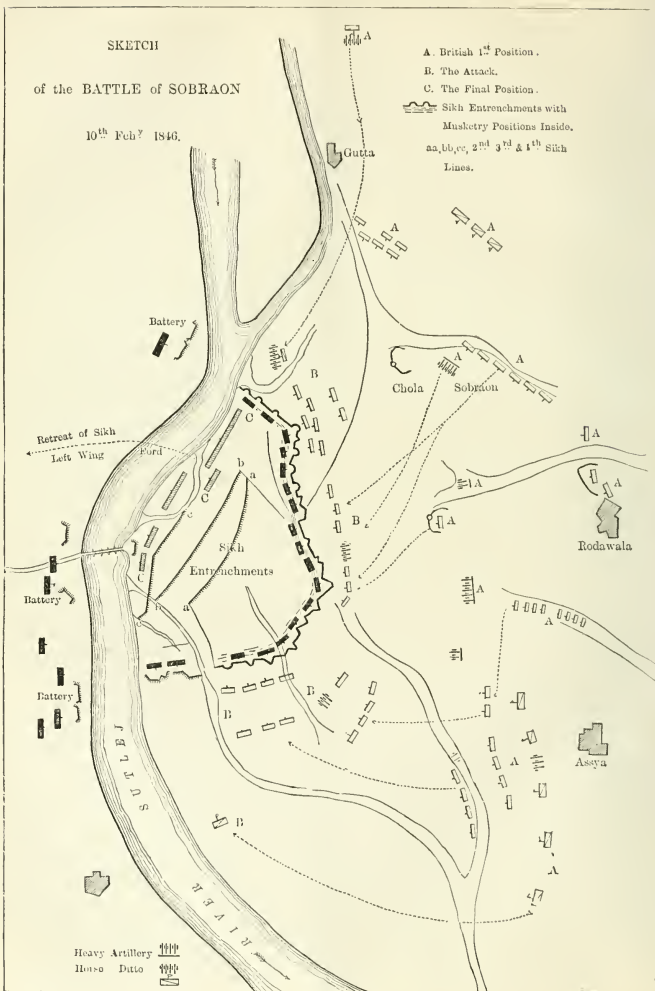
Here, as elsewhere, Prince Waldemar of Prussia, with Counts Oriola and Grueben, rode on the staff, and exposed themselves to every danger. Many of our army were ill after the battle from excessive fatigue and fever, arising from their exertions; and Colonel Havelock, the future hero of Lucknow, had a horse killed under him.

Major Abbot, who had been unceasingly employed in constructing a pontoon bridge of the boats which Sir Henry Hardinge had brought to Ferozepore, had it finished on the night before the battle. Sir Henry, who had been most active on the field at Sobraon, and had been severely injured by a fall from his horse, the moment our victory was certain, rode to Ferozepore, twenty-six miles distant, to hasten the passage of the pursuing troops, and that night six regiments bivouacked in the Punjaub. On the third day after the battle, the whole force, which, including a horde of camp-followers, made up 100,000 men, with 68,000 camels and horses, and forty guns, crossed the Sutlej without a single casualty.

* Despatches, Camp Kussor, 13th Feb.

* Despatches.

† Marshman.



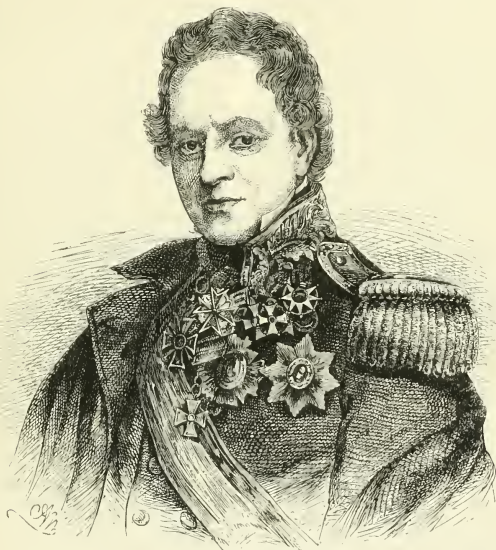
PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF SOBRAON.

In Lahore great was the consternation of the durbar, when the scared fugitives from Sobraon came pouring in. Further resistance was hopeless, and nothing remained but to negotiate. With this view, a deputation from the Sikh cabinet waited on Sir Henry Hardinge. At its head was Gholab Sing, who had been playing the double game already referred to, and who now endeavoured to make profit out of it in the person of a mediator.

taken possession of the citadel, he issued the following proclamation, of which we give a part:—

“Foreign Department, Lahore, February 22nd, 1846.—The British army has this day occupied the gateway of the citadel of Lahore, the Bad-ashahee Mosque, and the Hoozooree Bagh.

“The remaining part of the citadel is the residence of his Highness the Maharajah, and also that of families of the late Maharajah Runjeet Sing,



PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE.

On the 15th of February he arrived at the Kussor camp, when the Governor-General immediately put him in possession of the terms he meant to enforce.

He at once declared that he was alike empowered and prepared to accept them, and begged that the army would now halt, and not approach the capital; but so far from assenting to this, Sir Henry told him plainly that, if he signed a treaty at all, it must be signed at Lahore.

On the 22nd of the same month, after a brigade of British troops, with himself at their head, had

for so many years the faithful ally of the British Government. In consideration of these circumstances, no troops will be posted within the precincts of the palace gates.

“The army of the Sutlej has now brought its operations in the field to a close by the dispersion of the Sikh army and the military occupation of Lahore, preceded by a series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military annals of India. The British Government, trusting to the faith of treaties, and the long-subsisting friendship between the two states, had limited

military preparations to the defence of its own frontier.

"Compelled suddenly to assume the offensive, by the unprovoked invasion of its territories, the British army, under the command of its distinguished leader, has, in sixty days, defeated the Sikh forces in four general actions, has captured 220 pieces of artillery, and is now at the capital, dictating to the Lahore durbar the terms of a treaty, the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage.

"The Governor-General being determined, however, to mark with reprobation the perfidious character of the war, has required, and will exact, that every remaining piece of Sikh artillery, which has been pointed against the British army during this campaign, shall be surrendered.

"The Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of destruction, is about to be disbanded."*

Could it be the case, the conquered asked of each other, that the mighty army of the *Khalsa* (or church)—the band of the Sikh prophet—was to be humbled thus?

On the subsequent day, at a durbar, attended by the young Maharajah Dhuleep Sing and a glittering suite, the new treaty was signed and ratified. Its articles were sixteen in number. The most important were those which confiscated the whole of the Sikh territories on the left bank of the Sutlej, and also those on the right bank, known as the Jalindar Doab; and which stipulated for an indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees, or £1,500,000, the half to be paid down instantly, and the rest to be discharged by the cession of all the hill country between the Beas (a river of the Punjab) and the Indus, including Cashmere and Huzareh. The disbandment of the imperious and mutinous Khalsa army was fully provided for, and the future strength of it was limited to twenty-five battalions, of 800 bayonets each, and 12,000 cavalry.

By the twelfth and thirteenth articles, wild old Gholab Sing was to be recognised as the indepen-

dent sovereign of such territories as we might assign him, and all disputes between him and the Maharajah were to be referred to the British Government. By another treaty, concluded at Umritsur, on the 16th of March, 1846, the latter transferred to him and his heirs all the mountainous country, with its dependencies, eastward of the Indus and westward of the Ravee, including Chumba (with its lofty mountain covered by eternal snow), and excluding Lahool, which our Government ceded to Lahore; while he, in consideration of this, was to pay us "seventy-five lacs of rupees: fifty lacs to be paid on the ratification, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, 1846."

The Lahore cabinet, well aware how their troops had been their masters, still feared them, even in this form, and petitioned Sir Henry Hardinge to have a body of British troops in the capital. He consented, but not without some hesitation; and this led to a supplementary treaty, by which, eventually, the force thus left was to be placed in full possession of the city and citadel of Lahore, while the Khalsa troops should be quartered outside of both, and the Sikh Government became bound to pay all the expenses of this new and humiliating arrangement; after the conclusion of which, the victorious army of the Sutlej began its homeward march. It received the thanks of Parliament, and many were the honours distributed; Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were both raised to the peerage—the victor of Aliwal was made a baronet—and medals were granted to the army which had humbled the pride of Lahore.

"Those ponderous cannon, the pride of the Sikh soldiery, and which they knew so well how to direct, swelled the train of the conqueror, or lay in broken fragments in the shattered trenches, which the valour of the Sikh, sepoy, and Briton had stained with the blood of the brave. It was more like the relation of some Indian tale of gods and spirits, creating strange fantasies among the abodes of men, than a reality. The Sikh could not realise it. The beaten soldier stalked forth and viewed the anomaly with scowling brow, but unarmed hand, baffled and wonder-struck, but not cowed."

* "The War in India;" Desp., London, 1846.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OUR RULE IN SCINDE.—WAR WITH THE HILL TRIBES.—FEMALE INFANTICIDE, ETC.

WE must now refer to the affairs of Scinde. There the active and indefatigable Sir Charles Napier had been all this time displaying his admirable skill, alike as a soldier and diplomatist. Lord Ellenborough's recall had made him doubtful whether or not he was bound in honour to resign, as his lordship had ever been his friend; but Napier felt that, though he was suffering severely in health from the climate, and that Scinde was conquered, his work there was incomplete, as among the Cutchee mountains northward of Shikarpore were many hill tribes, capable of mustering raiders by thousands, who from time to time carried havoc and desolation within the boundaries of Scinde. The Ameer Shere Mohammed had found protection among them, and it was but too probable that, under the influence of his presence, they might become a rallying-point for all who were averse to us, and thus lead to a revolution in Scinde.

To preclude all chance of this, Napier, in 1844, drew up a plan for a campaign among the mountains. The difficulties were great, but Napier knew "no such word as fail," and his proposals met with the full approval of Sir Henry Hardinge; but at Sukkur the motions were delayed by an epidemic peculiar to the country, which fearfully decimated his troops, especially the 78th Highlanders, who had embarked for the East in 1842, and were not yet acclimatised. "I have lost the 78th," he wrote, despondingly, in December, 1844; "that beautiful regiment arrived here in high health, but the first week in November they began to grow sickly, and here they are bodily in hospital, with about 200 dead, men, women, and children."

Greatly to his disappointment, he found himself compelled to order the regiment—on which, as Highlanders, he had depended so much in a mountain campaign—to Hyderabad; but eventually his arrangements were complete, and the force was in motion towards Cutch Gundava. This is a district of Beloochistan, bounded on the north-east by Afghanistan, on the south and east by Scinde, and on the west by Salaman and Sarawan. Its climate is oppressively hot. The Khan of Khelat is ruler, and it is connected with the Lower Indus by a range of remarkable rocks, named the Cutchee Hills, that run towards the Bolan Pass. The inhabitants are fierce and wild. "The Scindians

are Indians," says Lieutenant Burton, "a very different race peoples the rugged ranges of the Khelat Hills, and the oases that chequer the deserts beyond. Here (as in Scinde) a collector may raise his revenue without perpetual appeals to the bayonet. A handful of Europeans may still overawe thousands with the white face. There there is no revenue to collect; and had there been, nothing but steel or hemp could collect it."

Numerous fierce tribes inhabit the Cutchee Hills, under the names of Jackrankees, Doomkees, Bhoogtees, and Muzarees, &c., who could bring 18,000 well-armed warriors, with many more followers, into the field, and whose boast it was that no foreign foot had ever traversed their rocky defiles, an immunity which they owed to the nature of their passes and the impassable deserts that lay beyond.

To ordinary troops, owing to the scarcity of water and the absence of those hill-forts usually erected for the security of such wells as may occur, the passage of these desolate places offered the most perilous difficulties; but against these Napier had to a great extent provided, by the formation of a fighting camel-corps: each carried two men, clad in turbans, short tunics, and long boots, one armed with a musket, and bayonet slung over the left shoulder, the other with a carbine and sword. One guided the camel and fought from its back, the other acted as an infantryman on foot, "because the robbers were accustomed to fire from the fissures and holes in the plains whither neither sword nor lance could reach them. If assailed by superior numbers, the camels were to kneel in a ring, with their heads inwards and pinned down, so as to form a bulwark for the men."

The most noted of the robber chiefs at this time was Beja Khan, long the scourge of the Scindian frontier by the number and success of his inroads, and he had added to his local renown by repulsing an ill-managed attempt to capture his patrimonial fort of Poolajee, among the Cutchee Hills. Lieutenant Fitzgerald had once resided in this district, and now believed that his knowledge of it was such that he would be enabled to surprise Beja with ease. Sir Charles Napier, with this intention, despatched Captain Tait with 500 horse, and Fitzgerald with 200 of his camel corps. These

made a forced march across the dreary desert, but found Beja on the alert, at the head of a strong body of matchlock-men, so the proposed surprise proved an utter failure, and after some loss Tait retreated; and the movement would have been disastrous, but, fortunately, in choking up the wells, Beja omitted one, at which the sinking soldiers procured some water.

Tidings now came that, elated by this, the tribes were assembling at Beja's fort, and openly spoke of bringing into Scinde the Ameer Shere Mohammed. The Doomkees and Jackranees made a successful raid across the frontier; and, as if to add to the troubles of Sir Charles, the 64th Native Infantry (which served at Cabul) evinced a mutinous spirit at Shikarpore, on an old complaint, a demand for increased field allowances, on the plea that Scinde was not a portion of India, but a foreign country. There was great reason to fear that the other native infantry might adopt the same course, but this was prevented by the prompt measures of Brigadier Hunter, who, finding his remonstrances unavailing, ordered the old garrison under arms, seized and manacled some forty of the mutineers, disarmed the rest, and forced them across the left bank of the Indus.

As any delay was now dangerous, from the bad spirit of the native troops on one hand and the ravages of the hill tribes on the other, it was resolved to open the campaign; and consequently, on the 18th of January, 1845, the advanced guard of cavalry and guns, under Sir Charles in person, marched from Sukkur, and on the 15th arrived at the town of Khangur, situated in a barren country overgrown with low jungle.

Captain Jacob, who had marched with the left column from Larkhana, arrived on the same day at a place called Rojan; his force and the centre then moved northwards, at an average distance of twenty miles apart, the former to Shapoor, where Beja Khan was alleged to have his head-quarters, and the latter to Ooch, where, on the 18th, Sir Charles was relieved of some anxiety which he felt concerning the fate of a detachment which had gone in advance, on hearing that Captain Salter, the officer in command of it, had defeated 700 robbers, under Deyra Khan, a chief of Jackranees. About the same time he received intelligence to the effect that Captain Jacob, with the left column, had surprised and routed another band, under the son of Beja Khan.

A friendly chief, named Wullee Chanda, had also been victorious at Poolajee; after this triple defeat, Beja Khan and his followers, full of wrath and terror, abandoned the western range of hills, and

sought shelter among the eastern. While Salter held Ooch, Jacob's column moved on Poolajee to co-operate with Wullee Chanda (whose friendship for us proved him only a traitor to his own people), to overawe the tribes of Khelat, while the infantry, artillery, and all the stores were sent to Shapoor, where a magazine for a fortnight's consumption was formed. While posted thus, Napier's forces occupied two sides of a square. One menaced the dark rocky passes from the jungly desert on the south, and the other commanded the gaps of the long parallel and solitary valleys which run eastward towards the broad waters of the Indus. It was now that the real and defined pursuit of Beja Khan commenced, and was persevered in, till it proved one of the most remarkable pieces of service ever undertaken and brilliantly achieved by disciplined troops.

A detailed narrative of the operations is unnecessary; suffice it to say, that though it had always been taken for granted that disciplined troops had a slender chance of warring with mountaineers, among the rugged cliffs and savage ravines of their native hills, it was now shown that, under such a leader as Napier, they could fight and pursue as well as on the lowland plains. Thus, ere long, Beja Khan and his confederates, finding themselves hemmed in on all sides, and threatened by starvation, made an unconditional surrender on the 9th of March, 1845; and so ended the war among the hills of Cutch Gundava, and Sir Charles was left free to improve the internal condition of Scinde. No man ever deserved a peerage better than Sir Charles Napier, and why he did not receive one, no man can say.

Of the Ameers he wrote:—"Their misfortunes were their own creation, but as they were great, I gave them back their swords." There was chivalry in this, but in most instances they were undeserving of it, though Ali Morad, of Khypore, is described by Mr. Postans, who knew him personally, as the beau-ideal of a strong-hearted, independent chief, "the last of the Barons," and the only one who was consistent in his spirit of independence from first to last; but in his superstition, he directed the bones of a tiger to be preserved in his fortress of Dejee, to protect it in case of attack, and to save its inhabitants from the evil eye or death.

As rulers or sovereigns, the Ameers knew no law but the sword, and the people of Scinde were slaves rather than subjects. There was no security for property, and money was extorted from merchants and others by torture and mutilation, as it was drawn from the wretched English Jews in the

days of the savage Plantagenet. They restricted commerce; they hated strangers, lest they should draw comparisons that were unpleasant between their rule and that of neighbouring princes. With a rich soil, and people who were willing to till it, they only formed vast hunting-grounds, "and laid waste in sixty years a fourth part of the fertile land of Scinde. The process of William the Conqueror in forming the New Forest in Hampshire was gentle and diminutive compared with their proceedings along the bank of the Indus."

The only trade they are actually known to have encouraged was the slave trade, and so did all their chiefs as importers and exporters; while infanticide was a regular system among them; the Ameers and Sirdirs killed all their illegitimate, and very commonly their female legitimate children, when they thought they had too many girls in their family.

This horrible practice existed from the earliest period in India; though in all nations, before Christianity shed its light upon them, the sacrifice of a child to some grim idol has prevailed; and even in Scotland, so late as the early part of the ninth century, an Earl of Caithness is said to have offered up a human sacrifice to Odin. Without referring to the long legend in support of female infanticide, the first official intimation our Government had of it in India was about 1789, when Mr. Duncan, afterwards Governor of Bombay, informed Lord Cornwallis that he had discovered it to be "no unfrequent practice among the tribe of Rajkoomar to destroy their daughters by causing the mothers to refuse them nurture." By the humane exertions of Mr. Duncan and Major Walker, every means were taken to suppress this crime at Benares, and among the people of Cutch and Kattywar; though, when urged on the subject, they had the effrontery to say: "Pay our daughters' marriage portions, and they shall live."

In the Koran we find this crime referred to thus among the Arabs: "And when any of them is told of the birth of a female his face becometh black, and he is deeply afflicted: he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him, considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust."*

Mr. Duncan was inclined to pay for the lives of the girls; but the Court of Directors at once declined, on the plea that other tribes would seek to barter in the same way. From time to time new disclosures of the most fearful nature came to light, showing the extent to which this crime

prevailed among the Khonds and others; while the worshippers of Boora Pennu, a sect of the Khonds, alleged his permissive sanction for the custom, given on the occasion of his last communication with mankind, when he said to men: "Behold! from making one female what I and the world have suffered. You are at liberty to bring up only as many women as you can manage."

According to the law of births the number of each sex is nearly equal; but at one time it was found among the population of Kattywar, a central division of Goojerat, though exceeding 8,000, not more than sixty-three female children had been preserved in the course of ten years. On some of the largest estates only one, and on others, containing more than 400 families, not one female child was found.

With this crime there was the greatest difficulty in dealing, even when the extent of the iniquity was known; but how was it to be prevented? Done in zenanas, recesses whither none could penetrate, or in forts to which no legal access could be had, by what manner of evidence could the terrible custom be proved or punished? The proposition to bribe informers was suggested, but negatived, lest the cure should prove worse than the disease, by the suggestion of false accusation or revenge. The most able of Indian statesmen, while admitting that no effectual check could be imposed upon the atrocity, added, that "we must be content to follow the footsteps of our predecessors (without going beyond them) in their most meritorious endeavours to discountenance this enormity; and we may flatter ourselves that, as the manners of the people become softened by a continuance of tranquillity and good order, they will gradually discontinue a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct."

This patient acquiescence and trust in the softening effects of civilisation would never have produced any change in a people so unchangeable. Certainly, force could not be used, as the Rajpoot tribes, most guilty of infanticide, were not then subjects of the East India Company; but as soon as the chiefs were given to understand that they must either renounce the crime, or be scouted by the British as utter barbarians, with whom we could hold neither faith nor friendship, they came forward, and proffered rewards, and some even issued proclamations denouncing infanticide, and threatening the committal of it with punishment; but it was only when they found that their personal interests were likely to suffer, that these vaunted Rajpoots affected to be suddenly inspired by emotions of humanity and natural affection.

* Koran, chap. xvi.

It was in Kattywar that our political agent, Mr. J. P. Willoughby, after carefully ascertaining the exact census of the Jharigah population, whose chiefs he compelled, under severe penalties, to furnish half-yearly registers of marriages, births, and deaths, obtained the first great triumph over this ancient domestic crime. By proclamation he guaranteed protection and reward to all informers, by enjoining every father who gave his daughter in marriage to a Jharigah chief to have a written stipulation that all children born alive should be preserved; and to prove that the British Government would no longer be trifled with, he had several offenders tried and convicted. He fined one chief 12,000 rupees; another 3,000 rupees, with a year's imprisonment. Thus, under the influence of the hope of reward and dread of punishment, the proportion of the children of the two sexes in Kattywar was nearly equal in 1849; and so progressive was the increase of the female population, there were grounds, in time, to believe that, in Kattywar at least, infanticide had become extinct; but from some passages in the Indian newspapers, so lately as 1876, it does not seem to have altogether passed away. "At one time it carried on its murders by wholesale, and must have annually slain its hundreds; whereas now, if ever it find a victim, it can only be by shrouding itself in the deepest darkness, and doing the horrid deed, while trembling at the punishment with which it will certainly be visited if discovered."

In 1847, the intrigues of the Ranee of Lahore, who wished to upset the council of regency, rendered it necessary, for the general peace of India, to remove her to some distance from the capital, after which the Governor-General gave his almost undivided time to peaceful improvements. New encouragement was given to education; Christian labour was prohibited on Sunday; the exchequer, previously drained by the Afghan war, was replenished; while in the liberal patronage bestowed upon railways, and in the erection of public works, great and permanent good was done to India.

Through misapplied patronage, influence, and interest, partialities, jealousies, and heart-burnings had crept into many branches of the public service; but the good Lord Hardinge "threw oil upon the troubled waters, and merited the honourable title of peace-maker."

Lord William Bentinck had abolished *Suttees* throughout the whole dominions of the Company; but they were still perpetrated in those native states over which we had no control. Hence, on the death of the Rajah of Mundeë, his obsequies were celebrated by a perfect holocaust, no less than

twelve of his widows being burned with his body on the funeral pile.

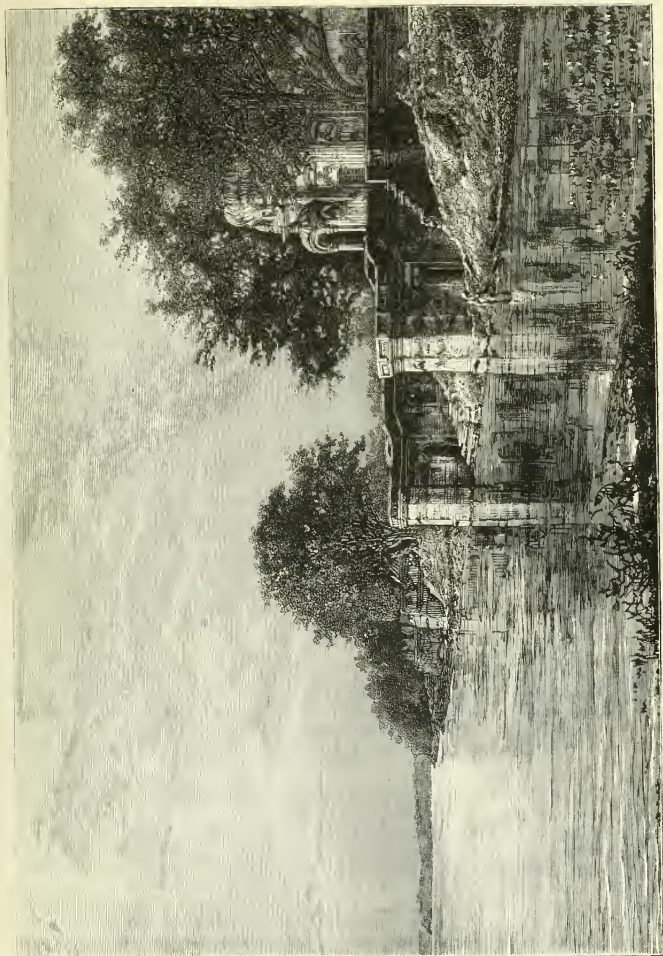
Lord Hardinge used all the influence he possessed, and all that of our paramount authority, to induce the native princes and chiefs to relinquish or abolish a practice so barbarous; and before his departure he had the satisfaction to receive, from twenty-four native princes and princesses, written and solemn assurances that they were making strenuous efforts to meet his humane wishes; and a *Suttee* is now all but unknown in India.

On the 5th of April, 1847, he wrote to the Secret Committee in London that the Sikh chiefs, forming the cabinet of Lahore, were carrying on the government with a loyal desire to maintain the terms of the recent treaty; and so they were to all appearance; but, at the same time, the majority of them were privately plotting the destruction or expulsion of the British. By the 27th of May, he again addressed the Secret Committee, holding forth the same assurances that all was quiet and well. In that letter he quotes the opinions of the talented Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, to the effect that, as usual, all manner of rumours were flying as to the hostile intentions of the Sikh chiefs towards us. Such tales he believed to be greatly exaggerated or obviously false; but he was deceived, as a little time was to show.

These reports seem to have been utterly rejected at Government House, Calcutta; yet few who had studied the deeply-rooted religious antipathies of the Sikhs, their fierce disposition and whole antecedents, could doubt that another storm was gathering along the banks of the Sutlej, and that those rumours, flying though they were, had an origin in the wide-spread disaffection of the chiefs and their people, to the alliance which the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing had contracted with infidel strangers, and rage at the presence of the latter in any part of the Punjab empire.

The distribution of Lord Hardinge's patronage was regulated by an exclusive regard to the interests of the public, and he was as free from the suspicion of nepotism as his predecessor. In India, by his plain, good, common sense, by his decision of character and kindly disposition, together with vigour of discipline, he secured the golden opinions of all men.

The termination of such an administration was indeed viewed as a calamity, and great was the general regret which was felt when, at the end of little more than three years from the time when he took office—and three stirring years they were—he announced his intention of resigning; but we have already told how his services and those of his



VIEW OF THE SUTTER CHAURA-GHAT, OR BROAD STAIRCASE OF FUNERALS, ON THE GANGES AT CAWNPORE.

gallant comrades in the war of the Punjaub were duly acknowledged by the authorities at home. These honours were doubtless well and faithfully earned.

He sailed from Calcutta on the 15th of March, 1848, with the firm, but most mistaken conviction, "that it would not be necessary to fire another

shot in India for several years to come." Yet so impossible is it to foresee the future, that before a short twelve months had passed, the great district of the Punjaub had revolted against us, had been re-conquered, with a vast amount of bloodshed, and converted from an independent state into a mere province of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REVOLT AT MOULTAN.—THE OPERATIONS OF LIEUTENANT EDWARDES.—THE BATTLE OF KINEYREE.—
SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF MOULTAN.

THE successor of Viscount Hardinge, James Andrew, Earl of Dalhousie, K.T., Lord Clerk Registrar of Scotland, took his seat in the Council at Calcutta on the 19th of February, 1848. The representative of a long line of warlike ancestors and of a Scottish family of great note since the reign of David I, he was then in his thirty-sixth year, had occupied a seat in the House of Commons, and in Sir Robert Peel's last Cabinet had been President of the Board of Trade at the most busy period of its existence, "when it was flooded with railway schemes." When entering on the administration of India, he was without that intimate knowledge of its policy and institutions which was possessed by the Lords Teignmouth, Wellesley, Minto, or Bentinck; but he had a great natural genius, which soon caught the spirit and learned the details of Indian affairs. Hence, the period of his administration, which extended to eight years, was filled with transactions which must long continue to influence the prosperity and good of the vast empire of the East.

His reception in India was most flattering, for the pleasant odour of a good name and unblemished reputation preceded him. Like most of his predecessors, he was most anxious for the preservation of peace, and yet, within four months after his arrival, the alarm of war was given in the Punjaub.

The tranquillity in which Lord Hardinge left India was only the treacherous lull before the furious storm, which at length burst suddenly in the south-western province of Moulton. There a chief of some talent, named Sawun Mull, had been succeeded as prime minister, in 1844, by his son Moolraj, whose ambitious spirit led him to aspire to independence. On the understanding that he

would pay into the treasury a sum of thirty lacs of rupees, his succession had been confirmed at Lahore; but taking advantage of the confusion consequent to the war, he not only failed to pay that sum, but withheld the entire revenue. Remonstrances now proved futile; he was addressed in terms which showed very clearly that, unless he acted in conformity with the views of the durbar, force, in the name of Dhuleep Sing, would be employed against him.

He thereupon responded by proposing to resign office into the hands of any person authorised to receive the trust. Whether this was a pre-arranged scheme between him and those inimical to the British, it is now difficult to determine; but it has been thought not improbable that, had native officers only been sent to receive the surrender, it might have been made *bonâ fide*. Our Resident, however, ordered Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew, a civilian, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, to accompany Sirdir Khan Sing, who was nominated Dewan of Moulton; 530 irregulars formed the escort. Moolraj now made a show of surrendering office on one hand, with many sly pretexts for delay on the other.

It was on the 18th of March that Agnew and Anderson entered the city. Next morning Moolraj waited on them to discuss the general terms of his resignation, and asked a general deed of quittance; but Mr. Agnew insisted on all the monetary accounts of the preceding six years. Much recrimination ensued; Moolraj acceded eventually to the demand, and left the conference with an ominous scowl on his brow, quitting the Eedgah, a spacious building, within cannon-shot of the north face of the fort of Moulton. On the following

morning, Sirdir Khan Sing and the two British officers accompanied Moolraj into the fort, where they received the keys, and placed two Ghoorka companies in possession of the posts. They allayed, or thought they had allayed, the manifest impatience of the garrison at this change by promises of service, and proposed to return.

They had passed the gate and reached the drawbridge which lay across the ditch, when a soldier of Moolraj rushed at Mr. Agnew, unhorsed him by a thrust of his spear, and gave him two severe sword-wounds; but before he could complete the intended murder, the assassin was tumbled into the ditch by a trooper of the escort. Instead of interfering, Moolraj forced his horse through the excited crowd, and galloped to his residence of Am Khue, near the fort. Lieutenant Anderson was now attacked by some of Moolraj's followers, and was so severely wounded that he was left for dead, till found by some Ghoorkas, who carried him in a palanquin to the Eedgah.

To that place Mr. Agnew was also brought, by the assistance of Rung Ram (the brother-in-law of Moolraj), who placed him on his own elephant, and conveyed him in haste to the camp, binding up his wounds as they went along. Mr. Agnew was able to report these occurrences to Sir Frederick Currie, the Resident at Lahore, and to Lieutenant Edwardes, who, with a small force, was employed in collecting the revenue in the neighbourhood of Leia, a fertile and well-cultivated province north-west of Moulton. He further wrote to Moolraj, calling upon him to prove his own innocence by seizing the culprits, and coming in person to the Eedgah. Moolraj replied by asserting that he was incapable of doing either; adding that all the Lahore garrisons, Hindoo and Mohammedan alike, were in rebellion, and he would advise all British officers to consult their own safety without delay.

At that very time he was presiding over a council of chiefs, composed of Hindoos, Afghans, and Sikhs, who were successively taking the oath of allegiance to him, as prescribed by their different faiths.

If any doubts had been entertained as to the past intentions of Moolraj, there could be none about the present, as he was in open revolt. On the 19th the whole of the baggage animals of the escort were carried off, and as all escape, or retreat, was thus precluded, nothing remained but to put the Eedgah in a state of defence. Though sinking with wounds, Agnew called within its walls all the soldiers of the escort and their camp-followers, while six guns were placed in battery; and could

the place be but defended for three days and nights succour might arrive.

But the worst was yet to come. On the morning of the 20th the guns of the fort opened on the Eedgah; the six there replied by one round, and then ceased. The Lahore gholandazees refused to act; and the efforts to seduce them and the escort proved so successful, that ere evening fell the whole had deserted, save Khan Sing, eight troopers, the Moonshes, and domestic servants of the British officers. The idea of further resistance was at once relinquished, and a messenger was sent to Moolraj to arrange a capitulation. The utmost he would accord was that the officers should quit the country, and they would be unmolested. But ere these terms could be communicated, the fortified temple was attacked by a horde of howling savages, who burst in, sword in hand, took Khan Sing prisoner, and barbarously cut Anderson and Agnew to pieces. They hewed off their heads, and presented them to Moolraj, who made the atrocity his own by rewarding the perpetrators of it.

Two days after, Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., whose administrative qualities had been largely tested during the late Sikh war, heard of the attack only; and under the impression that the revolt had many branches, immediately put in motion against Moulton seven battalions of infantry, two corps of regular cavalry, 1,200 irregular horse, and a force of artillery. These were all Sikhs, inadequate in strength and doubtful in fidelity; thus, when tidings of the murders and desertion of the escort came, lest the other troops of the durbar should imitate the example given them, he referred the matter to the Commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, who resolved to postpone all operations until he could take the field in person in the cold season.

And now it was that the heroic Lieutenant—afterwards Sir Herbert—Edwardes took action personally at this crisis. Colonel Van Cortlandt, a distinguished officer of the Company's service, then occupied Dhera Ismael Khan, in the same neighbourhood where Edwardes was collecting the land-tax for Moolraj. The lieutenant crossed the Indus into Deerajat the moment he received Agnew's letter from the Eedgah, with his whole force, mustering only twelve companies of infantry, 350 horse, with two guns, and twenty zumboorucks; he resolved to move on Moulton, which was ninety miles distant. At the same time he wrote to Lieutenant Taylor, who was with Van Cortlandt (then commanding the troops of the Maharajah), for a regiment and four guns. He took possession of Leia, and was about to intrench himself there,

and await the approach of Moolraj, when a paper of importance fell into his hands.

It was an intercepted letter, from which he learned that his Sikh soldiers had agreed to sell his head to Moolraj for 24,000 rupees. To baffle these men, and to raise other recruits free from the infection of revolt, or Afghans who had no sympathy with the Sikhs—"bold villains, who," as he said, "were ready to risk their own throats, and cut those of any one else"—he re-crossed the Indus; and on being joined by Soobdan Khan's regiment of Mohammedans, under Van Cortlandt (who was a native of India), with six horse artillery guns, and by the troops of the Rajah of Bhawalpore, he thought himself strong enough to face Moolraj.

By the 19th of May the enterprising young subaltern—the future Governor of the Punjaub—was at the head of a force mustering 4,000 men who were supposed to be faithful, and 800 Sikhs, whose loyalty might well be considered doubtful, with ten guns and twenty-nine zumboorucks—a force which he describes as "this brave but heterogeneous army, composed of every race that peoples the Soolimanee range and Deerajat." *

His troops were far outnumbered by those of Moolraj; but a strong diversion had been made in our favour by the Rajah of Bhawalpore, who, urged by Edwardes, was marching to cross the Sutlej, and threaten Moultan. So confident did Lieutenant Edwardes feel, that by the 20th of May he wrote to Sir Frederick Currie, saying, "I am prepared to undertake the blockade of that rebel (Moolraj) in Moultan for the rest of the hot season and rains, if you should honour me with that commission, and order Bhawal Khan to assist me."

For the present, however, the main object in view was the capture of Dera Ghazee Khan, the country around which had been bestowed by Moolraj on a native named Julal Khan, a title ever in use in the East, and synonymous with "esquire" in Britain. Khourah Khan, who was his avowed foe, immediately made his submission to the British, and sent his son, Gholam Hyder Khan, with a contingent, to act in concert with our troops. Accompanying Colonel—or, as he is sometimes called, General—Cortlandt, this youth volunteered, on the 20th, to go in advance to raise his father's tribe, and drive Lunga Mull across the Indus.

Van Cortlandt, without attaching much importance to the offer, accepted it. The youth proved true to his word; he raised the tribe in arms, and prepared for the encounter. Lunga Mull, Cheytun Mull, and Julal Khan, at the head of the Lugharee

tribe, did not decline the conflict—an obstinate and bloody one—which ensued. A night attack, led by Gholam, commenced it on the 20th, and it was undecided on the following morning, when by a charge with shield, sword, and dagger, like those of the Scottish clans of old, he gained a complete victory, slaying Cheytun Mull, and taking Lunga Mull prisoner. Some of the fugitives took shelter in the fort of Dera Ghazee Khan, but capitulated on obtaining permission to cross the river; so the whole place was delivered up to us without further opposition.

The forces of Moolraj now moved down the Indus towards the scene of this disaster, and took up a position on its left bank, at a place called Koreyshee, intending to seize a fleet of boats provided by the captive Lunga to pass the river; but they failed to achieve this, and the two armies remained inactive, with the broad waters of the mighty river rolling between them, till Bhawal Khan crossed it in June, with the intention of moving on Soojahbad, which is westward of Moultan, and this had the effect of drawing them from their position, and leaving the passage of the river free to the British, who could cross with ease, having previously secured the flotilla in question.

The chief barrier was a peremptory order from Sir Frederick Currie to keep the left bank; but this was withdrawn on Bhawal Khan demanding instant support. The Indus was then crossed without further delay, and our whole force marched to the town of Khangur, in a barren country, overgrown with jungle, on the right bank of the Chenab. In the meantime, the Moultan forces were pushing on towards Soojahbad, with the imperative orders of Moolraj to fight Bhawal Khan before he could form a junction with Lieutenant Edwardes, who gives the strength of the several forces thus:—

The rebels were from 8,000 to 10,000 horse and foot, with ten guns, commanded by Moolraj's kinsman, Rung Ram; and the Bhawalpore army of 8,100 horse and foot, with eleven guns and thirty zumboorucks, led by Futteh Mohammed Khan Ghoree, held the left bank of the Chenab. His own force, consisting of two divisions (one of regulars, foot, and artillery, of the Sikh service, of about 1,500 men and ten guns, under Van Cortlandt, and another of 5,000 irregulars and thirty zumboorucks, under his own command), held the right bank of the river. The three several forces formed a species of triangle in their three positions.*

The plan of Rung Ram should have been to attack the Bhawalpore troops without a moment's delay, for his own, being better disciplined, must

* Letter in the Punjaub Blue Book.

* "A Year in the Punjaub."

infallibly have routed our allies; but he lost the opportunity by waiting till evening, and then moving eight miles lower down the Chenab to within an easy march of Kineyree, the point at which he knew the British must cross the river.

To seize this passage was his plan, intending thereafter to attack the chief of Bhawulpore, when left single-handed; but, luckily, his views were baffled by him, as he, too, hastened towards Kineyree, while a strong British corps, consisting of 3,000 Patans, under Foujdan Khan, had already crossed the river, and was already moving on the same point. This junction had scarcely been effected, when Lieutenant Edwardes, who had left Cortlandt to bring over the rest of the force, and was crossing the Chenab (which takes its rise in Thibet, and is the largest of the five great rivers of the Punjab), heard the booming of great guns, announcing that a conflict had begun.

This was on the 18th of June, when Rung Ram, in hurrying on to seize the ferry, found it already occupied, and had to take up a strong position on the salt-hills of Noonar, and opened fire with his guns; thus the active Edwardes came at an important time. Without waiting for orders, the undisciplined warriors of Bhawulpore rushed to the attack, but were met by a fire so steady, and so different from their own border tactics, that they were driven in confusion on a village in their rear. They were in this condition when Edwardes' force came upon the ground, and he inquired for Futteh Mohammed Khan Ghoree, whom he found squatted under a large peepul-tree. He was a little old man, with dirty clothes, a skull-cap on his head, and a rosary in his hands, the beads of which he was telling rapidly, while muttering, helplessly, "Ullundoolillah!" (God be praised!) "apparently quite abstracted from the scene around him, and utterly unconscious that six-pounders were going through the branches overhead, that officers were imploring him for orders, and that 9,000 rebels were waiting to destroy the army of which he was general."*

Edwardes had now to take the whole responsibility upon himself; nor did the brave young fellow shrink from the difficulty, which was great. The Bhawulpore artillery was so overborne by that of the Moulteees that he could not assume the offensive until his own guns crossed the river, and it was an effort to avoid defeat ere they could be brought into the field. Imperfect as the Bhawulpore artillery proved, he continued the cannonade with it, and placed the rest of the troops in the jungle, and under cover as much as possible. Under this fire the Patans were very impatient, and

continually started up, clamouring to be led against the enemy; and thus did Edwardes spend six harassing hours, till six British guns arrived, and with them two regiments of infantry.

When they opened, the Moulteees, supposing that they had already silenced their enemy's cannon, were taken by surprise, and made but a poor resistance, especially when one of the fresh regiments charged. The whole allied force then advanced steadily, led by Edwardes; and the victory was his, together with all the ammunition, and eight out of ten pieces of cannon. His losses were about 300 killed and wounded; that of the enemy 500 in killed alone; and the fugitives never halted till they reached Moultan. But Moolraj was determined not to let himself be shut up in that place without measuring swords with us again.

Edwardes now importuned the Resident to support him, fighting, as he was doing, single-handed, and almost on his own authority, and preparations were made to dispatch an adequate force; but Lord Gough again interposed, because the season was not favourable and the siege-train had not moved from Cawnpore. Ten days after, the invincible subaltern, on receiving a reinforcement of 4,000 men, under the Sheikh Imaum-ud-Deen—whose fidelity, however, was doubtful—attacked Moolraj at Suddoosain; but although his army now consisted of 11,000 Sikhs, supported by eleven guns, he was defeated, put spurs to his horse, and fled into Moultan, which Lieutenant Edwardes at once proposed to besiege; but, too weak to undertake that service as yet, he encamped in the vicinity to keep a watch on the enemy.

Sir Frederick Currie thought that the addition of a single British brigade, with ten guns and twenty mortars, would be a sufficient force for Edwardes; but Lord Gough still adhered obstinately to his former opinion. Lord Dalhousie concurred with him; so Currie was compelled to take the matter into his own hands, and order General Whish, commanding in the Punjab, to take measures for the dispatch of a siege-train, with all its requirements and escort, for the reduction of Moultan. This step of Sir Frederick Currie was certainly a bold one; but the peril of relinquishing it after it had been made public, appeared to Lord Dalhousie far more than that of prosecuting it. So, as the die was cast, on the 24th of July, Major-General Whish, a distinguished artillery officer, started for Moultan, with a force of 8,039 men, thirty-two pieces of siege-ordnance, and twelve horse artillery guns. Among these troops were H.M. 10th Regiment, a troop of horse artillery, the 7th Irregular Horse,

* "A Year in the Punjab,"

and the 8th and 52nd Native Infantry. He marched in two columns: the right, with his headquarters, moving from Lahore along the left bank of the Ravee; and the left, under Brigadier Salter, coming on from Ferozepore by the right bank of the Sutlej. With the latter were H.M. 32nd Foot, a battering-train of thirty guns, a troop of horse artillery, the 11th Cavalry and 11th Irregulars, the 49th, 51st, and 72nd Native Infantry.

five mortars. This great disparity of numbers was compensated by the strength of the works."

Moultan is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the accumulated débris of many cities that have occupied the same site, on the left bank of the Chenab. Its bazaars are extensive, and silks, cottons, and brocades were extensively manufactured by its inhabitants, who, previous to the events now to be narrated, numbered about



VIEW OF THE PORT OF CALCUTTA.

The native force which had assembled before this, consisted of 8,415 cavalry, and 14,327 infantry, with forty-five horse artillery guns, four mortars, and 158 zumbourucks. "Of this column, including that of General Cortlandt, 7,718 infantry and 4,033 cavalry were commanded by Lieutenant Edwardes; 5,700 infantry and 1,900 cavalry formed the Bhawalpore army, commanded by Lieutenant Lake; and 909 infantry and 3,382 cavalry, formed the Sikh army, commanded by Rajah Shere Sing. To this besieging force of nearly 32,000 men Moolraj was not able to oppose more than a garrison of 12,000 men, with an artillery of fifty-four guns and

80,000 souls. Its silks and carpets rivalled those of Persia. The citadel, on which the banner of Moolraj was waving, is an irregular hexagon, constructed on an eminence, and girt by a ditch twenty-five feet deep by forty wide. The city surrounds the hill which this citadel crowns. Prior to the late defeat of Moolraj, an old brick wall was its only defence, but now, by unremitting exertions, he had surrounded it by an enormous rampart of mud, having six gates. The citadel was undoubtedly one of the strongest and most regular of Indian fortresses constructed by native engineers. Beyond its deep wide ditch, which was faced with masonry,

rose a wall, strengthened by thirty great towers. Within, everything had been done for its security, and its magazines were stored for a protracted siege. Around the city are populous suburbs, groves of date-trees, and beautiful gardens.

"The city of Moulton," says Iben Haukal, a traveller of the tenth century, "is about half the size of Mansureh-Bukkur, and is called the Golden House; for there is in it a certain idol, to which the natives of the country come on a religious

royal salute at sunrise to-morrow, in honour of her most gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and her ally his Highness Maharajah Dhuleep Sing." In the event of non-compliance, death and destruction was threatened to "the rebel traitor and all his adherents, who, having begun their resistance to lawful authority with a most cowardly act of treachery and murder, seek to uphold their unrighteous cause by an appeal to religion, which every one must know to be sheer hypocrisy."



PORTRAIT OF SIR HERBERT EDWARDES.

pilgrimage every year, and bring great riches with them. This temple is situated in the middle of the city, and over the centre of the temple there is a great cupola, or dome. All around this building are the houses in which the servants and attendants of the idol reside. It is made in the form of a man sitting upon a square throne, the hands resting on the knees. All the riches which are brought to this idol are taken by the Amir, who distributes a portion among the servants of the temple."

On the 4th of September, 1848, General Whish issued a proclamation to the people and garrison of the city, demanding an unconditional surrender "within twenty-four hours after the firing of a

The only reply to this was a cannon-shot from the citadel, which buried itself in the earth, close by General Whish and his staff. Moolraj had recently become inspired with new confidence; as, at the time he had shut himself up in Moulton, the disaffection of the Sikhs had become more general, so that the Resident, who had been confident of his speedy destruction, was obliged to confess that plans were maturing and combinations being made with a view to a grand struggle for our total expulsion from the Punjaub. Shere Sing, who was at the head of the finest soldiers of the Sikh army, though ordered to halt at Tolumba, had continued to advance on Moulton. Many suspicious events occurred else-

where. Among them was a formidable revolt led by Chuttur Sing in the Hazareh country in the north-west of the Punjab, where the people are of Tartar origin, and, like our Highland clans of old, are almost constantly at variance with each other. They are, moreover, an irritable, fierce, and capricious race, good matchlock-men, and excellent archers. Their outbreak derived significant importance from the fact that Chuttur was the father of Shere Sing, who though now encamped with his troops before Moulton, affecting to be part of the besieging force, must have been acquainted with his father's designs, and no doubt sanctioned them.

At daybreak, on the 7th of September, the siege of Moulton was opened. The first parallel was commenced at the singular distance of 1,000 yards, in consequence of the nature of the ground; and on the 9th, an attempt to dislodge the enemy from gardens and houses in front of the trenches failed, owing to the darkness of the night and the confusion it occasioned. This event greatly elated Moolraj, who began to strengthen his post anew, and thus besiegers and besieged continued for two whole days throwing up works within half musket shot of each other. On the 12th, the general determined to scour his front, and caused the irregulars to make an attack on the left, while two columns of British troops advanced to the attack in front. Elated by the trivial affair of the 9th, and confident in the strength of their works, the enemy fought with the most obstinate valour, but were driven headlong in with the loss of 500 killed. The result of this was to bring our approaches within 800 yards of the walls, or quite within battering distance. The speedy capture of Moulton was confidently anticipated, when an unlooked-for event took place.

On the 14th of September Shere Sing threw off all disguise, and, at the head of all his contingent, marched to join the enemy in Moulton, ordering the *dhurum kha dosa*, or religious drum, to be beaten, and proclaiming a sacred war, "under the auspices of the holy *Gooroo*," against "the cruel *Feringhees*," summoned all who had eaten the salt of the Maharajah to come forth and destroy them. The arrival of Shere Sing was a source of high satisfaction to Moolraj, though the latter was far from having confidence in his new allies; thus, instead of admitting them into the citadel, he cautiously kept them under its guns in the city, while he took all the officers to a temple and made them swear that they had no designs of treachery.

Even this oath proved insufficient to allay the suspicions of Moolraj, who was anxious for the withdrawal of Shere. Lieutenant Edwardes had

skillfully contrived to ferment the disputes between these chiefs by letters fabricated to deceive them. Each came into possession of a pretended correspondence, fabricated for the purpose of deceiving them both, which the spies of Edwardes placed in their hands, and by which, each seemed to betray the other for the Khalsa cause. Hence Shere Sing, on the 9th of October, marched to join his father, and became the leader in a new Sikh war; before narrating which, we shall tell all that remains to be told of the siege of Moulton.

Prior to this, on his first defection, General Whish had held a council of war, which was unanimously of opinion that the siege was no longer practicable. Our troops were in consequence withdrawn from their advanced positions to new ground, to await the arrival of such reinforcements as Lord Gough might send.

Though the siege was not resumed till the 17th of December, the intervening period was not one of idleness, as materials for the progress of it were prepared. Thus, when the time for action came, 15,000 gabions and 12,000 fascines had been provided. But Moolraj, on the other hand, was equally active in perfecting his defences and looking round for allies. In the selection of these he showed some political knowledge, for he addressed himself first to Dost Mohammed of Cabul, and the Candahar chiefs, to whom he made the tempting offer of having the Indus for their mutual boundary, after they should have expelled or extirpated the abhorred *Feringhees*!

In December the Bombay division came into camp, under Brigadier the Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville, and Commander-in-chief in Scotland), an officer who had served during the Canada insurrection of 1837; and the plan resolved on now, was not to reduce the city as a preliminary, but to make a regular attack on the north-east angle of the citadel, and occupy only such portions of the suburbs as were required for actual operations. These were the mausoleum of Sawun Mull (the father of Moolraj, named the Wuzeerabad), and his own residence at Am Khush, and not a day was lost in effecting the capture of them. At the same time an attack, which was merely meant to be a feint, became a real one, and brought the assailants close to the walls of the city. On the 30th of December a chance shell from one of our mortars blew up the magazine under the dome of the great mosque—400,000 pounds of powder (the collection of five years)—and caused an extraordinary loss of life—500 men—shaking the earth for miles, and darkening the sky with smoke. By this time the grand musjid

and many of the principal houses were laid in ruins, and the granaries were totally destroyed. General Whish was now at the head of 15,000 British and native troops, with 17,000 of those of Bhawalpore, and 150 pieces of cannon.

By the 2nd of January, 1849, one breach in the city wall was declared practicable, and another sufficient to allow of its being assailed by a column. The latter proved very imperfect, for the stormers who approached it were subjected to a heavy cross-fire, and after passing through a deep intervening hollow, found to their bewilderment the old city wall in their front—about thirty feet high—unbreached and impracticable. They were thus compelled to retire. The other breach was carried with brilliant success, though the Sikhs are said to have fought with “the tenacity of men and the ferocity of wild beasts;” but the town was stormed by two columns, one of the Bombay, and the other of the Bengal army: the first British colours planted on Moultan being by the hands of a brave sergeant-major of the Company’s Fusiliers. The city presented a melancholy spectacle after 120 hours’ cannonade; every house was roofless; but the citadel, however, held out, and there was every prospect that it would be desperately defended by Moolraj, who had retired into it, at the head of 3,000 picked men; for as soon as he saw the city was lost, he closed the gates of the former, and left the rest of his troops to shift for themselves. By the 4th of January, a brigade of the Bombay division encamped on the north, communicating with a Bengal brigade on the east; the irregulars were on the west, and thus the investment was complete. Even the desperate courage of Moolraj now began to give way, and he made overtures to Herbert Edwardes—now deservedly major—in the hope of

obtaining terms. He was referred to General Whish, who refused to receive any messenger but one who would announce when Moolraj would yield himself a prisoner.

The latter had not made up his mind to this humiliation, but continued his defence, and, on the night of the 12th, made a furious sortie on our trenches. By this time regular parallels of approach had been made, mines sunk, and the walls were incessantly battered by iron showers of shot and shell, direct and vertical. On the 14th our sappers crowned the crest of the glacis at the north-east angle of the citadel, with a cavalier only fifteen feet from the edge of the ditch; on the 18th the counterscarp was blown into the latter. By the 21st two practicable breaches were made, and the troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for a general assault.

But when the day of the intended storm dawned, Moolraj came forth, mounted on a beautiful Arab charger, magnificently caparisoned, and, while his chiefs and soldiers prostrated themselves in passionate devotion as he did so, he gave up his sword, which was returned to him. He was at once placed under guard, and the citadel was taken possession of. As his partisans in the country were numerous, it was deemed unsafe to leave him near the city; thus, when our army marched along the bank of the Chenab, to wheel off to the camp of the Governor-General by the road leading to Lahore, he was conveyed with it.

During the siege, which had lasted twenty-seven days, our losses were 210 killed, and 910 wounded. Moolraj was afterwards tried at Lahore, and sentenced to be hanged; but the court recommended him to mercy, so the award was commuted to banishment beyond the seas.*

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SECOND SIKH WAR.—THE BATTLES OF RAMNUGGUR, SADOOLAPORE, AND CHILLIANWALLA.

WHILE these events had been in progress, others transpired at Lahore and elsewhere which revealed the volcano that had been under our feet. It was discovered that the Maharanee, a woman of great ambition and indefatigable intrigue, had been busily plotting against the British Government at Candahar, Cabul, Cashmere, and Rajpootana, and the whole Lahore cabinet, save two, were confederated

with our foe. By a skilful manœuvre our Resident had secured her person, and transferred her to the Resident at Benares, whom Marshman styles “the warder of the disinherited princes and princesses of India.”

The insurrection of Chuttur Sing, in Hazareh,

* Despatches; *Ann. Reg.*, 1848-9; Burt’s “Annals of India,” 1848, Bombay, &c.

where, as he said, he "devoted his head and his arms to God and the Khalsa," threatened to become more formidable in consequence of his alliance with Dost Mohammed, to whom he offered Peshawar as the price of a joint crusade against the Feringhees. The proposal was too tempting to be resisted, and he agreed to join with his contingent; though Peshawar, which Chuttur had thus sold to the Afghans, was under the political charge of Major (afterwards Sir) George Lawrence, and was garrisoned by 8,000 Sikh troops, upon whose fidelity little dependence could be placed, as the atmosphere of the whole Punjab was pervaded by the spirit of revolt. On the 24th of October these troops mutinied, and Major Lawrence, after seeking in vain to recall them to a sense of duty, thought only of consulting his own safety, and escaping with his assistant, Lieutenant Bowie, to Kohat, thirty-six miles from Peshawar. It belonged to the brother of the Dost, the Sultan Mohammed Khan, whose conduct during the Afghan war had proved him to be a compound of the most complete villany and heartlessness; but there was no choice left to the major, who now learned that Mrs. Lawrence, whom he had sent towards Lahore at the beginning of the revolt, had been carried off to Kohat; so he had no alternative but to join her, and place himself and his assistant in the power of Sultan Mohammed, who, after promising by the most solemn oath to treat them as honoured guests, sold them as prisoners to Chuttur Sing, as part payment of the promised grant of Peshawar.

The latter's revolt, and the defection of Shere Sing before Moulton, made it seem beyond all doubt that the entire Sikh nation was preparing for another trial of strength with us, while the veterans of Runjeet Sing, now scattered throughout the country, were burning with impatience once more to take the field for their beloved Khalsa. Hence, Lord Dalhousie set out for the North-west Provinces, after instructing Lord Gough to assemble an army at Ferozepore. On the 10th of October, Lord Dalhousie, before proceeding to the scene of operations, had a farewell entertainment given him at Barrackpore, and said, in the course of his speech, "Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and, on my word, sir, they shall have it with a vengeance!"

Lord Gough marched towards the Chenab on the 22nd of November. His army consisted of four British and eleven native battalions of infantry; three noble regiments of British cavalry, and ten of native and irregular horse; thus, he was manifestly weak in infantry. Shere Sing had

taken up a position near Ramnuggur, a town on the left bank of the Chenab, stretching to a mile and a half from that river. An island is situated in the middle of the latter, at a bend in it, opposite Ramnuggur. This Shere Sing occupied by a brigade, and, with batteries erected there, he commanded a ford. Besides the forces here and on the right bank of the stream, the Sikhs were in strength on the left bank, from which Lord Gough thought they should first be dislodged.

The strength of the enemy's main position was very great; but to dislodge or capture both the troops and guns on the left bank, Lord Gough directed Brigadier Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), with a brigade of infantry, a column of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery, under Brigadier Cureton, to advance for this purpose in the dark, on the morning of the 22nd. Pushing on to Ramnuggur, from which the enemy retired, they continued their march towards the Chenab. From some unaccountable oversight, or the difficulty of obtaining accurate information, our artillery, inspired more by courage than prudence, pushed on through deep sand to open fire upon the enemy, but found themselves opposed to a cannonade from twenty-eight heavy pieces of ordnance, placed in three batteries on a bend of a river, thus completely raking them by a cross and front fire point blank; they were now compelled to retire, leaving one gun and two tumbrils behind them. Supported by the 5th Corps of Native Cavalry, H.M. 14th Light Dragoons were ordered to charge. The latter were led by Lieutenant-Colonel William Havelock, K.H., elder brother of Sir Henry, a veteran of the campaigns in the Peninsula and Flanders. Most impetuous was the charge; "and so energetically did Havelock and his troopers ply their swords, that the bank was swept in a few minutes of all its swarthy occupants, who, running hastily across the sand, threw away their standards in their flight. Not contented with having driven the enemy from this position, Havelock, animated by that fiery spirit which glowed within him, instantly resolved to exceed the limits of his mission, and renew the offensive, contrary to the real wishes of the Commander-in-chief, by continuing the charge on the discomfited enemy, and driving them back across the river."

The Khalsa infantry, however, gathered fresh courage, re-formed, and opened a terrible fire of matchlocks, while the horses of our cavalry became exhausted by the deep sandy soil. In their last laborious and third charge, just as Cureton arrived with Lord Gough's order to retire, Havelock fell, pierced by two matchlock-balls.

In the last charge, according to General Thackwell, he suddenly disappeared; "and the latest glimpse of that daring soldier disclosed him in the midst of the savage enemy, his left arm half severed from his body, and dealing frantic blows with his sword, so soon doomed to drop from his hand. His last words were—'Follow me!' Some days after the action a mutilated corpse was discovered, which the chaplain of the army, Mr. Whiting, recognised to be that of the gallant but ill-fated sabreur. Such a death was worthy of William Havelock."

Captain Fitzgerald was also mortally wounded. Shere Sing held his position on the right bank of the Chenab, at the head of 35,000 men; and as the unfortunate result of the recent combat showed how difficult it would be to dislodge by a front attack, it was resolved to take him in flank.

Sir Joseph Thackwell was therefore dispatched with 8,000 men of all arms, on the 1st of December, to Wuzerabad, thirty miles higher up the Chenab, which he crossed next day, and marched down thirteen miles, towards the encampment of Shere Sing, who, on hearing of the movement, at once abandoned Ramnuggur, and left Lord Gough to expend his shot and shell on the empty intrenchment.

Sir Joseph Thackwell, K.C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel of H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons (with the local rank of Brigadier), who lost his left arm at Waterloo, was not allowed to proceed, as he was encountered at Sadoolapore, a small town near the river Tistna, by a large force, which Shere Sing had dispatched with the hope of overwhelming him; and there ensued a conflict which was rather a series of demonstrations and an artillery duel than a battle, though it was called one. Thackwell was now menaced on his own flank by guns and cavalry at a time when his orders fettered him. Nothing had been left to his discretion, though he was quite as competent as Lord Gough to handle troops in the face of an enemy. His orders allowed him little more than to reply to the enemy's cannonade; yet he made such dispositions as deceived them, both as to the amount of his troops and his intentions; so the Sikh force fell back upon its main body. Thackwell reported the enemy's loss to be severe, but ours small—only seventy-three men and forty-eight horses killed and wounded. It was midnight when the Sikhs gave way, and the barking of dogs in their rear announced their retreat.

Shere Sing, with his artillery perfect, and his troops unbroken in spirit, continued to retire, till he took up a position of remarkable strength on

the Jhelum, with his rear resting on that stream, his main body posted in ravines, strengthened by field-works, and his front covered by a broad and dense jungle. His strength had now increased to 40,000 men, with sixty-two guns.

For six weeks our troops remained inactive between the Jhelum and the Chenab. It was deemed proper to continue this attitude till the fall of Moulton permitted a juncture with the army which had been serving there; after which the war was brought to a glorious termination, but not before more strife ensued. On the 12th of January, 1849, our troops arrived at Dingee, and found Shere Sing posted in its vicinity, with his right flank resting on the villages of Lukneewalla and Futteh Shakechuck, the main body at the village of Lollianwalla, and his left at Russool, on the Jhelum. All these were on the southern extremity of a low range of hills.

On the 13th, our engineer department, while examining the front of the position, and the quartermaster-general, when marking out a camp, were both fired on by the enemy's horse artillery. "I immediately ordered them to be silenced," says Lord Gough, "by a few rounds from our heavy guns, which advanced to an open space in front of the village. The fire was instantly returned by that of nearly the whole of the enemy's field artillery, thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed. It was now evident that the enemy intended to fight, and would probably advance his guns, so as to reach the encampment during the night. I therefore drew up in order of battle; Sir William Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, which I strengthened by the 14th Light Dragoons, well aware that the enemy was strong in cavalry upon his left. To this were attached three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Grant. The heavy guns were in the centre. Brigadier-General Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind. The field batteries were with the infantry divisions."*

From the tenor of his own words, there can be little doubt that Lord Gough intended to delay giving battle till he had made a careful reconnaissance, when the shots from the advanced guns of the Sikhs roused that spirit of defiance and antagonism which were so natural to him, overcame his sober judgment, and made him issue orders for the uncasing of the colours, and immediate action.

* Despatches.

The continuous peal of fire from the thick jungle in front was so incessant and uniform that nothing was offered as a mark for our artillery amid the dark greenery but the red flash and whirling smoke of the enemy's guns. This lasted for an hour and a half; and it was three in the afternoon, with only an hour or two of daylight left, when Brigadiers Campbell and Pennycuik were ordered to begin the deadly game, and the beginning ended in a fatal repulse at first.

The two leading officers of the right brigade of the left division brandished their swords overhead, as they rose in their stirrups, to cheer on their men. Somehow, this act was mistaken for a signal to advance at a double-march. The consequence was that H.M. 24th Foot, chiefly composed of very young soldiers, outstripped the native corps, who could not keep pace with them, and on arriving at a belt of jungle were completely blown and got into confusion; or, says Marshman, with such ardour that Shere Sing, to whom they were opposed, was on the point of retiring, when he perceived them rushing breathless, and panting, as he described it, like dogs in a chase, upon his guns, between which Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes, who led the 24th, was killed.

"At this moment," says Lord Gough, "a large body of infantry, which supported these guns, opened upon them so destructive a fire that the brigade was forced to retire, having lost their gallant and lamented leader, Brigadier Pennycuik, and the three other field officers of the 24th, and nearly half the regiment before it gave way; the native regiment, when it came up, also suffering severely."*

The colours of the 2nd Warwickshire fell into the hands of the enemy, but not before 23 officers and 459 non-commissioned officers and soldiers had been killed and wounded.

Colin Campbell, who with his brigade had been victorious in front, now came to the rescue, and the Sikhs were borne tumultuously back, and the victory snatched from them. The division of General Gilbert succeeded by the most brilliant gallantry in putting the Sikhs in their front to flight; but pursuit into a jungly forest, where no man could see twenty yards before him, was impossible, and every leafy vista was rendered more obscure by the smoke of the battle. While halting to collect their wounded, a body of Sikhs, who had turned Gilbert's left flank unperceived, suddenly opened a terrific fire, and he was only rescued from destruction by the field battery of Major Dawes. The struggle at that moment was dreadful, and an eye-

witness said, "it seemed as if the very air teemed with balls and bullets."

Most disastrous and humiliating were the adventures of our cavalry in the field. Lord Gough had thrown forward four regiments of cavalry in the first line, and these found themselves, when, as cavalry, they were practically useless, opposed to an unapproachable fire of artillery and the entanglements of an almost impenetrable forest, while the troops of artillery attached to them, being in their rear, could not open a gun. Moreover, this helpless brigade was led by a superannuated general, who was unable to mount his horse without assistance, was irritable, and wedded to notions of cavalry manoeuvres old as the days of the Duke of Marlborough.

Of all this, Lord Gough quietly says: "The right brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier Pope, was not, I regret to say, so successful. Either by some order, or misapprehension of an order, they got into much confusion, hampered the fine brigade of horse artillery (Colonel Grant's) which, while getting into action against a body of the enemy's cavalry that was coming down on them, had their horses separated from their guns by the false movements of our cavalry, and notwithstanding the heroic conduct of the gunners, four of their guns were disabled to an extent which rendered their withdrawal at the moment impossible. As soon as the artillery was extricated and the cavalry reformed, a few rounds put to flight the enemy that had occasioned this confusion." The actual details of all this were as follow:—

When our line of cavalry advanced, it was broken up by clumps of trees and jungle bushes into small sections that were forced to cover each other in succession to the rear; and while in this useless order, a body of Sikh horsemen, maddened with intoxicating drugs, rushed on their centre in one wild galloping mass, inspiring utter terror among the native cavalry; and at this crisis, it is said, that one of our 14th Light Dragoons cried "Threes about!" on which the whole regiment wheeled in obedience and made rearward in confusion, and, while the exulting Sikh horse pressed on, galloped in helpless panic through the cannon and wagons posted in their rear. Entering the line of artillery with our own dragoons, the Sikhs captured four guns, and then night put an end to this indecisive conflict.

Our troops were half dead with fatigue, and suffering dreadfully from want of water, which could not be procured nearer than Chillianwalla, two miles distant, to which Lord Gough was thus compelled to withdraw the army, and thus virtually

* De-patches.



THE SURRENDER OF NOOLKAI.

abandon the field of battle. During the night the Sikhs and bands of armed peasantry traversed the forest which had been chiefly the arena of the conflict, mutilating the slain, cruelly murdering the wounded, and rifling both; while all the guns which had been secured during the engagement were carried off, with the exception of twelve, which had been brought into camp. Our losses were severe; 26 European officers and 731 soldiers killed; 66 officers and 1,446 men wounded; but the carnage, though greater on the side of the Sikhs, did not break the spirit of these hard-fighting warriors, who retired to another position four miles from the field, which they name, not the battle of Chillianwalla, but of Russool.

To us, it was the nearest approach to a defeat which we had met with in India. Four British guns were captured, the colours of three regiments were lost, the reputation of the British tarnished, and the Sikhs proportionately elated. The Governor-General officially announced it as a victory, and fired salutes in honour of it; so did Shere Sing. "By the community in India it was considered a great and lamentable calamity. The intelligence of the combat was received in Britain with a feeling of indignation and alarm. British standards had been lost; British cannon had been captured; British cavalry had fled before the enemy, and a British regiment had been annihilated. These disasters were traced, and justly, to the wretched tactics of Lord Gough, and he was recalled with the full approval of the Duke of Wellington."* Prior to this, however, he had the good fortune to

win a battle at Goojerat; but there was one unhappy episode connected with Chillianwalla, which made a deep impression soon after.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Wallace King (formerly of the 5th Dragoon Guards) who succeeded to the command of the 14th Light Dragoons, when William Havelock fell at Ramnuggur, was much censured. His defence was that he did his utmost, but in vain, to rally his men, who were of under stature, mounted on light horses, and opposed to cavalry who were more numerous, physically more powerful men, splendidly mounted, all cuirassiers and armed with long and superior swords, while those of the 14th were of the wretched material usually supplied to our troops, and which bent or broke when they met those of the enemy.

When Sir Charles Napier arrived to command the forces in India, he inspected the 14th, and addressed them with reference to the allegations against them, and telling them that "they were fine, stalwart, broad-chested fellows, that would follow anywhere that they were led." Colonel King took these remarks so much to heart that, retiring from the parade of inspection, he shot himself. Sir William Napier, in the London newspapers, denied that his brother meant to reflect on the conduct of Colonel King. But the whole British army condemned the remarks of Sir Charles, who in his place of power cast a censure on an unfortunate officer, whose sensitive honour preferred death to the endurance of it; hence his fate excited the deepest commiseration at home as well as in India.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DEFEAT OF THE SIKHS AT GOOJERAT.—GILBERT'S PURSUIT.—ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.—
SIR CHARLES NAPIER AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

THE best proof that Chillianwalla was indecisive is the fact that the enemy, instead of being compelled to cross the Jhelum, kept possession of his post, and Lord Gough deemed it imprudent to attempt to force him. Pressed by want of provisions, the Sikhs ultimately quitted their intrenchments, and made a retrograde movement towards the Chenab, by the Goojerat route. Their intention is supposed to have been to ravage the country, and then retire upon Lahore; but General Whish, coming on from

* Marshman.

Moulton, was able to baffle this intention by guarding the fords above and below Wuzeerabad, and, at the same time, by means of a bridge of boats to effect a junction with Lord Gough, whose army thus amounted to 25,000 men, while that of the enemy was now estimated at 60,000 men, of whom 1,500 were Afghan horse, under Akram Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, who had obtained possession of Peshawur, and openly become an ally of the Sikhs. Our troops, though inferior in numbers, were superior in discipline, as they were

in artillery, for we had 100 pieces of cannon, while the enemy had but 59.

The troops under the command of Lord Gough were:—*Cavalry*—H.M. 3rd, 9th, and 14th Light Dragoons; the Bengal 1st, 5th, 6th, and 8th Cavalry; 3rd and 9th Irregular Cavalry, with detachments of the 11th and 14th Irregular Cavalry, and Scinde Horse. *Artillery*—Nine troops of horse, and four light field-batteries. *Infantry*—H.M. 10th, 29th, and 32nd Foot; 2nd Bengal European Regiment, and 16th battalion of Bengal Infantry. In addition to this, there was a strong brigade under Major-General the Hon. H. Dundas, including 1st Bombay European Fusiliers, and several native regiments.

After the last conflict, the two armies lay encamped within a few miles of each other for twenty-five days; the Sikhs near Russool, and the British near Chillianwalla. Evading Lord Gough, on the 6th of February, 1849, Shere Sing marched unperceived round the British camp, and established his head-quarters at Goojerat; and the last brigade of Whish's army having come in on the 20th, Lord Gough moved towards the enemy, then holding the town above-named, which stands in the province of Lahore. General Cheape, of the Bengal Engineers, who had directed the siege of Moulton, with equal professional skill and success, joined the army a week before the conflict that ensued, and, with unwearied industry, applied himself to the task of obtaining the most trustworthy information as to the enemy's position, neglect of which had produced such lamentable effects elsewhere.

On the 21st of February it was seen that the enemy's camp nearly encircled the town of Goojerat, lying between it and the deep dry bed of the Dwarra, which, bending here, encompassed two sides of the whole place, and then diverging to a considerable distance, intersected the British camp. This nullah greatly strengthened the position of Shere Sing, as he placed his guns immediately in rear of it, with his infantry in front, under cover of the bank. His left flank was covered by a deep but narrow stream, which runs eastward of the town, and turns south to fall into the Chenab. The interval between the two watercourses was an open plateau of nearly three miles, and, as it presented no obstacle to military manoeuvres, it was selected by Lord Gough as the point of his chief attack.

The army, invigorated by rest and food, was in full motion by half-past seven. The morning was clear and cloudless, and the brilliant sun shone on the long lines of fixed bayonets and drawn swords.

"On the extreme left," says his lordship, "I placed the Bombay column, commanded by the Hon. H. Dundas, supported by White's brigade of cavalry and the Scinde horse, under Sir Joseph Thackwell, to protect the left, and prevent large bodies of Sikh and Afghan cavalry from turning that flank. With this cavalry I placed Captains Duncan's and Hush's troops of horse artillery, whilst the infantry was covered by the Bombay Horse Artillery, under Major Blood. On the right of the Bombay column, and with its right resting on a nullah, I placed Brigadier Campbell's division of infantry, covered by No. 5 and No. 10 light field batteries, under Major Ludlow and Lieutenant Robertson, having Brigadier Hoggan's brigade of infantry in reserve. Upon the right of the nullah, I placed the infantry division of Major-General Sir W. Gilbert; the heavy guns, eighteen in number, under Majors Day and Horsford, with Captain Shakespeare and Brevet-Major Sir Richmond Shakespeare, commanding batteries, being disposed in two divisions on the flanks of his left brigade. This line was prolonged by Major-General Whish's division of infantry, with one brigade of infantry under Brigadier Markham, as support in a second line; and the whole covered by three troops of artillery—Major Fordyce's, Captains Mackenzie and Anderson's, and No. 17 light field-artillery, under Captain Dawes, with Lieutenant-Colonel Lane's and Captain Kinleside's troops of horse artillery in a second line in reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind. My right flank was protected by Brigadiers Harsey's and Lockwood's brigades of cavalry, with Captain Warner's troop of horse artillery. The 5th and 6th Light Cavalry, with the Bombay light field-battery, and the 49th and 69th Regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, most effectually protected my rear and baggage.*"

To be brief, the army advanced in two parallel lines, with cavalry on the flanks, and eighty-four pieces of cannon in front. Lord Gough began the action by employing his superior force of artillery, and certainly used it with success, causing great havoc in the ranks of the enemy, while dashing to pieces the gun-carriages and tumbrils along their line. Our oldest officers had never witnessed a cannonade like this for magnificence and effect. He was resolved on this occasion, by no precipitancy, as elsewhere, to give advantage to the foe; but to meet him on the strictest principles of military science, so that no more unfavourable critiques and comparisons might be made of his generalship at home. Meanwhile, Shere Sing was

* Despatches.

endeavouring to make the most of that arm in which he excelled—his cavalry—and strove to outflank Lord Gough. Vast bodies of Sikh cavalry were thrown out on either wing, and all the skill, energy, and valour of ours were required to the utmost, to prevent the design proving successful. But the mind of Shere Sing was disturbed and anxious; hence on this momentous day he failed to display his usual skill as a leader. He omitted to conceal the exact position of his batteries, as he had done at Chillianwalla; but by opening fire at too long a range, when our lines had temporarily halted, betrayed their arrangement ere that fire could be effectual.

This fault was soon without remedy. His guns were ere long nearly silenced by those of Lord Gough, who out-manceuvred his cavalry on the flanks, and attacked with his infantry by hurling the whole strength of his right against the left centre and right of the enemy's left. The chief difficulty proved the passage of a deep, dry nullah, in doing which our troops were under a fire from the enemy's guns, while their own had to cease cannonading. Many brave fellows perished here; but success attended the movement, despite the hissing showers of grape and canister, and the rolling fire of musketry poured from lines in rear of the guns. Shere Sing now began to see that after his flank movements had failed, if our infantry passed the nullah, his artillery and the fortune of the day would be lost together. On the other bank of the nullah being ascended, the British cheer rang out as the keen bayonets were brought down to the charge, and dashing forward, our troops penetrated the line, separating the left and centre; and this movement, though it did not end the struggle, virtually decided the fate of the battle.

Scarcely had our right achieved the purpose for which it had advanced, than our left also cleared the nullah, and, turning the enemy's right wing, hurled, simultaneously, the flanks in confusion on the centre. Even then, the huddled and clamorous masses of the gallant Sikhs did not despair of victory. Their cavalry, in glittering squadrons, charged the flanks of our now victorious infantry; but were mowed down like grass by the close rounds of grape and canister from the guns of our horse artillery, and then their shrinking squadrons were furiously charged in turn by our cavalry. Left free thus to follow their own course, the British infantry of both wings wheeled round the village of Goojerat, pouring incessant and independent file-firing, into the shapeless masses of the Sikh infantry, inflicting the most dreadful slaughter among them. The battle was won! Colin Camp-

bell and Henry Dundas with their infantry, and Gilbert with his infantry and artillery, with relentless vengeance pursued, and pushing on, repaid the enemy for the slaughter at the nullah of Ramnuggur and on the slopes of Russool.

The enemy was utterly and hopelessly broken now; and our cavalry were let loose. Onward they rushed with loosened reins and uplifted swords, riding over and trampling down the flying and scattered infantry of the Sikhs, then "a shapeless mass of fugitives;" and it was not till half-past four, after they had advanced fifteen miles beyond Goojerat, that the cavalry drew bridle, when the trumpets sounded to halt and retire. Over all that distance of fifteen miles, the track was strewn with killed and wounded, and "their arms and military equipments, which they threw away to conceal that they were soldiers." *

As an army, the force of Shere Sing was annihilated. His whole camp, many standards, and fifty-three pieces of cannon, being, save six, all he had in the field, were ours; and what made this signal success more pleasing was, that our losses were only ninety-two killed and 682 wounded. The battle of Goojerat was undoubtedly one of the noblest achievements of our army in India; and as it was gained chiefly by a judicious use of that arm which had a preponderating power, it was, not inaptly, named by our soldiers "The Battle of the Guns." So, well might Lord Dalhousie write thus to the Secret Committee:—"Under Divine Providence, the British arms have signally triumphed. On the 21st of February an action was fought, which must ever be regarded as one of the most memorable in the annals of British warfare in India; memorable alike from the greatness of the occasion, and from the brilliant and decisive issue of the encounter. For the first time Sikh and Afghan were banded together against the British power. It was an occasion which demanded the putting forth of all the means at our disposal, and so conspicuous a manifestation of the superiority of our arms as should appal each enemy, and dissolve at once their compact by fatal proof of its futility."

On the 22nd, Sir William Gilbert, at the head of 15,000 men, with forty guns, continued the pursuit of the fugitives in the direction of the Jhelum, but on reaching Noorungabad, he found that Shere Sing had already crossed, and with only 8,000 men, the relics of his once splendid army, was encamped on the right bank. Some state his force at 16,000. Major George Lawrence, who, as we have elsewhere narrated, had been taken prisoner, was now

* Despatches.

sent by Shere Sing to make terms with us, and to own his submission without that of other chiefs in arms. Meanwhile, the veteran Gilbert, having crossed the Jhelum, turned all his attention to the Afghans, now in full flight towards the Indus. He nearly overtook them at Attock, which they had just quitted, before they had time to destroy the bridge of boats. He was therefore able to take over his troops and enter Afghanistan; but as there was no hope of reaching the fast-flying Afghans before they entered the Khyber Pass, of fatal memory, he prudently halted and retraced his steps, while of the fugitives, it was sarcastically said by the natives, that "those who rode down the hills like lions, now ran back into them like dogs."

On the 12th of March, Shere Sing and Chuttur Sing gave up their swords to the general, at the celebrated monument of Manikgla, once deemed a trophy of Alexander the Great; thirty-five subordinate chiefs, and the gallant Khalsa soldiers, advanced one by one, and after clasping and kissing their weapons, cast them on the growing pile, all with heavy sighs, and many with unconcealed tears. A gratuity of a rupee was given to each; and then those brave men, who had fought so nobly and so well for their country, set out for their homes, resigned to a feeling of proud submission to a power that had proved stronger than themselves.

During the war, the Sikhs lost 160 pieces of cannon, and 20,000 stand of infantry arms. Our guns taken at Chillianwalla were all restored.

After double aggression, and the indefeasible right of double conquest, the Punjaub was completely at the disposal of the British Government, and Lord Dalhousie annexed it to the dominions of the Company, in a proclamation which stated that, "as the only sure mode of protecting the Government of India from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, he was compelled to resolve on the entire subjugation of a people whom their own Government had long been unable to control, and whom no punishment would deter from violence, and no acts of friendship could conciliate to peace." The Governor-General lost no time in acquainting the Lahore Council of Regency that the Sikh dominion was at an end. Aware that resistance was futile, the members of it contented themselves with endeavouring to obtain favourable terms, and all who had taken no part in the war against us, and were assured that they would be liberally dealt with, consented to a treaty, which, though made in the name of the Maharajah, and signed by him, could scarcely be deemed his, as he was only in his eleventh year. By it he renounced for ever

all right to the sovereignty of the Punjaub, surrendered to the Queen of Great Britain the famous gem called the Koh-i-noor, or "Mountain of Light," which had been taken from Shah Sujah-ul-Moolk by Runjeet Sing, and agreed to reside wherever the Governor-General might select, stipulating only, that he should retain the title of "Maharajah Dhuleep Sing Bahadour," with a pension of not less than four lacs of rupees. And we may here add, as an interesting fact, that the young prince subsequently embraced Christianity.*

On the 29th of March the British colours were hoisted on the ramparts of Lahore, and a royal salute announced the fulfilment of old Runjeet Sing's prediction, that "the Punjaub would one day become red," in allusion to the colour which, on the maps of India, distinguishes our possessions there. The jaghires of the leaders of the revolt were confiscated, and they retired into obscurity on small stipends. Moolraj was tried, but evaded the fulfilment of his sentence by dying in prison. Lord Dalhousie was created a marquis, and the reproach of Chillianwalla was forgotten amid the glory of Goojerat.

In the Punjaub a noble field was open for the construction of an administration free from the errors that had been committed elsewhere, when our rule was in its infancy. A board was constituted, with ample powers, at the head of which was placed a fitting representative of Munro, Ochterlony, and Malcolm—Sir Henry Lawrence, and with him was associated his brother John, who subsequently was Governor-General, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Montgomery; and it has been said that a more efficient board it would have been difficult to construct even in India. The administration was formed on a new system, and intrusted to fifty-six gentlemen, half of whom were military officers, the other half civilians, "the flower of the service, men of mature experience, or of noble aspirations for distinction." The system of government was, by its simplicity, well suited to the requirements of our new acquisition. For the voluminous regulations, which lay like an incubus on the older provinces, a clear and concise manual, adapted to the habits of the people, who courted justice and dreaded law, was compiled by Robert Montgomery, and comprised in a few sheets of foolscap.†

* He resides now (1877) in Britain, and is a frequent visitor at Court. He is a pious Christian and fond of retirement, though on public occasions he wears a gorgeous Oriental costume. He has a shooting lodge in Scotland, and when there, often appears in a dress which would have astonished the old Lion of Lahore—the garb of old Gaul.

† Marshman.

Our north-western Indian frontier was, by the annexation of the Punjaub, removed to the mountain-chains beyond the Indus, inhabited by roving clans, whose vocation from the days, perhaps, of Alexander the Great, had been the levy of black mail among the lowlanders. To protect the latter from their fierce inroads, a line of forts was built, connected with each other by a series of roads. For duty on this frontier nine special

exterminated. The reduction of the land-tax, and the mode in which leases were granted, sometimes for thirty years, gave such an encouragement to agriculture, that more than 30,000 soldiers of the Khalsa turned their swords into ploughshares. The vexatious duties on the transit of goods from district to district and town to town, were swept away as useless barriers to free-trade; the loss was replaced "by the scientific selection of new taxes,



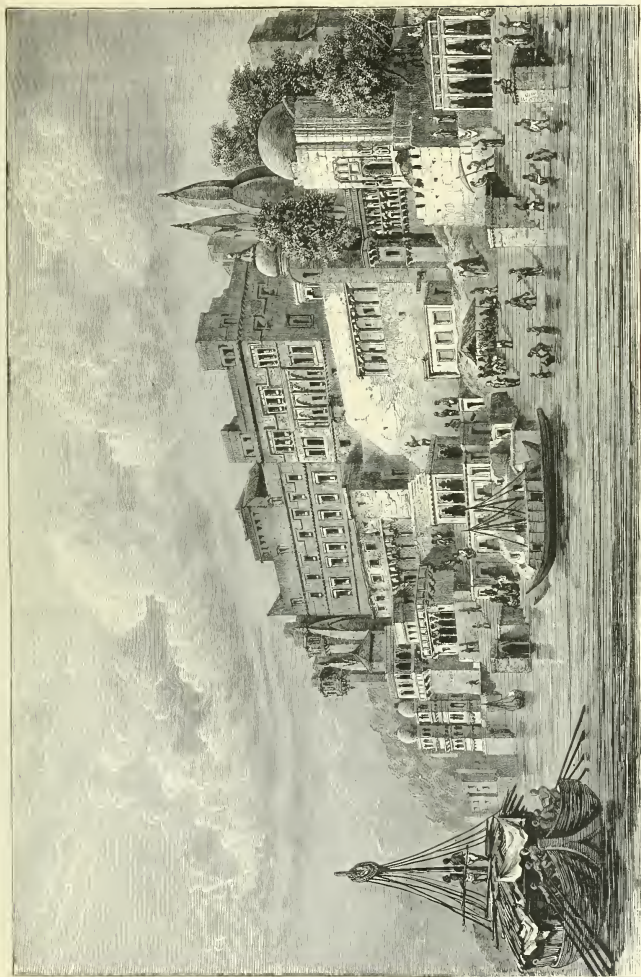
VIEW OF FORT RHOTAS NEAR CHILLIANWALLA.

regiments were raised; and within a few months, Lord Dalhousie had disarmed the Punjaub, and collected therefrom 120,000 different weapons of every character, and some of great antiquity.

A military police, consisting of six foot battalions and twenty-seven troops of horse, was raised; the ancient village watches were reconstituted; and within three years after the battle of Goojerat, no province of British India was more free from crime than the Punjaub. The sale of children was put down by the Board of Administration, and thus was domestic slavery abolished. The Thugs and Dacoits, who had fled hither when driven out of Hindostan and the Deccan, when Colonel Sleeman brought the full terrors of the bayonet and gibbet upon them, were likewise traced out and finally

four of which yielded a larger return than forty-eight of Runjeet Sing's clumsy imposts."

When the result of Chillianwalla reached London, it was fully regarded by the British public as nothing less than a defeat; and, in the fear of others yet to come, all eyes turned to Sir Charles Napier as the man best qualified to handle our armies in India; and the demand for his appointment to the office of Commander-in-chief was so loud and persistent, that the conqueror of Scinde, who thought he had bidden adieu to that land for ever, embarked for it once more on the 24th of February, 1849, in supersession to Lord Gough, who, however, received additional rank in the peerage, with a pension of £2,000 per annum from the East India Company.



VIEW OF THE QUAY OF DENARES.

He was off Ceylon when he heard tidings of the victory at Goojerat, which totally changed the circumstances under which he had been appointed; and, as he was by no means of a suave or tractable temper, it was not long before he found himself—or thought he did—in a false position in India. Lord Dalhousie was far from entertaining any such feelings himself, or of giving them the slightest encouragement in others; there was, however, but a slender prospect of harmonious co-operation at first; and before a year elapsed an unpleasant collision took place. Imagining that a spirit of mutiny prevailed among the native troops in the Punjab, and that the chief reason of it was a reduction of allowances, Sir Charles Napier suspended certain regulations on his own responsibility, and, without consulting any other authority than his own as Commander-in-chief, he disbanded the 66th Native Infantry, and by another unwise stretch of power, gave its colours to a battalion of Ghoorikas, which was thenceforward numbered as the 66th. Of all this the Governor-General disapproved, and a formal letter thereupon was addressed to the Adjutant-General of the army; this document was deemed a harsh and unjust reprimand; and Sir Charles was in it given to understand, for his future guidance, “that the Governor-General in council will not again permit the Commander-in-chief, under any circumstances, to issue orders which shall change the pay and allowances of the troops serving in India, and thus practically to exercise an authority which has been reserved, and most properly reserved, for the supreme Government alone.”

After such a reprimand, resignation alone could follow, and that of Sir Charles was, on the 22nd of May, 1849, transmitted through the future Lord Raglan to the Commander-in-chief at the Horse Guards, the Duke of Wellington.

We may here mention that, prior to these events, Sir Charles met with much opposition in his attempts at military reformation. During the first six months of his residence in India, he had to decide on no less than forty-six cases of courts-martial on officers alone, their charges being chiefly intoxication and gaming, or actions arising out of these causes; and while at Lahore he issued a general order which, though required, is undoubtedly the most remarkable ever issued to British troops. If such matters as are referred to therein existed during the time of Lords Hardinge and Gough, they must have permitted them to pass unnoticed, or shrunk from unpopularity; but Napier was a man of a sterner mould than either, with undoubtedly a high sense of military duty.

“At a late review of the troops on the plain of Meer,” ran this order, “the following egregious deficiencies were evident to all:—1st. That some commanders of regiments were unable to bring their regiments into line. 2nd. One commanding officer attempted to wheel his whole regiment as he would a company. 3rd. Several officers commanding companies were seen disordering their companies by attempting to dress them from the wrong flanks. 4th. When the line was ordered to be formed on the left column, some commanders deployed too soon, and ordered their lines thus improperly formed to ‘double quick,’ in order to regain their position. This was all bad; but it was worse to see the regiments on receiving the word to ‘double quick’ at once charge, with loud shouts, no such order having been given by any one, nor the words ‘prepare to charge;’ nor did anything occur to give a pretext for such a disgraceful scene, exhibiting both want of drill and want of discipline. 5th. Bad as this was, it was not the worst. When these regiments chose to charge, the Commander-in-chief, to his astonishment, saw some of the rear ranks firing straight up into the air; he saw some of the men of the rear rank actually firing off their muskets to the rear, over their shoulders, as the bearers—he will not call them soldiers—were running to the front. If ever such again happen, he will expose the commanding officer of any regiment that so disgraces itself in public orders to the whole Indian army. In the course of his service he never witnessed such a scene. No commander could go into action with a regiment capable of such conduct without feeling certain that it would behave ill. The Commander-in-chief will, therefore, hold commanding officers responsible—for they alone are to blame—that any soldier who shouts, or charges, or fires without orders, be instantly seized, tried at once by a drum-head court-martial, and the sentence executed on the spot.”

During the entire eighteen months Sir Charles was in office, fourteen officers of the Bengal army were cashiered, six dismissed, seven lost rank, five were suspended, ten reprimanded, and only two honourably acquitted, one simply found not guilty, and four had their sentences commuted or were pardoned.* With all this, Sir Charles was no martinet, and all his regulations were based upon the soundest military principles. On finding a spirit of opposition against him, he resigned, as we have said, and gave his reasons for doing so in a speech at Kurrachee, when he was presented with a splendid sword by the native chiefs:—

“Lord Ellenborough treated me as a general

* Dr. Taylor's “Hist. of India.”

officer, and the brave Bombay army seconded me nobly; not, as is the custom now-a-days, when a general officer entrusted with a command is to be told by a colonel and a captain that this thing is right, and that thing is wrong. If general officers are unfit to command, in God's name, do not appoint them to command—and I must say, there are nine out of ten who ought not to be appointed; but I hold, that when once a general officer is appointed to command, he ought to be treated as such; he ought to know what is best for the army under his command, and should not be dictated to by boy-politicians, who do not belong to the

army, and who know nothing whatever of military science. It is this that has caused me to resign the command."

The Duke of Wellington, who had ever been Napier's friend, was displeased with his resignation, and declared that he had been unjustly censured. Sir Charles landed in England in March, 1851, and not long afterwards, acted as a pall-bearer at the Duke's funeral, on which occasion he caught a cold which accelerated his death. That event took place in his seventy-second year, when he expired on the morning of the 29th of August, 1853.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ROADS AND CANALS.—THE CASE OF JOTEE PERSAUD.—THE AFFAIRS OF MADRAS.

ON the 6th December, 1850, Sir William Gomm arrived as Commander-in-chief—a veteran of the old wars in Holland, the Peninsula, and Flanders, whose life had been one career of fighting from the time he joined the 9th Foot as an ensign in 1784, to the field of Waterloo, where he was Picton's quartermaster-general.

The Marquis of Dalhousie did not consider the conquest of the Punjaub perfected till it was intersected with great military roads; hence, within the course of five years, 2,200 miles of these were formed, or in course of formation. Of these, the most important was one of 275 miles in length, connecting Lahore with Peshawur. It passed over 550 bridges, 100 of which were of great size, and it penetrated six chains of mountains. All these natural obstacles were overcome by an able engineer officer, the future Lord Napier of Magdala, to whose talent and energy these improvements in the "Land of the Five Waters" were chiefly owing. The Marquis, considering that "works of irrigation were the happiest in their effects on the physical condition of the people," ordered all the canals, excavated in ancient times by Mohammedan and Sikh rulers, to be carefully repaired and reconstructed, while new ones were made elsewhere with a liberal hand. The Baree Doab Canal, which with its branches extended to the length of 465 miles, was one of the greatest of Colonel Napier's works of irrigation, and is fully equal to the finest canal in Europe. No water-rates were levied, as Lord

Dalhousie deemed that the increased cultivation of the soil fully repaid the state.

The genius of the marquis gave animation to that which was his own creation—the system of government in the Punjaub. He traversed the country in every direction, and proceeded from Peshawur to Cashmere, adopting all measures necessary, civil and military, to secure our new possessions. He then came by the rivers, examining their sources, and the countries on their banks to the capital of Scinde. From Hyderabad he proceeded to Bombay, where he embarked in a steamer for Goa, Colombo, Galle in Ceylon, Singapore in the Malacca Peninsula, and Malabar, and thence steamed through the Bay of Bengal to Calcutta. But the Punjaub was the grandest arena of his administrative labours, and he made it one of our chief elements of strength in India. "The brave soldiers who had shaken our power to its foundation at Ferozeshah and Chillianwalla enlisted under our banners, assisted in reconquering Delhi from the rebel sepoys, marched up the Irawaddi to fight the Burmese, and aided in planting the British colours on the battlements of Pekin."

In the year 1850, died Lieutenant Waghorn, whose name is inseparably connected with his great postal enterprises, and the vast services he rendered thereby to the Company and India, to the Crown and the British Isles; and yet, to his widow there was awarded a pension alike contemptible and poor. In the January of the following year,

the last of the Peishwas, the famous Bajee Rao, died an exile at Benares, when his pension of £90,000 per annum fell to the Company.

In that year, meetings of Hindoos were held at Calcutta to protest against the Government patronage of the Christian religion, and the proselytising nature of the Government schools. It was sufficiently evident that the executive were using the public treasure of India for the propagation of opinions opposed to those of the people from whom that treasure came; although it was obvious that Mohammedan and Hindoo institutions were supported by the same funds; but the emotions which pervaded the native assemblage at Calcutta were intensely and savagely bigoted.

Attempts were made now to disconnect the Government with any endowment of Mohammedan or heathen institutions, though many Europeans, to conciliate the natives, were not unfavourable to supporting them as a matter of policy. But the minds of the Bengalese became much inflamed by an unwise transaction on the part of the executive, which was calculated to uproot their confidence in the British, and destroy faith in their officials. In various public accounts, deficiencies had been discovered, and in order to draw attention from the Europeans, a plan would seem to have been formed among the officials, to incriminate wealthy natives who transacted business with our Government. The progress of these proceedings, in 1848-49, as we find them in a history of the time,* portrays the scandal with great force and brevity, clearness and point.

A wealthy native banker, named Jotee Persaud, who had been long wont to enter into great monetary transactions with the Company, and had ample means and organisation at his disposal, maintained the British armies during the wars in Afghanistan and at Gwalior; and this he did by native agency, remote from any efficient system of check or supervision. Irregularities in detail may have occurred, as at the close of that disastrous strife all his accounts, it was alleged, were not clear, distinct, or sufficiently well vouched for. When peace came, Jotee Persaud claimed a balance of half a million sterling, which demand was disputed, and, of course, left unpaid. Jotee Persaud was too much of a Hindoo to be baffled thus; but years of dispute and debate followed, till he grew actually weary of the affair. The war in the Punjab broke out, and the British authorities had the effrontery to seek his monetary aid again. Persaud refused to be again connected with their commissariat; but every effort was made to induce him to yield, and

eventually he did so, on the double and distinct conditions that his past arrears should be liquidated, as soon as the new contest should be over, and that some title of honour should be conferred on him.

On this being promised, he accepted the new contract, and maintained our armies during the war in the Punjab. When it ceased he applied to the Indian Government to fulfil their stipulations, but was bitterly disappointed. Instead of the old Afghan balances being paid up, his new accounts were subjected to keen scrutiny and examination; and ultimately, a native, employed in the commissariat, on the 30th of March, 1849, made a deposition, accusing Jotee Persaud of corruption, embezzlement, and forgery. An investigation was ordered, and Major Ramsay, who made it by order of the Government, declared Persaud to be blameless, and reported such to the military board. Two of the members agreed with him, and the case was about to be relinquished, when a third recommended it to the consideration of the Marquis of Dalhousie and the Council.

Jotee Persaud had been threatening to bring an action in the law courts for his demands, but now, while at Agra, he was compelled to find bail to abide a trial on the criminal charges brought against him by the Government. Mr. Long, of Meerut, became responsible for him; but Persaud, when at liberty, went to Loodiana, and from thence to Calcutta, believing that when within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court there he would be safe from the authority of that at Agra. So a warrant was served upon him at Calcutta, and he was conveyed back to Agra for trial, while his bail was estreated, and he himself roughly handled by the authorities. Mr. Long, a barrister of spirit and talent, defended Jotee Persaud with ardour; and eventually the court—though composed of a judge, jury, and prosecutor, appointed by Government—acquitted the defendant.

His trial lasted twelve days, in the March of 1851, and excited an interest unparalleled in and around Agra. All India was ransacked for witnesses through whom to procure a conviction; but the case failed in every way. During the defence, Mr. Long brought forward many high Government officials to speak of Jotee Persaud's character and services; and after his acquittal the enthusiasm of the natives burst forth, and they proposed to carry him in triumph from the court-house. The Government of India endeavoured to clear themselves of the blame which these proceedings afforded for imputing to them injustice, by not settling the creditor's just claim, and ingratitude for not dealing liberally with one whose services were undoubtedly

* McKenna's continuation of Taylor.

great; breach of faith for not fulfilling the stipulations entered into with Persaud, as an inducement to undertake the supply of the troops; and more than all, a vindictive anticipation of his legal proceedings against them in the Queen's Court, by the concoction of criminal allegations which they were unable to prove. "It is impossible," says Nolan, "to come to any conclusion favourable to the authorities in this affair. It is more than probable that Jotee was not more honest than European commissaries are reported to be. That he had his own way of making a profit both by the Government and the unfortunate soldiers, and that way not commendable, is also very likely; but he was acquitted of fraud by the very persons whom the Government appointed to investigate the charges which they brought against him. Before the matter came into a court of law, his accusers appointed his judges on the tribunal of investigation, and they declared him innocent. A large debt was due to the man, and the officials who had the honour of their country in keeping, endeavoured to confiscate his claim. They, resolutely bent on this course, nevertheless made fresh bargains with him, when their own official helplessness made him indispensable. They then openly violated their new compact, and to uphold the iniquity of their proceedings, endeavoured to ruin the man by resorting to subornation of perjury."

It is remarkable that the Marquis of Dalhousie, who was accustomed to look personally into almost everything, omitted to see justice done to Jotee Persaud, and to stop the legal authorities, as by the violation of simple honour and common honesty they sought to disgrace and ruin him; but, says the writer above quoted, "when faith is so often violated in contracts by Government at home, in sight of the English public, and under the lash of Parliament and the press, we cannot wonder that the like should occur in India, were it not for the destruction to the interests of the nation which is created there, by destroying confidence in British honour in the native mind."

During the administration of Lord Dalhousie there occurred but little in the general government of Madras to give trouble. Certain attempts made to restrict the liberties of European residents had excited some opposition during the rule of Lord Hardinge and the presidential government of General the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T. The latter, who had been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsula war, and had been wounded at Busaco, held the chair at Madras from 1841 to 1847, during which time he personally favoured civil and religious liberty; yet one of his

measures provoked much discussion and discontent among the natives of India.

In 1847, a minute of Council, introduced by him, made the Bible a class-book in all Government schools. This disturbed the feelings of the natives, and this emotion was increased in the same year by the decision of a law court on the question of religious liberty. A young native girl avowed herself a Christian, under the teaching of our missionaries; but her mother demanded that she should be given up to her, with the admitted intention of coercing her in the matter of conscience. The natives debated the matter fiercely, and treating it as a question of creed and right, brought it before the Supreme Court.

The girl, being of age, was by the court permitted to decide for herself. This gave dire offence to the obtuse natives, who insisted that she should return to the heathenish creed of her forefathers. They hated liberty, civil and religious alike, as Brahminism and Mohammedanism had taught them to do. Religious intolerance and bitter fanaticism agitated deeply the minds of the people of the Madras presidency in particular. There was a lofty and arrogant tone adopted by them, and many spoke and wrote, and even acted, as if they had both the right and power to compel the Government to set at defiance the rights and scruples of the Christian population; and yet Mohammedan and Brahmin hated each other as bitterly as both hated the Christians. At Gumsoor, in the Northern Circars, among the Koles and Gonds, human sacrifices were again attempted, and the whole country became so convulsed that military intervention was necessary; but the era was one of progress, and was marked by an extension of greater religious freedom to the army of Madras, though the baptism of four native girls—a petty, if real, conversion—there, increased the religious ferment produced by previous affairs. "The Marquis of Tweeddale left in 1847, having completed many reforms, removed vexatious taxation, improved Madras, and opened the gate wider for the free labours of the missionaries. On the question of religious liberty, however, in Madras, as elsewhere in India, *adhuc sub judice lis est.*"

On the departure of the Marquis of Tweeddale, Mr. Henry Dickinson, the senior member of Council, held the government till the arrival of Colonel Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., who landed on the 7th of April, 1848. In that year there was an insurrection at Calicut, on the Malabar coast; but it was chiefly among the Moplas, who were only put down after some very dreadful slaughter. The

custom of these Mohammedan fanatics was to commit some cruel outrage upon Christians or Hindoos, after which they would shut themselves up in a mosque or temple, and defend it with the resolution to sell their lives as dearly and desperately as possible, and pass, sword in hand, to paradise and the presence of the prophet. Many alleged conversions were made among the natives after the arrival of the new Governor, who regarded them somewhat dubiously. In 1850 it chanced that a young native embraced Christianity, on which his friends, and those of his wife, by force withheld her from joining him, and he applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*. By the intervention of the judges she was restored to him.

The natives viewed this act of simple justice as an invasion of their assumed right to persecute. In the vocabulary of the Anglo-Indians, Madras is termed "the benighted presidency," yet there are more Christians in it, and it contains many more native schools, than any of the other presidencies.

During the early part of Viscount Hardinge's administration, Bombay was governed by Sir George Arthur, Bart., K.C.H., an amiable man, an enlightened gentleman, and good soldier, formerly colonel of the York Chasseurs; and under his successors in office, Sestock Robert Reid, Esq., and Sir George Russell Clerk, the province of Bombay grew in prosperity and peace.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, AND DANES IN INDIA.

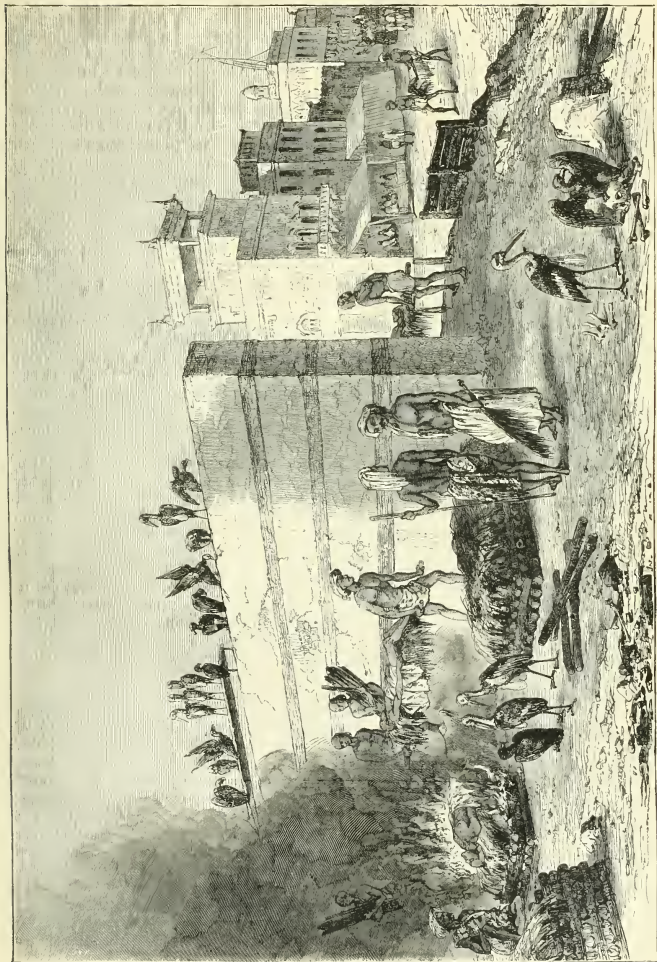
IN the history of an empire so vast and varied as ours in India, digressions are unavoidable; hence, as we have referred briefly to the Scottish and French East India Companies, it may not be out of place—before narrating the Burmese war, and the close of Lord Dalhousie's brilliant administration—to make a short reference to the affairs of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards in the East, or to their settlements there, which, by absorption or otherwise, are intimately connected with the history of British India.

To take them seriatim we shall begin with the Portuguese. The spirit of maritime adventure became strongly developed in Europe during the fifteenth century, and nowhere so much as in the little but enterprising kingdom of Portugal, where great progress had been made in the science of naval architecture. Its sovereigns warmly encouraged the growing spirit, and sent out successive expeditions, which gradually made their way along the coast of Africa into latitudes hitherto unknown, till John II., in 1486, sent three vessels, under Bartholomew Dias, to discover the limits of Southern Africa. He was the first who doubled the Cape, which he named *Cabo Tormentoso*, from the tempestuous weather he experienced there, and the idea that there was no passing beyond it "very much retarded the prosecution of further designs."*

John II., hoping, however, to reach the realms of Prester by this route, called it more appropriately *Cabo da Bueno Esperanza*; and soon after, the great Genoese, Columbus—convinced that India was to be discovered by sailing westward—offered his services to the king, but they were not accepted; so, under the auspices of Spain, he set forth on that adventurous expedition which ended in the discovery of America.

It was not until eleven years after Dias had doubled the Cape that Emanuel, the successor of King John, fitted out three ships, under Vasco de Gama, his brother Paul, and the two Nunez, who, after many solemn religious ceremonies, sailed from Lisbon on the 8th of July, 1497, for the hitherto unexplored Indian Ocean; and after traversing 3,000 miles, with only sea and sky visible, he sighted Malabar in May, 1498, and joyfully cast anchor off Calicut, whither the Mohammedan arms had not come as yet, and where there reigned a Hindoo prince named the Zamorin, as we have mentioned in a previous part of this history. He at once granted De Gama the privilege of trade throughout his dominions. The commerce of the Malabar coast had hitherto been a monopoly among the merchants of Egypt and Arabia, who viewed the new arrivals with jealousy, and persuaded the Zamorin that they were not what they represented themselves to be, but were ocean robbers, who had

* Locke's "Hist. of Navigation."



HINDOO FUNERAL RITES IN CALCUTTA.

escaped from their own country, and would fill the eastern seas with peril.

Thus influenced, the Zamorin became so hostile to the Portuguese, that De Gama set sail for Lisbon, where he arrived on the 29th of August, 1499, and was received with admiration by the king, the court, and the people, who crowded the beach to behold the three little caravels which had performed this astounding voyage, the first of its kind in the annals of the world; a voyage in which a way by sea had been discovered to India, the land of fable and of fabulous riches. The Portuguese monarch lost no time in following up the enterprise of De Gama, and fitted out an expedition consisting of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, the command of the whole being given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who was accompanied by eight friars, with orders to carry fire and sword among all who would not listen to their teaching. He sailed on the 8th of March, 1500, but meeting with violent storms, was driven so far from the coast of Africa that on Easter Eve the fleet gladly sought for safety a port which they named Seguro, and the country Santa Cruz, which is now known to us as Brazil. Other storms were encountered, and such were the casualties, that the admiral arrived with only six vessels, on the 20th of July, at Mozambique. On the 13th of September he reached Calicut, and was graciously received by the Zamorin, to whom he restored some hostages that had been taken away by De Gama, and obtained in return permission to erect a factory. As the Mohammedan traders prevented him from getting any cargoes, Cabral, in revenge, captured one of their richest vessels, and set her on fire after transferring her cargo to his own ship.

For this they attacked the factory, and slew fifty of his men. Cabral was not slow in resenting; he captured and burned ten other vessels, after securing their cargoes. He then cannonaded the town, and sailed to Cochin, where he formed an alliance with a chief who was a feudatory of the Zamorin, and then sailed for the Tagus. The king, having obtained from the Pope a bull conferring on him the sovereignty of all the countries visited by his ships in the East, assumed the title of "lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, and India," in consequence of which a third expedition, consisting of fifteen vessels—some say twenty—was fitted out under Vasco de Gama. No new discoveries were made by him; but he secured trade with Cochin and Cananore, took and destroyed several ships of Calicut, to avenge the insult offered to Cabral, and returned home with nine ships richly

laden, leaving Vincente Sodre, with five others, to scour the coasts of India. He also, most singularly, left Pacheco with a little party to protect the factory at Cochin, where they were attacked by the Zamorin of Calicut; and though the latter's forces outnumbered the mail-clad Portuguese by fifty to one, they were ignominiously defeated; "and the superiority of the European to the Asiatic soldier—which has ever since been maintained—was now for the first time exhibited, and the foundation was laid for European ascendancy in India."

So early as 1500, says Voltaire, there was no getting even pepper at Calicut but at the expense of human blood.*

In 1505 the King of Portugal sent out Don Francisco de Almeyda, with the title of Viceroy of India, though he did not possess a foot of land there. He had with him twenty-two ships and 1,500 men, with whom he built a fort at Cananore; but he found a new opponent in the Venetians, who had hitherto monopolised the Indian trade by the way of Egypt, where they enjoyed a paramount influence, and prevailed on the Sultan to send a fleet down the Red Sea, to drive all interlopers from the shores of India; while the maritime King of Gujerat, equally alarmed by the growing power of the Portuguese, sent his ships to co-operate with those of Egypt, and together they defeated a portion of the Portuguese fleet in the harbour of Choul. The son of Don Francisco was killed in this battle, and to revenge his death, finding that Dabul, on the Concan coast—one of the greatest marts in those days—had taken part with the enemy, he utterly sacked and ruined it. He then proceeded in search of the combined fleets, and finding them in the harbour of Diu, obtained a victory, and put all he captured to the sword to avenge the fall of his son. This was in 1508.

Prior to this he had been superseded as Viceroy by Alfonso Albuquerque, a man of great spirit and unbounded ambition, who attacked the town of Calicut, before which a fourth of his force perished. He then came to the conclusion that the Portuguese, instead of wasting their strength in desultory attacks, should found a permanent establishment on the coast, where they could have a harbour for their shipping, and a citadel for their retreat and protection. He accordingly fixed on Goa, or the island of Sissoari as the natives call it, which is twelve miles in length, by six broad, in the province of Bejapore. He had 1,400 fighting men and nineteen ships. It thus became the metropolis of the Portuguese possessions in the

* "Essays on Universal Hist."

East, and every effort made from time to time by native princes for its recapture has proved unavailing. Albuquerque now assumed the position of an Indian prince, and received embassies with pomp and ostentation. Proceeding to the distant provinces of the Malay archipelago, he established his authority, and carried his commercial enterprises to Java, Siam, and Sumatra. Turning westward, he next obtained possession of Ormuz, the great emporium of the Gulf of Persia, and within nine years created a great European power in the East. The Venetians, who were as much interested as the Egyptians in opposing the progress of Portugal, proposed to cut the isthmus of Suez at their own expense, and dig a canal to join the Nile at the Red Sea. By this they hoped to command the commerce of India, but difficulties arose, and the grand project proved abortive.

Though his power throughout the Indian waters was irresistible, and his authority supreme along 12,000 miles of coast, on which he had planted thirty factories, many of which were fortified, he did not seem to care much for territorial possession. But his last days were darkened by the ingratitude of his country. Amid his eastern triumphs he was superseded by mean and artful court intrigues, which broke his gallant heart, and he expired as his ship was entering the harbour of Goa. So he found his last home in the great settlement he had given to Portugal, amid the sorrow of the Europeans and natives, by both of whom he was beloved.

During the following century the maritime power of Portugal became more than ever formidable in the Eastern Ocean. She took possession of Ceylon, and in 1517 established at Macao the first European factory ever known in the Celestial Empire. In 1513 she equipped an armament of 400 vessels, having on board 22,000 men, of whom 3,600 were Europeans, and captured Diu, which, though lost for a time, she afterwards regained. One of the most memorable events in the annals of the Portuguese in India was the league formed by the Kings of Ahmednuggur and Bejapore with the Zamorin of Calicut for the siege of Goa, which lasted ten months, and which they were compelled at last to relinquish, after losing 12,000 men. The Portuguese established a factory at the Gola, now called Hooghley, and completely absorbed the provincial trade from the town of Satgong, which for fifteen centuries had been the great commercial emporium of Bengal; around this factory grew a flourishing town, strongly fortified, and adorned with many churches. When the Moguls attacked

it with their armies, they failed to carry it by storm, and had recourse to mining.

In 1683, in revenge for an attack upon their territories by the Mahrattas, the Viceroy of Pedro II. collected at Goa an army of 1,200 Europeans and 10,000 native troops, and having crossed the river, advanced into the interior, and laid siege to Poonah, while a fleet of his vessels swept the Mahratta coast. The troops carried fire and sword into the very temples; and the Inquisition is said to have burned some of the prisoners. The siege of Poonah was pressed with great vigour; and three breaches were nearly practicable, when Sambagi, a Mahratta chief, advanced with 22,000 horse and foot to its relief. The Viceroy being without proper intelligence, was surrounded in his trenches, but was resolved bravely to hew a passage through the enemy.

The distance the Portuguese had to march was thirty miles, at every pace harassed by cavalry; and ere the conclusion of the first day's retreat, they had to abandon their baggage and heavy cannon, with the loss of 1,200 men. Ultimately, the rest reached their boats, and were transported to Cumboreen, an isle which lies between Goa and the mainland. In country craft the Mahrattas followed them, and landed on the isle 3,000 strong; but the Portuguese opened a fire of swivel-guns upon them, cut off their retreat, and killed or captured them all. After this they formed an alliance with Aurungzebe, who sent an army to their assistance; but that force, though it drove out the Mahrattas, greatly injured the Portuguese territory by requisitions and plundering; and on a treacherous attempt of the Mogul admiral to seize Goa, the alliance was dissolved. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the greatness of Portugal was at its zenith in India, it was encountered and supplanted by a European rival in the Dutch, who, having thrown off the yoke of Spain, began a career of maritime enterprise with singular ardour and success.

During a portion of our long war with France, Goa was partly garrisoned by British troops; but its population about that time was computed at only 20,000, of whom very few were genuine Portuguese, the remainder being people of colour, many of whom were darker than the darkest natives of India.

In the days of its glory the walls of Goa were six miles in compass, and its bazaar was famous through all the Orient, while its population amounted to 150,000 Christians, and 50,000 Mohammedans and Hindoos; but now, the villas around it are in ruins, its palaces are falling to pieces, its barracks,

hospitals, and custom-house are shapeless fragments, and its streets and squares can only be traced by their foundations. "I went down to the cathedral," says a traveller, "there were ten canons in their stalls, the dean officiated, the sacristans, the vergers, and the choristers were all in their places. As for congregation, there was only one person present, an elderly Portuguese gentleman, besides four African slaves, the bearers of the dean's *mancheela* (litter). You may enter seven large churches within a two miles' walk. The black robe, the white robe, the brown; the cowl and the skull-cap; the silk cassock, the laced surplice; the glittering vestments—you see them all. Pastors abound; but where are the flocks? I found in one about 150 Indian-born Portuguese; in another a few common black Christians, with crosses and beads. 'Goa the Golden' exists no more! Goa, where the aged De Gama closed his glorious life, is now but a vast grassy tomb; and it seems as if its thin population of priests and friars were spared only to chant requiems for departed souls."*

The Dutch, though they did not attempt a passage to India by the Cape so early as the English did, were more wary in their mode of setting about it, and on the 2nd of April, 1595, fitted out in the Texel four ships, armed with fifty-eight guns, and the crews of which mustered 247, with 1,030 tonnage in all. The commander was Cornelius Hootman. The 10th of January, 1596, saw him off the coast of Madagascar, in distress for want of supplies; and so reduced were his crews by sickness, that only twenty men were fit for duty. He visited Bantam, but his injudicious conduct provoked quarrels. The attempt to trade proved a failure; and narrowly escaping death, with all his people, he reached Holland, with three ships and only eighty-nine men, on the 14th of August, 1598. Though almost a failure, his voyage was hailed with acclamations, and new expeditions were at once projected. Three merchants of Middleburg fitted out two ships under Hootman for the East; but he was again unfortunate, and lost his life by an act of treachery on the part of the King of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, in 1598. Already the Dutch trade with the East might be considered as established. It had its origin in private enterprise; and had the times been those of peace, it might have been carried on with success; but the Spaniards and Portuguese did not conceal their determination to cling to the monopoly at all hazards, and compel the Dutch to meet force by force. At first, the States-General of Holland were content to grant authority for that purpose; but it

soon became necessary that the various Dutch companies trading to the East would be better and stronger if united against the common foe; hence, on the 20th of March, 1602, a general charter was granted, incorporating the Dutch merchants into one great association, with the exclusive privilege of trading in India.

By 1609 they had pursued it with such success that they made no secret of their intention—as soon as they could establish their supremacy in the Spice Islands, to exclude all other nations from trading to them. Captain William Keeling, in the English ship *Dragon*, found it impossible to resist their arbitrary proceedings, and was compelled to carry on a precarious trade under a species of ignominious sufferance, but succeeded in obtaining a cargo of pepper, cloves, and other spices; and returning to Bantam, placed the English factory there on a more satisfactory footing before setting out on his homeward voyage.

Of the Dutch opposition, the mutual complaints, and the jealousies which culminated in their barbarous massacre of Englishmen in the castle of Amboyna, in 1622, mention has already been made in a previous chapter. Among those who perished there, as being in the pretended plot to seize the Dutch fortress, was Captain Gabriel Towerson, the English agent at Amboyna. While endeavouring to defend these proceedings, Dutch writers dwell particularly on the uniformity of the confessions made by the sufferers, but carefully omit to mention the barbarous tortures, by means of which those confessions were wrung from the dying men; and that those confessions thus extorted were always retracted in the intervals before death.

During 1631 most protracted discussions ensued with the Dutch, who, emboldened by the growing difficulties of the English Court, refused all redress for what was known as "the bloody deed of Amboyna," which excited great indignation in England, and, between 1651-2, petitions against the Dutch were pressed upon the Parliament of that country; but though the vigour and success with which the war against Holland was prosecuted by Cromwell threatened her commerce in Europe with total destruction, in India—where her maritime and commercial ascendancy had long been established—her shipping swept the seas, and, in 1654, would have annihilated the settlement at Surat but for a dread of the Great Mogul. After menacing it, their fleet set sail for the Persian Gulf, where it not only destroyed the lucrative trade which the Company had long carried on with Surat and elsewhere, but captured three of their ships, and drove a fourth on shore, where she was totally lost. This only served

* "Sketches of India."

to rouse the energies of the Company anew; and they petitioned Government to lend them five or six frigates, to be manned and equipped at their own expense, for the purpose of reprisals; but after a negotiation, during which the Dutch became sensible that they would be compelled to submit to any terms Cromwell might dictate, a peace was ratified at Westminster on the 5th of April, 1654.

The claims of the Company were not forgotten by the Protector in the treaty drawn up on this occasion, in which it was agreed, that "the States-General of the United Provinces shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." Four commissioners were to be named, to arrange about the injuries and losses on both sides, to the year 1611, and afterwards, to 18th May, 1652; and in case of non-agreement, the Swiss Cantons were to be the arbiters. At the first meeting, held in August, 1654, the English Company stated their damages to be £2,695,999 15s.; but the Dutch East India Company made out theirs to be £2,919,861 3s. 6d. This demand was supported by a series of accounts on which no dependence could be placed; and the chief findings of the commission were, that the island of Polaroon, one of the Moluccas captured by England in 1617, should be restored to the Dutch, who were to pay the London Company £85,000, and to the heirs of the sufferers at Amboyna £3,615.

In 1634 the Dutch had taken possession of the island of Formosa, in the Chinese seas, where they erected factories, and built Fort Zealand; but they were, in 1662, driven out for a time by a Chinese pirate, named Coshinga, who made himself monarch of the place, and who had originally been a tailor. The Dutch were destroyed in great numbers, and the survivors were sent to Batavia;* but the ancient Dutch church and factory of those days are still standing.

The mixed Dutch breed of Topasses, which had also Portuguese and Indian blood in them, were named *Mardikers* in Batavia; a term derived, says Colonel James, from the place called *Mardyke*, four miles from Dunkirk; for when the Dutch took Batavia, the leading adventurers came from that quarter.†

After the Dutch made peace with the Portuguese, they spread their conquests in the East; captured Contang, on the Malabar coast, in 1663; com-

pelled some places between Calicut and Cochín to submit to them; and for the re-capture of Formosa they equipped seventeen sail, which beat the Chinese fleet of eighty junks, and utterly routed Coshinga, after which they possessed themselves of Amoy and other places.*

In 1673, Rickloff van Goen, the Governor-General of Dutch India, made his appearance off the coast (during our war with Holland and alliance with France), at the head of twenty-two sail, with 1,000 troops on board. Bombay was evidently the point menaced; but he lost time by endeavouring to secure the co-operation of Sevajee on shore; and when the hour for action came, he lost heart on seeing the arrangements made for his reception. The President Aungier was then at the head of 400 European troops and 1,500 militia, besides a marine force, and had a little squadron in order of battle in the harbour;† so Van Goen, after simply reconnoitring, bore away to sea.

On the Coromandel coast the Dutch excited similar alarms; but our French allies not only kept them in check, but made themselves masters of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, and took San Thomé, near Madras, by storm. The latter event gave the Company more alarm than satisfaction; thus, they were not displeased when, after a brief occupation, the French were dispossessed, and San Thomé was restored to the King of Golconda; but a subsequent event caused them greater anxiety. Ten of their richly-laden and homeward-bound ships, on the 22nd of August, 1673, fell in with the Dutch fleet, which had been engaged at San Thomé. A running fight ensued off the coast of Masulipatam, which ended in the capture of two of the Indiamen, and the sinking of a third. The other seven, greatly damaged, got into Madras Roads; while in the Indian archipelago, where the Dutch superiority was still more decided, it was impossible for the Company to traffic with advantage, though fully alive to the importance of carrying their trade further east, and seeking mercantile intercourse with China; but the strife was ended, in 1674, by the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary Stuart.

By 1693, during the hostilities with the Mogul, the blunders of the Company were turned to good account by the Dutch, and also by the French, both of whom almost monopolised the Indian market. The Dutch thus acquired advantages which were not eventually serious, because of the strict alliance between Great Britain and Holland; but the case was different with the French, who had

* "Atlas Geograph.," vol. iii., 1712.

† "Military Dict.," 1805.

* "Hist. United Provinces," 1705.

† Orme, &c.

not only established factories at Surat and at the mouth of the Ganges, but had acquired that commanding settlement, to which we have so often referred, at Pondicherry, eighty-five miles from Madras. Even when France and Britain were allies, the Company had a jealous fear of the growing power of the former in the East; and when war was declared, one of the first instructions sent to the authorities at Surat was to wrest Pondicherry from the French. But this was more than they were then able to do. However, Tegnapatam, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, was purchased from a native prince, and converted into the important settlement of Fort St. David; and it has been considered remarkable that the French, with whom we were then at war, should have permitted the Company quietly to fortify themselves in their immediate vicinity, while the Dutch, our allies, manifested the utmost jealousy, and declined to recognise the right, which the Company claimed in virtue of their purchase, to levy harbour-dues and customs.

How Clive opposed and defeated their naval and military armaments, sent to Bengal in 1759, we have already told; and the Dutch remained quiet in India till, on the commencement of our hostilities with them in 1781, they concluded a defensive treaty with Hyder Ali, when, in return for the cession of Nagpore, they undertook to assist him in maintaining his ground in Tanjore. But the most crushing operations ever undertaken against them in the East were those in the time of Lord Minto, when, in 1810, the British colours waved supreme over Java and their settlements in the Moluccas.

The chief settlement of the Danes is at Tran-

quebar, a seaport town in the Tanjore district of the Carnatic, at the mouth of the Cauvery river. This they acquired by purchase from the King of Tanjore, when it was a village, in 1616. They erected a fort and mission-house; and the genial, quiet, and correct bearing maintained by them soon attracted population and commerce. The latter is chiefly carried on with the mother country, the Isle of France, Ceylon, and Bengal. According to agreement, the Danes still continue to pay a ground-rent of 2,000 pagodas per annum. The fort, which is called Danebourg, is finely kept, and all the buildings being white, the settlement can be seen at a great distance from the seaward. It was captured by the British in 1787, but was restored to Denmark at the peace.

The possessions held in Hindostan by other European nations are as follow:—

French territory	530 sq. miles ;	178,000 pop.
Danish " " " " " "	93 " "	35,000 "
Portuguese " at Goa, Diu, } and Damao " " " " }	1,200 " "	350,000 "
Total	1,823	563,000

Thus, we see that while Denmark, France, and Holland achieved in early times a footing in India, Scotland, which made a vigorous effort to do so, failed, partly through the jealousy of the English East India Company, but principally through the ignorance of the projectors and the incompleteness of their preparations; though the subsequent union of the kingdoms rendered that failure of no consequence, as there was no part of the empire where Scottish enterprise, civil or military, found a more ample field than British India.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SECOND BURMESE WAR.—OPERATIONS AT RANGOON.—CAPTURE OF MARTABAN AND BASSEIN, PROME AND PEGU.—ANNEXATION OF THE LATTER.

THE Government of Ava had for several years been on unfriendly terms with that of India; and early in 1852, the ignorance, arrogance, and stupidity of the Burmese led once more to an appeal to arms for the settlement of differences that might have been more quietly adjusted.

Under our treaty with Burmah, British subjects trading to its ports were entitled to the most perfect

protection and security; but a new Governor, who had taken up his residence at Rangoon, was inspired by a keen hatred of the British, and a resolution to avenge the disasters of the last war. His conduct, at first, was merely insulting, and was borne somewhat meekly by our traders, who were loth to incur the trouble of another Burmese

* Fullarton's "Gazetteer of the World," vol. vii.

war; but this tame endurance of affronts provoked their repetition and aggravation until they became intolerable.

Commodore Lambert, of H.M.S. *Fox*, forty-two guns, was therefore ordered to proceed with a squadron to Rangoon, and demand reparation, but in doing so to use the utmost caution. He was first to address a letter to the Governor of Rangoon, briefly setting forth the circumstances of the case. If compensation was granted, the matter was to go no further; but as it seemed rather improbable that any amicable settlement would be come to, he was furnished with a letter to the King of Ava, which was to be forwarded only in the event of a refusal by the Governor of Rangoon, recommending the removal of that officer as essential to the continuance of peace. But the commodore was received with much hauteur, and acts of violence still continued. Finding that the charges made by our people against the governor fell far short of the actual truth, Commodore Lambert, believing it futile to hope for any arrangement with such an official, at once dispatched the letter to the King of Ava, together with one from himself to the prime minister. These documents he transmitted through the Governor of Rangoon, whom he addressed briefly thus:—

“I shall expect that every dispatch will be used for forwarding the same; and I hold you responsible for an answer being delivered in these waters within five weeks from to-day.”

The Marquis of Dalhousie was of opinion that Commodore Lambert had acted well and wisely in appealing to the king at once, but again cautioned him not to resort to hostilities till every other method had failed. On the 1st of January, 1852, the Court of Ava returned an answer which gave hopes of a peaceful adjustment, as it announced that the obnoxious governor had been displaced, and that his successor would make all necessary reparation. Encouraged by this appearance of friendship, the commodore sought to open a communication with the new governor, and sent Commodore Fishbourne, of H.M.S. *Hermes*, a six-gun steamer, Captain Latter, the chief interpreter, and some other officers, ashore to deliver a letter; but their reception was insulting in the extreme; and after being subjected to very ignominious treatment, they were obliged to return with it undelivered, and without seeing the governor, who, they were told, was asleep,* and not to be disturbed, whereas he was watching them through a Venetian blind, and laughing at

the mortifications to which they were subjected. This treatment was properly at once resented by the establishment of a blockade, as the missive, according to Marshman, had been intrusted to one of Cromwell's ambassadors, “a frigate which spoke all languages, and never took a refusal.” Operations were begun by the *Hermes* capturing a ship of the King of Ava, while the squadron set sail for the mouth of the river. When the *Hermes* was seen with her prize, known as the *Yellow Ship*, in tow, the Burmese opened a fire upon her from a stockade. The *Hermes* returned it most liberally with shot and shell, together with the *Fox*, and the enemy's works were demolished in a few minutes.

Prior to this, all British residents in Rangoon were requested to take shelter on board the flag-ship, and their embarkation is thus described in a paper of the time:—“The *Proserpine* steamer ran close into the main wharf (of Rangoon), and eight or ten of the boats from the frigate and steamers came to the shore to receive and protect the fugitives. Meanwhile, the streets were filled with armed Burmese, and Burmese officers were moving to and fro on horseback, threatening all who gave assistance to the foreigners, in consequence of which not a coolie could be procured. All classes of foreigners—Moguls, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English—were seen crowding down to the river with boxes and bundles, and whatever they could carry; but they were generally obliged to abandon all they possessed. Mr. Kincaid, the American missionary, left his library of more than 1,000 volumes, the collection of twenty years, behind him to be destroyed, too happy, however, to find his wife and children safe under the British flag.”*

On the 8th of January the *Proserpine* left for Moulmein, with about 400 fugitives and their families, whose number is not stated.†

At this time Lord Dalhousie was in the North-Western Provinces, and apprehending that his Government was fast drifting into another war, he hastened down to prevent it; and it was not until his third application for redress had been treated with contempt that he resolved to appeal to arms by land and sea.

“The Government of India,” he wrote in his minute, “cannot, consistently with its own safety, appear for one day in an attitude of inferiority, or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the empire, if for one day it give countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority

* Lieut. Laurie's “Second Burmese War.”

* *Friend of India.*

† *Bengal Hurkara.*

of its arms, and of its continued resolution to maintain it."

The Commander-in-chief being in Scinde, Lord Dalhousie was thus obliged to be his own war minister; and the singular genius he displayed for military organisation astonished all India, but the task he had in hand was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was the 10th of February before the declaration of war was issued, or the preparations for the campaign were made, and it was of the most vital importance that Rangoon should be occupied before the rains came on in May.

The British forces now detailed for service consisted of two separate armaments from Calcutta and Madras. The former, under the command of General Godwin, who, as lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, had served in the former Burmese war, and to whom the whole expedition was now entrusted, sailed from the Hooghley on the 28th of March, and on the 2nd of April was off that mouth of the Irawaddi on which the town of Rangoon is situated.

The troops were on board six steamers. Among them were the 18th Royal Irish, 35th Royal Sussex, 51st Light Infantry, 80th, or Staffordshire, with some native infantry, Madras Artillery, and Sappers and Miners, making a total of 4,388 men to invade Burmah. In all, there were nineteen vessels, carrying 159 guns, manned by 2,200 seamen and marines. Admiral Austin led the naval portion of the expedition. Both the leaders were considerably advanced in life, were inactive in their habits, and naturally enfeebled by years and service. "This circumstance excited much painful comment, to the effect, that notwithstanding all the nation had suffered from partisanship and routine in the selection of commanders, the system remained the same, as if incurable by any amount of calamity or experience."*

Admiral Austin's flag was on board H.M.S. *Rattler*, six-gun steamer. The Madras division had not as yet arrived; but, as delay was deemed inexpedient, it was resolved forthwith to attack Martaban, on the south-east coast, near the mouth of the Salween, opposite to Moulmein. It was considered by the Burmese of great importance. "And there can be no doubt that it is so," says Lieutenant Laurie; "in a military point of view it is capable of making a very formidable defence. On the river appears the usual array of houses; then, as you recede, trees extending to a hill, at the top of which is a pagoda. Then other hills stretching further away, adding dignity and grandeur to the landscape."†

* Nolan.

† "Second Burmese War."

The attack was made on the 5th of April at daybreak. The admiral, notwithstanding the many shoals and currents which obstructed his progress, moved up with five steamers, and placed the *Rattler* within 200 yards of the city wall. Under cover of a heavy cannonade, the troops landed, and a storming party was then detailed, under Colonel Reingold, of the Royal Irish, who attacked the chief position under a fire of cannon and musketry, and in a few seconds Martaban was ours, with a loss scarcely worth mentioning.

On the 8th there came from Moulmein the right wings of the 18th and 80th Regiments, with some Bengal Artillery and Madras Sappers. Loud cheers from the squadron greeted the two steamers, and with the band playing "St. Patrick's Day," the right wing of the Royal Irish steamed into position beyond the vessel containing the left, as the admiral moved up the river, and came to anchor close off Rangoon. On the 11th of April, the fire which the enemy had opened from both banks was silenced by the guns of the steam-frigates, which were turned to Rangoon on the right and Dalla on the left, when both were utterly destroyed. The large stockade south-west of the stupendous Shwedagon pagoda—a gilded temple, devoted to the worship of Gautama—was set in flames by one well-directed shell, which caused the magazine to explode, "and then all the work became filled with black smoke and vivid flame—up, up to the bright skies ascending, till the scene became one of extreme beauty and awful grandeur. At this crisis," adds Mr. Laurie, "an occasional gun was heard from the shore. Two or three pieces were observable in the burning stockade; but as no Burmese were visible, some conjectured it to be the flames firing them off without orders."

On the 12th the troops, after landing, began to advance. They had not proceeded far when, on reaching some rising ground to their right, guns opened upon them, and soon after skirmishers showed themselves in the jungle. This was so entirely a new mode of fighting with the Burmese—no instance having occurred during Sir Archibald Campbell's campaign, or their making flank attacks, or leaving the shelter of their stockade—that the new tactics excited some surprise. Though they increased the number of our casualties, they proved unavailing, as the Burmese were driven under cover of their wooden defences, from whence they kept up a fire of musketry so steady and effective, that they were not stormed without a severe loss, and such a complete exhaustion of the storming party, that though the hour was only eleven a.m., the general resolved to halt where he

was, after concentrating his slender force in the strongest position he could find.*

Because the heavy guns were not forwarded, the troops were unable to move until the morning of the 14th. Old Rangoon having been destroyed by fire in 1850, a new city had been formed, about a mile and a half from the river. "It is nearly square," says the general's despatch, "with a bund or mud wall, about sixteen feet high and eight thick; a ditch runs along each side of the square, and on the north side, where the pagoda stands, it has been very cleverly worked into the defences, to which it forms a sort of citadel. The distance from the pagoda to the south entrance of the town is about three-quarters of a mile, and it—the town—is something more than that in breadth from east to west. The old road, from the river to the pagoda, comes up to the south gate, running through the new town, and it was by this road the Burmese had settled that we should attack it, and where they had made every preparation to receive us, having armed the defences with nearly 100 pieces of cannon and other missiles, and with a garrison of at least 10,000 men."

To have made an assault at the point where the foe expected it, would have cost Godwin half his force, at least; he resolved, therefore, to force a passage into the great pagoda, the key of the whole position, by adopting a route which entirely turned all the defences of it. Marching to the north-east through a thick jungle, he found the stockaded town, and got to the east side of the pagoda, which was 294 feet in height from its platform, and the capture of which was his main object. A battery of heavy guns was immediately erected, and opened with so much effect, that the assault, which was to have been made at noon, took place an hour sooner.

The storming party was formed by a wing of the 80th Regiment, under Major Lockhart; two companies of the Royal Irish, under Lieutenant Hewitt; two of the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, under Lieutenant White; the whole commanded by Colonel Coote, of the 18th, and Captain Latter leading. Under a galling fire from the lower walls and gun-platform, or triple terraces of the pagoda, our troops rushed to the assault with all the resolution of British infantry. Lieutenant Doran fell, pierced by four balls; Colonel Coote also fell wounded; but the troops swept onward to the upper terrace; a deafening cheer rent the air; the Burmese fled in all directions, with all the speed of which their great gilded hats and grotesque and flowing habiliments would permit; and once again

the great pagoda of Gautama was ours, and the capture of the town was a complete success.

A red jacket which the Burmese had adopted caused some confusion to our troops, who at times mistook them for our own skirmishers. Their arms were all old British flint muskets, which had been sold as "condemned," with a *dah*, or sharp square-pointed sword with a long wooden hilt, and with other weapons, such as British bayonets stuck on spear shafts. Their balls were iron as well as lead, and, not being cast or moulded, varied in size.

The next capture was Bassein, situated about sixty miles above the mouth of the river so named, which forms the western branch of the Irawaddi; it was deemed by Sir Archibald Campbell as the key of the Burmese empire. In the afternoon of the 19th of May the steamers were ranged opposite the fortifications of Bassein, having accomplished a voyage of sixty miles without a pilot up an unknown river, lined with stockades, without an accident, or a shot having been fired.*

In the attack, the conduct of H.M. 51st Foot is described as having been equally magnificent and cool. After a fifty minutes' conflict with 5,000 of the King of Ava's picked soldiers and 2,000 men of Bassein, the place was ours, with eighty-one guns and jingals. We had six officers wounded, but the enemy left 800 dead behind them. Leaving a small garrison in Bassein, the general returned, with the rest of the troops, to Rangoon.

The Burmese, although they had now lost three of their most important towns, and sustained defeat in every encounter, were so far from showing the least aspect of submission, that on the 26th of May they made a bold attempt to re-take Martaban, against which its late governor, Moun-Bwosh, who had to conquer or lose his head, advanced with 600 men, while 1,000 remained near a small white pagoda, 2,000 formed a reserve at the distance of half a mile, and a fourth force kept up a fire at the distance of 150 yards. Our slender garrison, under Major Hall, by signal gallantry held their ground till reinforced by two companies of H.M. 51st Light Infantry and 26th Bengal Native Infantry.†

In this repulse such confidence and daring were shown by the Burmese, that it was evident that most decisive measures would be necessary to humble them. It was therefore proposed to menace the capital of Burmah—the city of Ava, or Umerapoora—by advancing up the main branch of the Irawaddi, and making an attempt upon Prome. With this view, Commander Tarleton, of H.M.S. *Fox*, had been dispatched, early in July, with five

* Gen. Godwin's Despatch.

* *Friend of India.*

† *Moulmein Times.*

steamers, to examine its defences and position ; and while on this service he did much more than was expected, as he not only forced his way up the river, in spite of every obstruction, but by the selection of a navigable channel, different from the one by which the Burmese, to the number of 10,000, awaited him, he reached Prome on the 9th of the same month, and found it ungarrisoned. He was unable, however, to do more than to capture a few guns, spike the rest, destroy the stores, and get once more under weigh.

As a more determined resistance was now anticipated on the part of the Burmese, the Marquis of Dalhousie came in person to Rangoon, which he reached on the 7th of July. During his visit, which lasted ten days, he arranged to forward extensive reinforcements, and to raise a force that should bear the title of the Army of Ava, as it would be 20,000 strong ; but so much time elapsed ere these succours came, that it was not until the 9th of October that our troops were before Prome, where the Burmese made little or no resistance. When our advanced guard reached the pagoda there, it was found to be abandoned, as well as the heights beyond it, leaving in our possession an empty town, "overgrown with thick and rank vegetation, and abounding in swamps."*

The general was puzzled by the facility with which this place, on which he had advanced with equal caution and hesitation, fell into his hands, as he had been for some time aware that 18,000 Burmese, in strong stockades, were well posted about ten miles to the eastward of it.

Early in June a force had been dispatched to Pegu, situated on the river of that name, some fifty miles above its junction with the Rangoon. It consisted of one company of H.M. 80th Foot, the Rifle Company of the 67th Bengal Native Infantry, and a detachment of Madras Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Macintosh, Lieutenant Mayne as field-engineer, with Major Cotton, of the 67th, in command of the whole. He was accompanied by a small naval brigade, under Commander Tarleton. All were embarked on board the steamer *Phlegethon*, which had in tow the boats of the squadron. Ere nightfall, Major Cotton was joined by a body of Peguese, who were distinguished by wearing small white flags in their caps.

On the morning of the 3rd the whole expedition was before Pegu, which is an ancient city, fortified, and of a quadrilateral form, measuring a mile and a half on each of its faces. A brick rampart, thirty-five feet thick, with towers at every 300 yards, forms its defence ; but all these were in

ruins, and so were the streets, as the destruction of the city, which once had 150,000 inhabitants, was achieved in 1757 by Alompra, the Burman conqueror of Pegu.

Our Peguese allies were ordered by Major Cotton, in case of accidents, to keep at a distance, until required, during our operations. However, as heavy firing between them and the Burmese was soon heard on the right bank of the river, the troops instantly landed ; but only a few of the enemy could be seen, and these were retreating as fast as they could ; so the boats, with the naval force under Commander Tarleton, were sent further up the river, to cut off all who might attempt to cross ; and during this service some of our boats were captured and re-taken.

As the heat was overpowering, Major Cotton prudently postponed till three o'clock an attack on the garrison in the great pagoda. Composed of brick and mortar, this edifice is conical in form, and at the base measures 162 feet each way. It is 360 feet in height, and is crowned by a gilt umbrella fifty-six feet in circumference. It was founded more than 2,000 years ago, and around it are innumerable images of Gautama.

About one p.m. the enemy, emboldened by Cotton's apparent inactivity, were seen coming down the bank of the river, about 1,400 strong, led by thirty chiefs on ponies, some of whom carried gilt umbrellas and sung a vaunting song. The bugles sounded ; the Rifle Company stood to arms, on which the Burmese instantly fled, even before the longest shots could reach them ; so the whole place fell into our possession, and the next day was occupied in destroying the granaries, and carrying off nine pieces of cannon.

In Pegu, 400 men were placed under Major Hill, whose slender force was unable to prevent the Burmese, who soon after came on in strength, from possessing themselves of the ruinous town, and making a daring attack upon the pagoda, which they completely invested on every side, shutting up his detachment within it. Their first attack he repulsed with vigour ; but on a second of a formidable character being made, Major Hill, who was scarcely able to hold the position, made an urgent application for instant succour. On this, General Godwin set out for Pegu, with 1,350 men. "During his passage up the river," says Beveridge, "he paid the penalty of his former negligence by the state of fearful suspense in which he was kept, while scarcely venturing to hope that his small garrison had been able to hold out against their numerous and persevering foes. His intense anxiety was not relieved till he obtained a distant view of the pagoda,

* Gen. Godwin's Despatch.

and ascertained by his telescope that a single individual observed upon it was a Madras Lascar."

He highly complimented Major Hill and his brave little band in orders for their defence of the pagoda, "for so many anxious days and nights, cut off as they were from the succour of their comrades by the works of the enemy in the river, as well as by distant communication with the headquarters of the army."

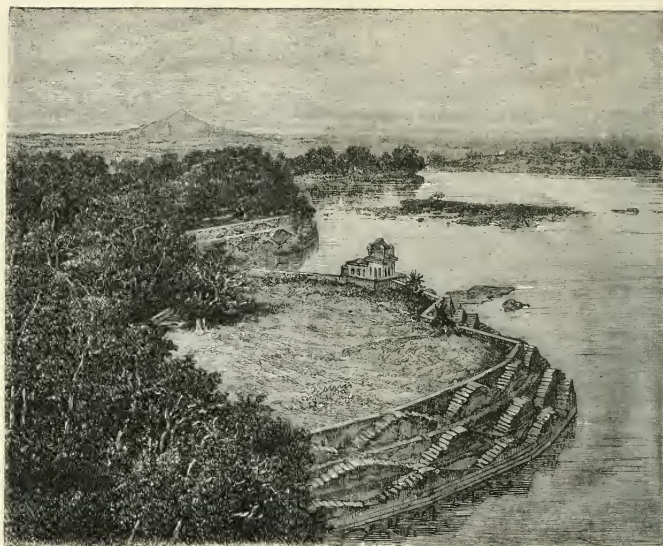
The King of Ava having refused to hold any communication with the Marquis of Dalhousie, the latter had only to consider the course to be pursued. The inhabitants of Pegu were anxious to be released from the iron yoke of their Burmese conquerors, and entreated to be taken under British protection; thus, he determined at once to accede to their prayer, and annex the province, once one of the most ancient kingdoms of Asia. The breadth of it, towards its northern frontier, is about 180 miles, and its length, from north to south, about 230; and on the 20th of December, 1852, Lord Dalhousie issued the following proclamation:—"The Court of Ava having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the Governor-General of India in Council resolved to exact reparation by force of arms. The forts and cities on the coast were forthwith attacked and captured; the Burmese forces have been dispersed wherever they have been met, and the province of Pegu is now in the occupation of British troops. The just and moderate demands of the Government of India have been rejected by the king; the ample opportunity that has been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done, has been disregarded; and the timely submission, which could alone have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom, has been withheld. Wherefore, in compensation for the past, and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council has resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now, and shall be henceforth, a portion of the British territories in the East. Such Burmese troops as may yet remain within the province shall be driven out; civil government shall be immediately established, and officers shall be appointed to administer the affairs of the several districts. The Governor-General in Council hereby calls upon the inhabitants of Pegu to commit themselves to the authority, and to confide securely in the protection, of the British Government, whose power they have seen to be irresistible, and whose rule is marked by justice and munificence. The Governor-General in Council having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, desires no further conquest in

Burmah, and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease. But if the King of Ava shall fail to renew his former relations of friendship with the British Government, and if he shall recklessly dispute its quiet possession of the province it has now declared to be its own, the Governor-General in Council will again put forth the power he holds, and will visit with full retribution, aggressions which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman state, and to the ruin and exile of the king and his race."

In his minute on this subject, Lord Dalhousie said:—"In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burmah would be a calamity, second only to the calamity of war; but I have been drawn, most reluctantly, to the conclusion that no measure will adequately meet the object which, in my judgment, it is absolutely necessary to secure—the establishment of our security now, and its maintenance hereafter—except the seizure and occupation of a portion of the territories of the Burman kingdom." In this opinion the Court of Directors and the Ministry fully concurred; and then, owing to the strict naval blockade of the mouths of the Irawaddi, trade with the interior was entirely ended, and provisions speedily rose to famine prices in the Burmese capital.

The old monarch, to whose obstinacy and pride the war was generally attributed, or the protraction thereof, became very unpopular, and was dethroned by his brother; but not without a struggle. Soon after overtures for peace were made, and on the 5th of April, 1853, British and Burmese commissioners met at Prome to arrange the terms. The conference lasted only two hours, as the officials of the enemy seemed anxious for a state of amity, and at once offered to sign a treaty in accordance with the proclamation, annexing Pegu, provided the frontier was not fixed at Meeday—as we, who had captured that place, proposed—but lower down the river, in the vicinity of Prome. This point was conceded; and then they receded from their previous declarations, and, on the 9th of May, had the effrontery to announce that no treaty would be consented to which involved the cession of territory.

On this they were summarily dismissed, and it seemed as if the sword must be drawn again; but eventually it appeared that the objection was not so much to the cession of Pegu as to the humiliation of doing it by a formal treaty; and the king, who was well aware of the impending ruin in case the war was renewed, managed to avert it by



THE "BUND" OR DAM OF THE LAKE OF BARWA, JHANSI.

addressing a letter to the Marquis of Dalhousie, in which he granted all that was required of him. This equivalent was accepted, and on the 30th of June peace was proclaimed.

Thus ended a war which, though barren of glory or brilliance, added to our Eastern empire a province containing 40,000 square miles, with a population of fully 3,000,000 souls. Such had never

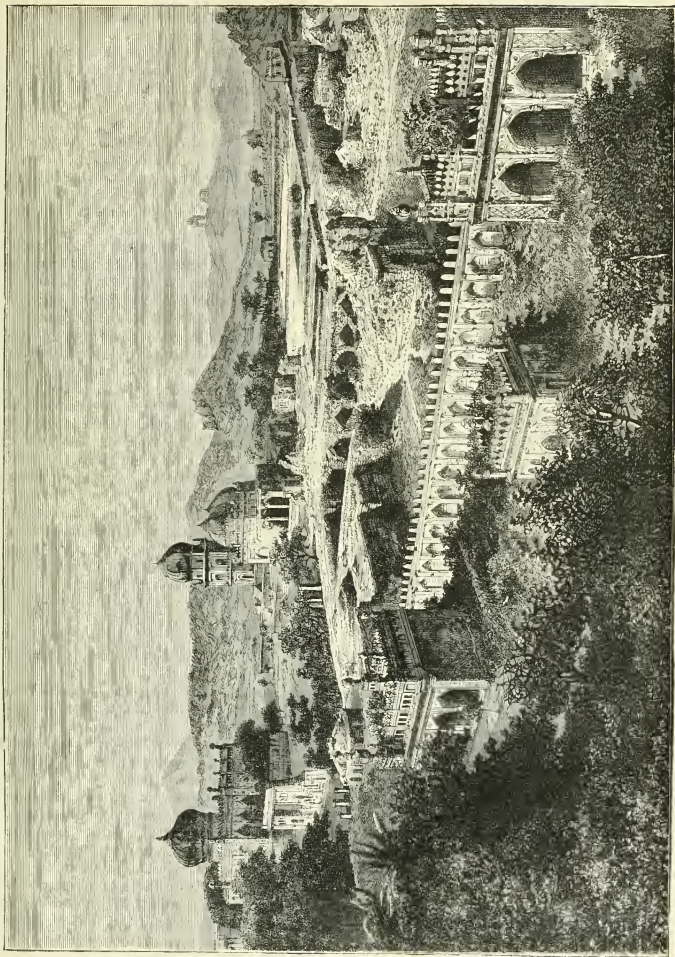
before been gained in so short a period by annexation. The export and import traffic has since increased from a few lacs to nine crores of rupees; the people are contented and happy, and would consider a change of masters the greatest of calamities. The first Burmese war entailed an expenditure of thirteen crores; the second cost little more than one crore.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ANNEXATIONS OF SATTARA, NAGPORE, AND JHANSI—THE AFFAIRS OF HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

AFFAIRS in Burmah had once more raised in the ascendant the policy of annexation which had been so long discountenanced by the home authorities, on the plea that our Eastern empire was already unwieldy enough; though many in India at that time

thought that, having once moved inland, it would be difficult to stop short of the Sea of China. "No fear of our empire," wrote one bold son of progress, "falling to pieces from its own size, were it extended from the Caspian to the wall of



THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS AT GOLCONDA, HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

China, so long as the country is rich enough to meet its own charges, and is possessed of a defensible frontier." *

The annexation of the Punjab and of Pegu—like those made during the preceding fifty years, to the territories of British India, from the principalities of Mysore, Holkar, Scindia, Nagpore, and the Peishwa—followed the success of our troops in war, and was the natural result of unprovoked hostilities and dangerous and unsuccessful combinations against us; but the absorption of Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, which we are about to narrate, proceeded from another cause: the failure of heirs, and the assumed—it may be, usurped—prerogative of our being the paramount power in India. The "annexation policy" of the Marquis of Dalhousie occasioned some animadversions at the time; but in tracing this policy to its origin, it is to be observed that, seven years before his arrival, the Governor-General and Council, in 1841, placed on record their unanimous opinion that our line of policy was "to persevere in one clear and direct course of abandoning no just or honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are scrupulously respected." †

In these views of his predecessors, Lord Dalhousie, after assuming office, recorded his entire concurrence; but added, that we were not bound "to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatever, or from the failure of heirs natural; but whenever a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should be at once abandoned."

The first case of importance to be acted on, or in which the principle of annexation was fully avowed and acted on, was that of Sattara, a district and town now in the presidency of Bombay, which forms a part of the table-land of the Deccan, and lies between the parallels of 15° 40', and 18° 30', with a coast line of about twenty miles north of Goa.

The rajahs of this district, after being recognised as the nominal heads of the Mahratta confederacy, had gradually been deprived of all power by the Peishwas or prime ministers, and at last reduced somewhat to the position of state prisoners. When the power and rule of the Peishwa was extinguished, in 1818, by the Marquis of Hastings, the principality of Sattara was created in favour of a descendant of Sevajee, and endowed with a revenue of fifteen lacs yearly. Pertaub Sing, for alleged violations of the treaty, was deposed in 1839,

and succeeded by his brother, who died in 1848, leaving no issue. He had repeatedly applied to the Resident for permission to adopt an heir, but had been informed it was not in his power to grant it; but two hours before the death of the prince, a boy, who, though distantly related, was unknown to him, was brought in by hap-hazard; the ceremony of adoption, with the usual rites, was performed, and the last sound in the ears of the dying rajah was the salute of cannon in honour of it. "This adoption having been made in a regular form, was recognised as binding, so far as to give the adopted son all the rights which his adoptive father could convey to him; but it was denied that the succession to the raj was one of those rights. Sattara, it was said, was a British dependency, and adoption could have no validity until it was sanctioned by the paramount power."

Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., the Governor of Bombay, while admitting that the consent of that power was required by custom, maintained that the Government could not, without much injustice, object to it. His successor, Viscount Falkland, concurred with the other members of the Government in taking quite an opposite view of the case; while Mr. Willoughby, a most able member of Council, alleged that the confirmation of the paramount power was essential to the validity of adoption in India; and with this opinion Lord Dalhousie, when the question was submitted to him, entirely concurred. The adopted son of the dead rajah was thus put aside, and Sattara was annexed to the British dominions on the principle thus given in a letter from the home authorities, dated 24th of January, 1849:—"That by the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality, like that of Sattara, cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power; that we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and that the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it."

It has been questioned whether the British Government had the legal right it asserted, to seize upon and appropriate, or annex Sattara as a lapsed principality; and also whether, under all the circumstances, it was expedient to declare this right. Be all that as it may, Sattara was annexed, and ceased to exist as a separate state. "It is necessary, however, to remember," says a historian, on this point, "that the questions of right and expediency are perfectly distinct, and that cases might occur where the one was answered in the affirmative, and the other, without any inconsistency, in the negative."

* Laurie's "Burmese War," p. 201.

† Marshman's "India."

As an illustration of this we may cite the very next case that occurred—that of the Rajah of Kerowly, a small Rajpoot state, about eighty miles from Agra, in a south-westerly direction. He died without heirs; yet, though a mere youth, he had an adopted son, without obtaining, therefore, the permission of the British Government. Hence the Marquis of Dalhousie, who was bent on carrying out his policy of annexation, would at once have absorbed this state as he had done Sattara; but, in this instance, the Directors took a more equitable course, and on the 26th of January, 1853—six months after the young rajah's death—they announced their decision, that the succession of the adopted son should be sustained, on the principle that there was a marked difference between this case and that of Sattara. The latter had been a creation of the British Government, and a gift to its late rulers, "whilst Kerowly was one of the oldest of the Rajpoot states, which has been under the rule of its native princes from a period long anterior to the British power in India. It stands to us only in the relation of a protected ally; and perhaps there is no part of India where it is less desirable—except on the strongest grounds—to substitute our government for that of the native rulers."

Five years after the case of Sattara, a similar one occurred at Nagpore, when Ragojee Bhonsla, the Rajah of Berar, or, as he was more frequently named from his capital, the Rajah of Nagpore, died on the 11th of December, 1853. We have elsewhere shown how that kingdom was forfeited by the Marquis of Hastings. The rajah, who was childless, resisted the earnest advice of the Resident to adopt a son; thus, when he died at the date given, he was without any heir or successor, lineal, collateral, or adopted, so that the question of lapsing occurred here in its most simple form, and the marquis placed on record an elaborate minute on the subject.

"We have not now," he wrote, "to decide any question which turns on the right of a paramount power to refuse confirmation to an adoption by an inferior. The rajah has died, and deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. The state of Nagpore, conferred on the rajah and his heirs in 1818 by the British Government, has reverted to it on the death of the rajah without an heir. The Government is wholly unfettered to decide as it may think fit." The Court of Directors signified their entire concurrence in the annexation, stating, as the ground of their doing so, that Nagpore was a kingdom granted after conquest by British favour to the late rajah on hereditary tenure. "He had left no heir of his body; there was no male heir who,

by family or hereditary right, could claim to succeed him; he had adopted no son; there was not in existence any person descended in the male line from the founder of the dynasty; and they had no doubt of their right to resume the grant." *

As if all this were not sufficient, there was a member of the Council extravagant enough to defend the policy of general annexation, on the principle that it had been decreed by heaven. "So far as we can foresee the ultimate destiny of this great empire," said Mr. Dorrien, the member in question, "its entire possession must infallibly be consolidated in the hands of Great Britain. Thoroughly believing in this dispensation of Providence, I cannot coincide in any view which shall have for its object the maintenance of native rule against the progress of events, which throws undisputed power into our possession."

The fourth case which came under consideration was that of Jhansi, the little Bundela state in the north-west of Bundelcund, comprising about 2,600 square acres, with a population of 25,000 souls. By its chief, Sheo Rao Bhao, it was held as a tributary of the Peishwa, on the extinction of whose power, Lord Hastings granted Jhansi to the former, with the title of Soubahdar, as a reward for his fidelity, and declared the fief to be hereditary in his family, with a succession, "confirmed in perpetuity" to his grandson, Rao Ram Chund. The latter, who succeeded under this treaty in 1832, was permitted to change the title of Soubahdar to that of Rajah, and as such held the Government till 1835, when he died without issue. A competition of the succession now ensued, and the decision of our Government was in favour of Rao Ragonath, a son of Sheo Rao Bhao, and consequently uncle of the late rajah; but, as he was a leper, and thus unable to rule, our Resident in Bundelcund had to assume the administration till the death of Rao Ragonath in 1838. He, too, left no issue; and after another competition, his brother, Baha Gunghadur Rao, then the sole male descendant of Sheo Rao Bhao, was preferred. For a time after this, our minister still managed the government, and the revenue, which previous misrule had impaired, began to flourish. In 1843 the native administration was restored, and Baha Gunghadur Rao ruled till his death, on the 21st of November, 1853, when once more the question of succession was resumed. The whole male line of Sheo Rao Bhao was extinct; but Gunghadur Rao had striven to secure a nominal succession to his family by the adoption of a distant relation on the day before his death; and his widow, a woman of talent and resolute spirit, demanded

* Marshman.

the succession of the boy ; but Colonel Low, a member of Council, recorded in his minute that "the native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns ; they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the Peishwa, and latterly of the Company, and the Government of India has now a full right to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British dominions."

To this the widow, who would have been entitled to the regency during the adopted son's minority, urged, with some plausibility, that the original Persian terms, interpreted "heirs and successors," meant, not merely heirs of the body, or otherwise, but "successors in general," which implied, that any one whom he, Gunghadur Rao, "adopted as his son, to perform those funeral rites over his body necessary to ensure beatitude in the future world, would be acknowledged by the British Government as his successor, and one through whom the name and interests of the family might be preserved."

But this proved without avail, as Lord Dalhousie stated that the last rajah having left no heir of his body, and there being no male heir of any rajah, or chief, who had ruled the principality for half a century, the right of the British Government to decline acknowledging the present adoption was unquestionable. The Court of Directors took the same view of the case, and Jhansi was incorporated in our territories ; but when the dark day of the Mutiny came, the disappointed ranee took a fearful revenge by the murder of the wretched European men, women, and children, who, by her orders, were butchered in cold blood.

It was during the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, and with his full concurrence, that the dignity and privileges of the Nabob of the Carnatic were suppressed by the Madras Government. It may be remembered that in 1801, when that province was annexed to the Company's territories by Lord Wellesley, with a yearly sum for the support of the nabob and his household, he was excluded from allusion to heirs and successors. He enjoyed a titular dignity, received royal salutes, and was placed above the law, but distinctly as a mediatised prince with a personal settlement. Two nabobs of the Carnatic had successively left heirs at their deaths, respectively in 1819 and 1825 ; and the Government had permitted these heirs to succeed to the title, with all its accompanying privileges.

The last nabob died, without issue, in 1853, on which his uncle, Azim Jah, claimed the dignity and immunities attached to this nominal throne ; but Lord Harris, then Governor of Madras, in an elaborate minute to Government, pointed out that we were not bound to recognise an hereditary suc-

cession to this dignity, even of direct heirs, and still less so, that of those who were merely collateral heirs.

He averred that the perpetuation of this nabobship in the Carnatic was prejudicial to the public interests, while there existed a separate authority in the capital not amenable to the law, and which combined the vicious habits of an Indian palace with the accumulation of an idle and dissipated population. The palace was already mortgaged, and the debts of the late rajah amounted to half a crore of rupees ; Lord Harris therefore suggested that the pensions of the Arcot family should cease, and that the Government should undertake to settle its debts and make a proper allowance to the uncle, Azim Jah. In these views the Marquis of Dalhousie fully concurred, and the Court of Directors declared that the rights of the family to rule, were restricted to the prince who signed the treaty with Lord Wellesley in 1801.

The much vexed question of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Contingent was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the tact and firmness of Lord Dalhousie and the good judgment of Colonel Low, the Resident at the court of the Nizam. The origin of this force took place in past wars, and it was always over-officered and under-paid. The contingent became a severe expense to the revenues of the state, yet the Nizam would not hear of its being reduced ; so its allowances had fallen so repeatedly into arrears, that it became necessary for the Resident to make advances from his treasury, which the Nizam acknowledged as a debt, bearing interest. His territory was sufficiently rich to meet all the demands of the administration ; but it was impossible to prevail on the prince to attend to business. His debts amounted to three crores of rupees, and the exorbitant interest he had to pay, together with the expense of maintaining a useless horde of 40,000 mercenary troops, consumed his resources. In 1851, Lord Dalhousie requested that he should give up to our Resident at Hyderabad a portion of his territories, equal to the yearly value of £370,000, until his debt due to the Company was fully cleared off ; and the Resident was empowered to occupy the required tract of country with troops, in case the Nizam declined to accede to the demand.

At this time, the relations of the latter with the Indian Government were extremely delicate, and much dissatisfaction prevailed at Calcutta concerning the mode in which the Nizam was governed. His state was a tributary one, and he was held responsible for the good administration of it, according to the standard of British ideas ; but to

these, neither he nor his people showed much desire of conforming. Unable to cultivate any independent relations on one hand, he dared not, on the other, make any alliance or treaty without the permission of the Governor-General. He was compelled to maintain a contingent, which was to be at our disposal, in virtue of a treaty which, too probably, he never intended to observe; and, like most Indian princes, he acted without seeing, or caring to see, the obligations to which it bound him.

From 1850 to 1852, a remarkable number of pamphlets and books were written in defence of the annexation policy; and one of the advocates thereof, Mr. Horace St. John,* wrote boldly in terms that so completely accorded with the measures of Lord Dalhousie, that one might have almost thought that its general application had been fully resolved on as a future system.

A population of nearly 11,000,000 is under the sway of the Nizam, says this writer; "his finances are in irretrievable confusion; his ministers prey on him, he preys on the people; and daily the process of disorganisation and decay is going on, while the prince sits on a throne that would not last a year without the assistance of the East India Company. Anarchy and oppression consume the resources and desolate the face of a beautiful province, with an area of nearly 100,000 square miles. This is an organised crime against humanity. It is for the British Government to redeem the state of Hyderabad from the demoralisation and poverty with which it is afflicted, and to spare its reputation the reproach of conceiving an authority exercised only for the vilest of purposes. Corruption, profligacy, and oppression, practised in all the departments of the Nizam's administration, enfeeble and impoverish the country; and it is a shame that the British nation should lend itself to the support of a government so irretrievably weak and immoral, or

to the further injury of a people already debased, degraded, and undone. Charity may ascribe to the Nizam the virtue of good intentions; but it is scarcely wise to adopt the Jesuit principles of dividing his motive from his acts, and judging of him by the philosophy of Escobar. When a sovereign is set up by British authority, one question alone is to be answered—Is he fit or able to reign? If he is not, every aid extended to him is an offence against the people he oppresses. The Nizam's dominions, however, will inevitably, sooner or later, be absorbed in our own, and humanity will bless the occasion which rescues a fine country and a large population from the double curse of a tyranny at once feeble and destructive."

The Nizam had, from time to time, made a few payments towards defraying his debts, especially those incurred by the contingent; but by 1853 they had attained such a magnitude, that the Marquis of Dalhousie lost all patience, and resolved to put the matter to a stern issue. He proposed a draft treaty: to place the contingent on a defined and permanent footing, to provide for its punctual payment and the liquidation of arrears, by the cession of the territory referred to, which was to yield about thirty-six lacs yearly—which was less than the annual claim on the Nizam by about six lacs.

By this arrangement he was relieved of debt to the amount of half a crore; yet he displayed a strong reluctance to agree to the arrangement; and it was only by the importunity of his ministers, and more particularly through the influence of a favourite valet, whom they bribed, that he was induced to consent to it.

The districts which he was compelled to cede, and which were occupied by our troops, were those in Western Berar which the generosity of Lord Wellesley had accorded to his ancestor for the somewhat doubtful assistance he had given us during the strife in 1803 with the Mahrattas.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION.—ANNEXATION OF OUDE.

THE last most important, and, as it proved eventually, most fatal act of annexation, was that of the kingdom of Oude; yet it proceeded on grounds very different from those we have narrated, and the opinions of the highest authorities were divided on

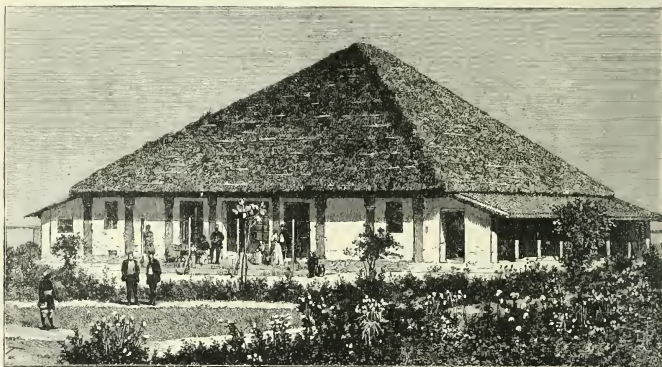
the subject, some condemning it as a gross breach of public faith, and others lauding it as a master-stroke in politics. And here it may be necessary to remind the reader of our early relations with that fruitful source of discord—Oude.

When the empire of the Moguls was falling to

* "Hist. of the British Conquests in India," 1852.

pieces, about 1760, Shujah-ud-Dowlah, its hereditary vizier, holder of the Soubah of Oude, seized upon the latter, and became virtually an independent sovereign, while affecting a nominal allegiance to the emperor. Making common cause with Meer Cossim, he deposed the Nabob of Bengal, but was defeated by our troops, and deprived of Allahabad, yet left in full possession of Oude. In the beginning of the present century, its nabob, Sadut Ali, assumed the title of King of Oude, and though he ably administered the government, our troops were frequently required in the suppression of rebellion and disorder; thus, our relations political, military, and monetary, were a somewhat

death, and been re-occupied, before the last crash came. In 1842, Mohammed Ali was succeeded by his son, Soorya Jah, and he again, in February, 1847, by his son, Wajid Ali Shah who, by his natural indolence, permitted the administration of affairs to fall completely into the hands of worthless favourites. Hence it was that, in the first year of his reign, Lord Hardinge, when visiting his capital of Lucknow, caused a memorandum to be prepared and carefully explained to him. That document, after citing all our treaties made with his predecessors in past years, deduced therefrom the fact that the British Government was bound by them to secure a good administration



VIEW OF A PLANTER'S HOUSE AT ALLAHABAD.

tangled skein for generations; and a succession of debauched princes made these more complicated still.

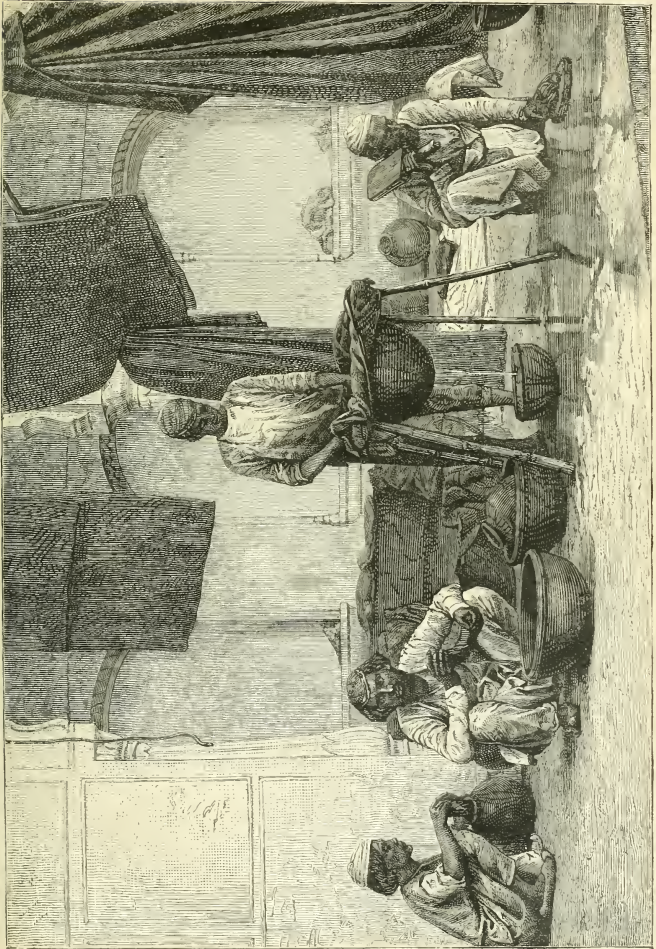
When we engaged in the Afghan war and the great military operations subsequent thereto, an increase of troops, which we undertook, by a previous treaty, to maintain in Oude, at the estimated expense of sixteen lacs yearly, did not take place; and much of the consequent misrule that prevailed in Oude was attributable to this, but more to the degraded court of the king and the conduct of his profligate ministers, whose general bearing justified the harshest measures that could be taken against them.

Day by day local abuses and oppressions became more urgent; but so much was our Government occupied by other affairs, that the musnud of Oude had twice become vacant by

in Oude, and could not permit the continuation of a flagrant system of misrule without being guilty of participation in it.

"If his Majesty," concluded the memorandum, "cordially enters into the plan suggested by the Governor-General for the improvement of his administration, he may have the satisfaction, within the specified period of two years, of checking and eradicating the worst abuses, and, at the same time, of maintaining his own sovereignty and the native institutions of his kingdom unimpaired; but if he does not—if he takes a vacillating course, and fail, by refusing to act on the Governor-General's advice—he is aware of the other alternative and the consequences. It must, then, be manifest to the whole world that, whatever may happen, the king has received a friendly and timely warning."

Two years passed after this, and no change for



YEARS OF LUCKNOW.

the better took place in the luckless kingdom of Oude; hence the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, directed our Resident, Colonel (afterwards General Sir W. H.) Sleeman, to make a tour through the country, and after personal inspection, to make a report upon its actual state.

The account he furnished was a continuous record of crime, misery, and oppression in Oude, under a king who surrounded himself exclusively with eunuchs, fiddlers, poetasters, and all manner of parasites. The fiddlers had the control of the administration and of civil justice; the eunuchs administered the criminal law and had charge of public works; while everything else was managed by similar people.

Never was a nation more cursed by utter disorganisation. Colonel Sleeman reported that there were 246 forts or strongholds in Oude, armed with only 476 guns, and held by the landholders, who were chiefly Rajpoots, and who converted large tracts of the most fertile land into jungle, which became the haunts of lawless characters, who robbed or levied outrageous imposts upon all travellers and traders. One in particular, within sixteen miles of Lucknow, had turned thirty miles of rich land into wilderness thus, and erected four fortresses within that circuit. The favourite fiddler held the highest post at court, and the chief singer was *de facto* king. Every official, on appointment, had to pay a species of black-mail to the king, to his heir, to the prime minister, or whosoever had interest at court, and then reimbursed himself by extortions from the wretched people.

Colonel Sleeman—though an avowed enemy to annexation as a system—stated in his report that, with all his desire to maintain the throne of Oude in its integrity, fifty years of experience had destroyed in him the smallest hope that the king would ever carry out any system of government calculated to ensure the happiness of his people.

"He did not think," he continued, "that, with a due regard to its own character as the paramount power in India, and the particular obligations by which it was bound by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this distracted country, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the administration," and in perpetuity to make some suitable provision for the king when dethroned.

Regarding the King of Oude at this time, Mr. Horace St. John says:—"He is, as his predecessors have ever been, a feeble, cruel, and faithless despot, and we are the janissaries of his sanguinary power. We have lately been assured by an Indian official, high in the estimation of the

Company, that he has seen the tax-gatherers in the territories of Lucknow lighting their way through the country with the flames of forty villages at one time, set on fire because the wretched inhabitants were unable to satisfy those vampires—the agents of the Oriental exchequer. It would be difficult, with the utmost licence of style, to draw an exaggerated picture of the anarchy and impoverishment which prevail in Oude, under a prince whose imbecility renders his subjects equally contemptible with himself—*fraco Re fa forte gente fraca*. Whenever the British Government determines, therefore, to be consistent in its justice, it will do what the king's want of faith gives it authority at any moment to resolve. It will withdraw its support from him; he will assuredly fall; and it will remain for the Company, instead of keeping up a standing army to defend a people which has been robbed of all that was worth protecting, to undertake the duty which attaches to an imperial power, and make late atonement to Oude for all the misery with which it has been afflicted under its native governors."*

After urging annexations, and the abolition everywhere of "the fiction of native sovereignty," this writer continues thus:—"The unhappiness of these populations is enhanced by contrast with the felicity of their neighbours. It is futile to muse over the pleasant vision of creating new Indian states, under kings of Indian blood, who may receive the lessons of civilisation from us. We cannot proselytise these princes to humanity. They will not embrace our ethics; we must recognise their crimes. We may be gentle and caressing to them, but they will be *carnefices* to their people. We have dreamed too long over this idea. We have no moral authority to uphold them, and they have no claim to be upheld, for the prescriptive right to plunder and oppress any community is a vile and bloody fiction. The regeneration of such powers is impossible. It is time to relinquish the fancy. The more we delay, confiding in a better future, the further will the chance be driven. 'The hope is on our horizon, and it flies as we proceed.'"

On every hand the necessity of interference in the affairs of Oude was admitted to be most urgent; but, occupied by the protracted war with Burmah, and preparations for a coming struggle with Persia, the Marquis of Dalhousie, though determined to annex Oude, was compelled to permit some time to elapse ere he acted. The days of his administration were drawing to a close, and well aware of all the doubts and difficulties

* "Hist. of Brit. Conquests in India."

that beset the question, he might, had he chosen, have bequeathed the annexation as a troublesome legacy to his successor ; but the marquis was too manly and honourable a man to adopt such a course ; and though his health was failing, and an early departure from India was most necessary, he intimated to the Directors that he would remain, and give, if they desired it, practical effect to the decision regarding Oude.

By the home authorities his offer was at once accepted, and he was left with ample discretionary power as to his mode of proceeding. Hence, annexation, involving the absolute extinction of Oude as a native government and the utter abrogation of all existing treaties with it, was decreed and announced to all the empire by one simple public proclamation.

In the statement given, it was said that the mutual obligations of the two Governments were based upon the treaties of 1801 and of 1837.

By the first of these, the British Government obtained in perpetuity the half of the territory of Oude, for undertaking to defend the remaining half from enemies, foreign and domestic ; and by the last-named treaty it was stipulated that, in the event of a reformed administration not being established, the British Government might enter into possession of the disturbed districts, and hold them till they could be satisfactorily restored ; any surplus revenue arising in the meanwhile to be paid into the exchequer of Oude. Many averred that all this was reducing to practice the classical fable of the Monkey and the Cheese, as there was nothing contained in either of these treaties which could countenance the annexation of Oude.

"The one," says a legal writer, "bound the Government of Oude to reform its administration ; and the other defined and fixed the penalty to be inflicted in the event of failing to do so. When the treaty of 1837 was framed, there was no idea of annexation ; and an important point was understood to be gained, when, by the insertion of a penalty, means were provided for giving gradual effect to the vague promise of 1801. Now, however, when annexation was to be resorted to, the treaty of 1837 was found to present a serious obstacle. Its very definiteness would not allow any other penalty than that which it prescribed to be exacted ; and therefore, if annexation was to be persisted in, it became absolutely necessary to hold that the treaty of 1837 was not binding."

Some time prior to announcing the annexation, Lord Dalhousie, acting still with caution in a matter of such moment, had appointed Colonel (afterwards General Sir James) Outram Resident in Oude,

with directions to make another thorough inquiry into the condition of the people. His report was that there was no improvement, and not the slightest prospect of any ; and the duty imposed upon our Government by treaty would not longer admit of delay, in seeking to ameliorate the condition of 5,000,000 people, by ceasing to uphold an effete and incapable dynasty.

It was then that the Marquis of Dalhousie drew up a comprehensive minute, in which he analysed the evidence that had been adduced of the gross and shameful abuse of power that had existed for years in Oude, and of the opinions given by those who urged us to protect its people.

"Were it not for the presence of our troops," he wrote, "the people would long since have worked their own deliverance ; inaction on our part could no longer be justified. But the rulers of Oude, however unfaithful to the trust conferred on them, have yet ever been faithful and true in their allegiance to the British power, and they have aided us as best they could in the hour of our utmost need. Justice and gratitude require that, in ameliorating the lot of the people, we should lower the dignity and authority of the sovereign as little as possible. The prospects of the people may be improved, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne."

He affirmed that he did not wish Oude made a mere province of Britain ; hence he proposed that the king should retain the nominal sovereignty ; and while the entire civil and military administration should be placed in the hands of the Company, an annual stipend should be given to him for the support of his rank. Of the Council, Mr. (afterwards Sir Barnes) Peacock agreed with the marquis, while Mr. Grant (afterwards Sir John Peter Grant, and Governor of Jamaica) recommended the entire absorption of Oude into our territories ; and General Low, who had long been Resident at Lucknow, was of the same opinion.

The whole of these minutes, together with the reports of Generals Sleeman and Outram, were transmitted by Lord Dalhousie to the Court of Directors, with whom, and the Ministry, the decision rested. Two months of deliberation followed ; and then they came to the determination to adopt that sterner resolution—from which Lord Dalhousie had thought to dissuade them—the entire absorption of the territory and abolition of the throne.

Hence the tenor of the proclamation issued by Lord Dalhousie.

But this was not the last we were fated to hear of Oude.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS.—REVENUE.—POSTAL REFORM.—GANGES CANAL.—
RAILROADS.—TELEGRAPHS, ETC.

MEMORABLE indeed was the Marquis of Dalhousie's tenure of office, by the many reforms he effected, and by the material progress civilisation made in India under his brief rule; while there was scarcely a branch of the public service into which he did not penetrate for the purpose of examination. To all circumlocution and obstruction, to all boards that were cumbersome and forms that were useless, he had a great aversion; he abolished or re-constructed them all, as far as possible, and invigorated every department of the state by infusing unity of control, added to responsibility.

He did away with the Military Board; and, though a civilian, there was no branch of the public service in which his general reforms were more welcome and beneficial than those of the army. The Military Board had been weighted with the superintendence of public works, and by other multifarious duties that had been thrust upon it, and hence its failure in many of its duties had been palpable. Thus, he organised, in 1850, a department of public works, with separate officials and a secretary, not only to the Government of India, but to each of the three Presidencies. In a chief engineer, assisted by a body of subordinates, the responsibility of management was vested; while to ensure the steady progress of all public works—which previously had been done by sudden and often feeble efforts—a schedule of those that were to be executed during each year was submitted to Government at the commencement of it.

For ten years, without much, if any, intermission, the Government of India had been engaged in wars, which absorbed thirty crores of treasure, and entailed an annual deficit, which, however, ceased with the cause of it; and the revenues of India, during Lord Dalhousie's administration, increased from twenty-six to thirty crores. During eight years—between 1848 and 1856—the commerce of Bombay became developed to an extraordinary extent; that of Calcutta was doubled; and the coasting trade, after being freed from every obstruction, was rendered safer by the erection of light-houses on the headlands and bays.*

The necessity for having in India the priceless boon of that cheap and uniform postage, which

Britain had enjoyed since the advent of Rowland Hill, was taken up by Lord Dalhousie with all that zeal and energy which were natural to him. He transmitted to Leadenhall Street a plan for establishing a uniform rate of half an ounce, or three farthings for every letter of a defined weight, without regard to distance, though it should be 2,000 miles; and the Court of Directors readily and liberally sanctioned this, as they did all his other great schemes for improvement. He next procured a reduction of the postage between Great Britain and India, and took a kindly national pride in an arrangement which, he said, "would enable the Scottish recruit at Peshawur to write to his mother at John o' Groats for sixpence."†

The Ganges Canal, that magnificent work which connects the Ganges with the Jumna by a navigable channel, and likewise furnishes irrigation to a tract of country between those two great rivers, having an area of 5,400,000 acres, had been commenced long before the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, but was advancing at a very sluggish pace, as the sum expended on it from the beginning did not exceed seventeen lacs of rupees. Aware of its vast benefit to India, he pressed on the work with unflagging ardour, permitting no exigencies of war, no financial difficulty, or other contingency, to interrupt its progress; and in six years the sum spent upon it exceeded a crore and a half of rupees. In March, 1854, the main stream was opened into it by Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. This noble undertaking, which had been designed and completed by Sir Proby Thomas Cautley, K.C.B. (a native of Suffolk, and a distinguished officer of the Bengal Artillery), ranks among the highest efforts of civilisation. "It nearly equals in aggregate length all the lines of the four greatest canals of France, and is five times larger than all the main lines in Lombardy."

Some portions of this splendid work present architectural features of a most important kind, amongst which is the aqueduct of fifteen arches over the Solani river. The intention was that, when completed, it should be used for the whole or greater part of the hill produce, which had previously been rafted down the Ganges for centuries; the main articles being timber of different sizes,

* Marshman, &c.

† Ibid.

bamboos, firewood, charcoal, and the various grasses, used either in forming mats, or those which sell in the market for rope and other purposes.

In 1853 the Madras University was opened, during the rule of Lord Dalhousie; and the Grant College, at Bombay, founded in honour of a late governor, and built by subscription, promised soon after to be productive of great good. To the college at Fort William, founded long before, reference has already been made in this work.

The railroad system, which is working greater and more wonderful changes in the social, political, and mercantile interests of British India, owes much to the exertions of Lord Dalhousie. The first line of rail in that country was projected in 1843 by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, and it received the warmest encouragement from Mr. Wilberforce Bird, while temporarily officiating at the head of the administration; but the commercial disasters that ensued prior to 1847 made British capitalists reluctant to embark in a field so unknown in the annals of railway enterprise as India. This nearly baffled the undertaking; but Sir Macdonald was indefatigable, and succeeded at last in forming the East India Railway Company; and Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart. (afterwards M.P. for Honiton), a member of the Court of Directors, prevailed on his colleagues, but not without the utmost difficulty, to guarantee a rate of interest sufficient to raise the necessary capital.

Two short and experimental lines at Calcutta and Bombay were sanctioned; but as numerous applications for others elsewhere poured into the India House, the Directors wisely referred them all to the consideration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, who, from the first, had seen the advantages, in a military as well as commercial point of view, which must accrue from connecting the different main points of the splendid empire he governed, by means of a complete system of railways; and to whom the Court intimated a wish that, without loss of time, these should be got into operation.

In no better or more able hands could this important matter have been placed. The marquis had presided for some years at the Board of Trade, during a time that was the most active of British railway enterprise, and hence he had become completely master of the principles and even the minutest details of railway economy; and to this knowledge he added broad and comprehensive views of policy. On the 20th of April, 1853, he transmitted to the Court a most carefully drawn minute, which became the future basis of the Indian railway system, and in which he expressed a hope that the limited and experimental lines

already sanctioned, would no longer be deemed the standard of railway works for Hindostan.

"A glance at the map," he said, "would suffice to show how immeasurable would be the political advantages of a system of internal communication, by which intelligence of every event should be transmitted to Government at a speed five-fold its present rate, and enable the administration to bring the bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it now requires months A system of railways, judiciously selected and formed, would surely and rapidly give rise in this empire to the same encouragement of enterprise, the same multiplication of produce, the same discovery of latent forces, and the same increase of national wealth, that have marked the introduction of improved and extended communications in the various kingdoms of the western world. With the aid of a railway carried up to the Indus, the risk involved by the extension of our frontier to a distance of 1,500 miles would be infinitely diminished. Peshawur would, in fact, be reached in less time and with greater facility than Moorshedabad, though only seventy miles distant from Calcutta, in the days of Clive."

In conclusion, he suggested the system of railways which should connect the three presidencies with each other by great trunk lines, and advocated the construction of these by public companies, which should be sustained by a State guarantee, and directly controlled by the Government of India, acting in the public interest, on the principle for which he had ever contended, though somewhat in vain, when at the head of the Board of Trade.

What the railway system of India may ultimately become it is impossible to conjecture, but the wonderful statistics of what it now owes to the energy and talent of Dalhousie may be briefly summarised thus:—

The guaranteed lines are—1. The East Indian Railway, from Calcutta to Delhi; from Allahabad to Jubbulpore, where it joins the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, with a length of 1,504 miles, of which 414 are double. 2. The latter line, which runs from Bombay to Jubbulpore, where it joins the East Indian Railway, and south-west to Raichose, where it joins the north-west branch of the Madras Railway, and the important branch-line to Nagpore; the whole length being 1,278 miles, of which 287 are double. 3. The Madras Railway from that city to Bey pore, with a branch to Bangalore, and the north-west line, which joins the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, making 858 miles, with the branch from Coimbatore to the denser ranges

of the Neilgherry Hills, which are still inhabited by their three aboriginal races: the Kotas, the Burgas, and the Thodas, the worshippers of Ram. 4. The Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railway, which runs from the first-named city due north to Ahmedabad, a distance of 407 miles, with an extension line of seventy-eight miles to Wurdwan. 5. The Scinde, Punjab, and Delhi Railway, from Kurrachee to Kotra on the Indus, a distance of 110 miles, passing by Lahore and Umritsir, the holy city of the Sikhs, joining the East Indian Railway at Ghazeeabad, a distance of 533 miles. The stately bridge over the Sutlej, connecting the line between Delhi and Lahore, was opened on the 15th of October, 1870, thus establishing communication from Calcutta and Bombay with Moultan, so famous for its silks and brocades; the entire length being 676 miles, together with 500 more worked by steamers on the Indus. 6. The Great Southern Railway, from Negapatam to Trichinopoly, and from there to Erode, the ancient capital of the Naichs of Madura, where it joins the Madras Railway (south-west line), a distance of 445 miles, of which 168 were open in 1875. 7. The Carnatic Railway, merged in the South Indian, includes all the lines belonging to the former, commencing at Madras and running to Cuddalore, but not yet finished. 8. The Eastern Bengal runs north-east from Calcutta to Dacca, the third city in Bengal, and so famed for its muslins; it is 158 miles in length. 9. The Oude and Rohilcund Railway is designed to afford communication through these countries, and to make branches to various places on the East Indian Line. Its sanctioned length is 695 miles, of which 523 were open between Cawnpore and Lucknow in 1875.

In addition to these are five State lines: the Calcutta to Muttah Harbour, the Nalhatee, Kangam, Oonrawuttee, and Patna; with eight not yet complete, including the Indus Valley and the British Burmah Line, Rangoon to Prome, 160 miles.*

The electric telegraph was another valuable boon conferred on India by Lord Dalhousie, in conjunction with the enterprising Mr. O'Shaughnessy, afterwards Sir William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, M.D., a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, who, while a medical officer of the Bengal army, published some "Memoirs" on electricity, and by the marquis was appointed superintendent of telegraphs in India, from whence he previously sent him to London, with a letter to the Directors, stating the success of an experimental line of wires he had succeeded in laying down from Cal-

cutta to the sea at Kedgerree, which, by expediting the communication of intelligence, was found to be invaluable during the Burmese war. He impressed upon them his anxiety to bring the various points of the Indian empire in direct communication with each other by telegraphic wires, and earnestly and personally solicited authority for their construction. Sir James Hogg, then chairman, fortunately took the same interest in the promotion of the telegraph as the marquis, whose proposal was carried through the various official stages with a promptitude pleasing even to him; for, within a week after his communication arrived, a despatch, sanctioning the establishment of the telegraph, was on its way to India. Over all that vast peninsula has spread the network of wires to an extent that has fully answered the hopes of the enterprising Governor-General, who, even in his time, found the facilities for administration increased tenfold.

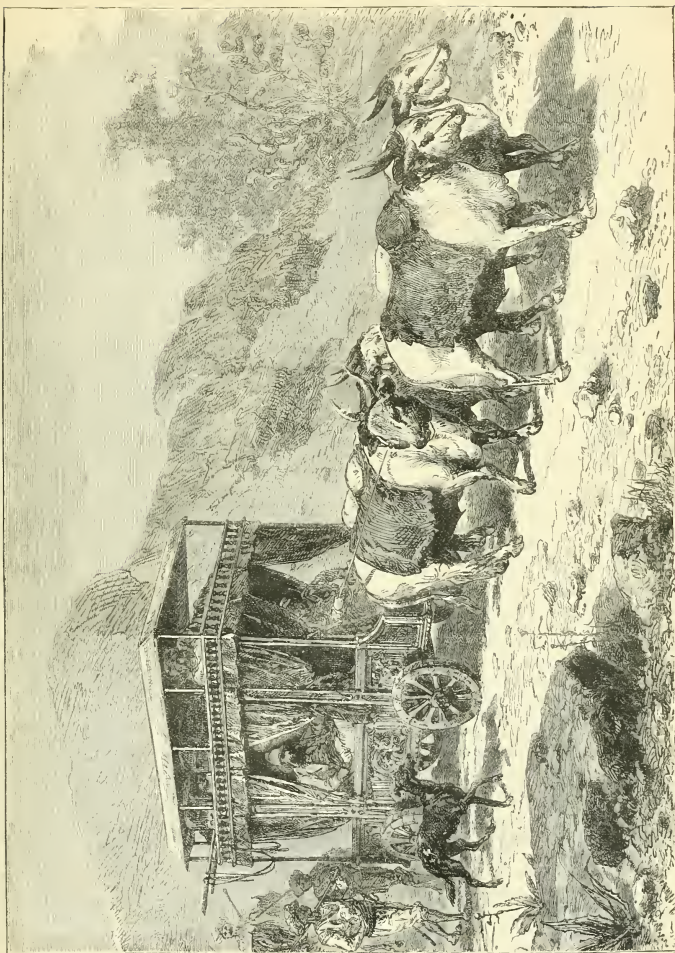
"It may yet be hoped," wrote this far-seeing Scot, "that the system of electric telegraphs in India may one day be linked with those which envelop Europe, and which already stretch across the Atlantic."

On this subject, Marshman, writing in 1873, remarks, "Not only is the Government of India in daily communication with the home authorities, but on a recent occasion a complimentary message from the Governor-General at Simla to the President of the United States reached Washington, and was acknowledged in three hours. It cannot, however, but be considered a fortunate, not to say a providential, circumstance, that the submarine telegraph was not in existence before the conquest of India had been completed, and Peshawur had become the frontier station of the empire. Considering the inveterate repugnance of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control to any increase of territory whatever, it is manifest that if such facilities of communication had existed at a more early period there would have been no Indian empire to govern."

It is strange to find that, while modern civilisation was making such progress in India, much of its ancient barbarism lurked in secret among the people; for in June of 1852 a discovery was made in the Punjab of a frightful system of Thuggee, or the remnant of it. Fully 500 murderers were detected, and the names of 320, who were distinctly Thugs, were obtained, and of these 120 openly confessed their crimes.

In the same year, the pirates of the Indian Archipelago committed many atrocities; and among these we may mention the murderous attack made on the British merchant schooner *Dolphin* by some

* "Madras People's Almanac, 1875," &c. &c.



THE CHOFAYA OR HINDOO TRAVELLING CARRIAGE.

Zaneen and Suloo sea-robbers in Malluda Bay, on the north-east coast of Borneo.

On the 8th of September, when the vessel was under weigh, two boats, manned by armed men, came alongside in the evening, and intimated their desire to trade, which Captain Robertson declined to do till day dawned on the morrow. At seven o'clock two men came on board, apparently to trade with Mr. Burns, the supercargo, to whom they showed some matting, pearls, and camphor. While he stooped to examine some of the pearls, a rolled-up mat was handed up from the boat, concealing a Malay kreese, with which the pretended trader by one slash severed the head of Mr. Burns from his body.

The Suloo man then rushed on Captain Robertson, who was standing on the quarter-deck looking aft, when he received across the chin a slash, intended, no doubt, for his neck. On this he sprang, bleeding fast, to the end of the jib-boom, when he begged his life, but was slain by spear-men in one of the native boats. No resistance

could be offered, as all the arms were below. Three of the crew were next butchered; the rest leaped overboard, or rushed up the rigging, where they were bound with ropes. A native woman was cut nearly in two, and then thrown into the sea; after which, the pirates carried off the *Dolphin* to Labuk Bay, on the north-east coast of the isle of Borneo. The Honourable Company's steamer *Pluto* followed in pursuit, but the water then shallowed, and two paddle-box boats, each armed with a six-pounder, went in shore, under Mr. Hodge, of the *Pluto*, and Mr. St. John, the officiating commissioner. In consequence of the intricacies of the Benguin river, some difficulty was experienced in selecting the proper channel; but eventually the *Dolphin* was reached and boarded by the British seamen, to whom the chief of Benguin, under the influence of fear, gave up the murderers, some of whom were cut down, and others wounded. The *Dolphin* was then towed down the river to where the *Pluto* was at anchor, and by the commander of which she was sent to Singapore.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE PERSIAN WAR.—WHAT LED THERETO.—THE ARMY OF PERSIA DETAILED.—BATTLE OF KHOOSH-AB.

THE origin of the already-forgotten war with Persia in 1856 was somewhat similar to that which led to the serious strife with Afghanistan; and certain minute and remarkable details of Russian policy towards Persia, and through that country towards British India, have been given in both instances as events preliminary to both wars.

Although we were, to all appearance, on the best of relations with the court of Persia, the desire there to invade Afghanistan was not relinquished; a secret bad feeling lurked at Teheran, and in the halls of "the Ark," or royal palace there, the counsels of Russia had the greatest influence. Without actually urging Persia into a war, she was anxious to keep open and rankling a source of contention, which she might turn to her own profitable account some day, and yet she had so wholesome a fear of the power of Britain as to avoid provoking her by operations in the Persian Gulf. Thus her instigations to hostility only took effect when too late, or when any movement on the part of Persia was rendered useless or feeble by the fall

of Sebastopol and the proclamation of peace among the Western Powers.

Nevertheless the Russian policy was just what it had been at the time when our troops penetrated the dark passes of the Khyber Mountains, and it was expressed with clearness and decision by her ambassador, Hoossian Khan, in his letter to Prince Metternich, in 1839; and that in straightforwardness it was more European than Oriental, the following extract will show:—"The Shah is sovereign of his country, and as such he desires to be independent. There are two great powers with whom Persia is in more or less direct contact—Russia and the British power in India. The first has more military power than the second; on the other hand, Britain has more money than Russia. The two powers can thus do Persia good and evil; and in order, above all, to avoid the evil, the Shah is desirous of keeping himself, with respect to them, within the relations of good friendship, and free from all contest. If, on the contrary, he finds himself threatened on one side, he will betake himself

to the other in search of the support which he shall stand in need of. That is not what he desires, but to what he may be driven, for he is not more the friend of one than of the other of those powers; he desires to be with them on a footing of equal friendship. What he cherishes, above all, is his independence and maintenance of good relations with foreign powers."

The policy of the Persian monarch is there put in its most favourable light; but the idea of having compensation on the Afghan side for territory lost on the Russian frontier strongly pervaded his court, where, the capture of Herat, whenever a fitting opportunity should present itself, was deemed a point of national honour; though, on the 20th of July, 1851, Colonel Shiel, the British Minister at Teheran, informed the Shah that our views were quite unchanged as to the independence of Herat. During the latter part of that year the country was so much convulsed by contentions, that the Khan asked the aid of Persia to uphold his authority. This aid the Shah promised, and began a negotiation, which had for its object the extortion of certain Oriental forms, which would have constituted him lord paramount of Herat, with all its mountains, deserts, and hordes of wandering Turcomans—the dwellers in black tents; while, on the other hand, Dost Mohammed of Cabul threatened to pour his Afghan clans on Candahar, and undermine the policy of the Shah.

The spring of 1852 saw a Persian army marching against Herat. It was occupied, and many oppressions ensued, while several Afghan chiefs, resident there, were seized and sent as prisoners into Persia; and all this was done in the face of assurances of the most pacific nature given to the resident minister of Great Britain. Court falsehoods of the most disgraceful kind were unblushingly resorted to, to conceal the ultimate intentions of the Shah, who now annexed to Persia the hitherto independent state of Herat, which extended from Ouch on the east, to Ghorian on the west, about 120 miles, and in breadth, from Kurakh on the north to Izfazar on the south, about ninety miles.

When these transactions became known by the Cabinet in London, the Earl of Malmesbury, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, declined all intercourse with the ambassador of Persia. In that kingdom, Colonel Shiel offered such resistance, and so loudly menaced the Shah with the active displeasure of Britain, that he became alarmed, and without having the sword drawn against him, signed, on the 25th of January, 1853, a treaty, or document, renouncing all sovereignty over the

state of Herat, and binding himself not to interfere by force of arms in its affairs; but reserving the right to march his armies into its vicinity if any other power did the same.

In making this sudden and peaceful concession, the Shah's minister had no other views than to throw the British, whom, in their arrogance, the Persians deemed half barbarians, off their guard; but the firmness of Colonel Shiel compelled them to observe the stipulations they never intended to perform. Enforced thus to act with apparent honour, the bearing of the Persian Court was the reverse of pleasant to the British ambassador and his suite, and there came to pass an episode which brought this out in plain colours.

On the 15th of June, 1854, Mr. Thompson, then our plenipotentiary, wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, informing him that he had chosen as his Persian secretary a person named Meerza Hashim Khan, who was learned, courtly in bearing, and every way suitable to the appointment, which the earl confirmed; and a persecution of Meerza by the Persian court, as the favourite of the British, at once commenced. The Honourable Charles A. Murray, C.B., second son of the Earl of Dunmore, on his succession as convoy at Teheran, also favoured Meerza; but the persecution of the latter by the Persian court became so bitter, that on some frivolous pretence, they seized his wife and threw her into prison. Mr. Murray spiritedly demanded reparation for this outrage upon a member of his staff, together with the instant release of the lady. His message was treated with insolent disdain; hence, to uphold the dignity of the empire he represented, on the 20th of November, 1855, he struck his flag.

To cover this conduct of his master's, the Persian prime minister circulated a malicious report, that both Mr. Murray and Mr. Thompson, his predecessor, had been guilty of intrigues with the wife of the khan, who owed to these his appointment; and on this allegation being made to Mr. Murray himself, in an official missive from the Persian Cabinet, on the 5th of December, after having endured many insults, he quitted Teheran.

The court of Persia, now greatly perplexed, endeavoured to transact business with that of Britain, through Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our ambassador at Constantinople, where, on the 2nd of January, 1856, the Persian envoy laid before him a long list of complaints against Messrs. Thompson, Murray, Consul Stevens, and all connected with our mission at Teheran. In fact, it appeared that "the Persian court was as much opposed to the consul as to the ministers. The

Persian Ministry drew up a scandalous document for publication in Europe, incriminating the British ministers at their court with immorality. This document breathed a malignant hostility unusual between belligerent states, and was utterly disgraceful in its conception and expression. Had all the British ministers been immoral, the fact would not have affected the merits of the dispute. The sacredness of the persons and property of all persons, Persians or others, engaged in the service of the British embassy, and of their families, had been violated spitefully and without provocation, and for this wrong redress was demanded. It is probable that all these disturbances were got up by the Persian Government to cover their policy towards Herat, for at the end of 1855, Prince Sultan Moorad Meerza was sent with a force of 9,000 men against that place."

During the war with Russia the fall of Kars was circulated all over Asia, with immeasurable exaggerations and wild rumours; the fall of Sebastopol was not known for long after. The secret agents of Russia had ample means for producing this double effect; the consequences of which were, that, impressed by some vague ideas of our being weakened or humiliated, the effeminate Persians became emboldened, as were also the Zemindars of recently annexed Oude, and other enemies of Britain in the East; so the Shah thought that now or never was the time to accomplish completely, in spite of right or treaty, the long-cherished desire of his court, the conquest and annexation of Herat.

In July, 1856, by direction of the Earl of Clarendon, the ultimatum of our Government was delivered to the Persian *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople; while at the same time, the Marquis of Dalhousie was directed to collect forces at Bombay, for operations in the Gulf and on the coast of Persia, where our consul, Mr. Stevens, still remained at his post in Teheran.

By the terms of the ultimatum, the prime minister of Persia was required to write, in the service of the Shah, "a letter to Mr. Murray, expressing his regret at having uttered and given currency to the offensive imputation upon the honour of her Majesty's ministers; requesting to withdraw his own letter of the 19th November, and two letters of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 26th of November, one of which contains a rescript from the Shah respecting the imputation upon Mr. Murray; and declaring in the same letter that no such further rescript from the Shah as that enclosed herewith in copy, was communicated, directly or indirectly, to any of the foreign missions at Teheran. A copy of this letter to be communi-

cated officially by the *Sadr Azim* (Premier), to each of the foreign missions at Teheran, and the substance of it made public in that capital. The original letter to be conveyed to Mr. Murray, at Bagdad, by the hands of some high Persian officer, and to be accompanied by an invitation to Mr. Murray, in the Shah's name, to return with the mission to Teheran, on his Majesty's assurance that he shall be received with all the honours due to the representative of the British Government; another person of suitable rank being sent to conduct him, as *Mehmandar*, on his journey through Persia. Mr. Murray, on approaching the capital, to be received by persons of high rank, deputed to escort him to his residence in the town.

"Immediately on his arrival there, the *Sadr Azim* to go in state to the British Mission and renew friendly relations with Mr. Murray, leaving the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to conduct him to the royal palace; the *Sadr Azim* receiving Mr. Murray, and conducting him to the presence of the Shah. At noon on the following day, the British flag to be hoisted under a salute of twenty-one guns, and the *Sadr Azim* to visit the mission immediately afterwards; which visit Mr. Murray will return, at latest, on the following day before noon. Satisfaction being thus given, and friendly relations restored, the settlement of the questions of Herat, of Meerza Hashim, remains to be stated. Should Herat be occupied by the Shah's troops, his Majesty to engage to withdraw them without delay. Should that city be in any way menaced, though not occupied, by the Shah's troops, his Majesty to engage not to allow them to occupy it on any account. In either case, the engagement being solemnly given, the British Mission to defer to his Majesty's wish, if renewed respecting Meerza Hashim, by not insisting upon his appointment at Shiraz; the Meerza's wife, however, to be restored to him, and himself to enjoy the security, emoluments, and position offered by the Persian Government in a former stage of the question. The whole of the correspondence respecting Meerza Hashim may then be mutually withdrawn and cancelled, it being to be understood that no objections will be made by the Persian Government to the appointment, as heretofore, of a British correspondent at Shiraz till that and other matters can be arranged by a suitable convention."

The friendly spirit of this document failed to effect its object, for fresh outrages and indignities were offered to all servants of the British Government who were rash enough to linger in Persia. The intelligence that our troops were mustering at

Bombay reached Teheran, but the Shah—the same Nazir-ed-Deen who visited Europe in 1873—was undismayed, and sent more troops to garrison his menaced provinces. To Mr. Stevens, our consul, the Ministry gave orders to quit Persia instantly; but to take the necessary measures to secure the liberty and property of British subjects.

The Shah, who was then determined to go to war with us, was born in 1829, and had succeeded to the throne in 1848. We are told that “he is well-versed in Persian and Turkish, is acquainted with history, and has a correct idea of the relations in which he stands to each of the European powers. Although endowed with considerable energy of character, he is mild and gentle in manners, and simple in the habits of his private life.”

On the 24th September, 1856, the President of the Board of Control was directed to forward to India, by the next mail, instructions for the Persian expedition to move for the Gulf; and on the 17th of next month Ferukh Khan reached Constantinople as minister plenipotentiary of the Shah. He sought to negotiate with Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe; and while consenting to terms of peace, raised such absurd obstructions to them subsequently in detail, that no reliance whatever could be placed on his political sincerity. Hence, on the 1st of November, the Governor-General of India declared war against Persia.

Three proclamations were sent forth by him, and these, when they reached Constantinople, caused Ferukh Khan to break off all further attempts at negotiation, and treat his past agreements as null and void.

Major-General Outram, K.C.B., who had repaired to London after settling and leaving Oude, had been consulted by the Home authorities with reference to the Persian expedition, the command of which was assigned to him. He repaired at once to Bombay, and placed himself at the head of the second division of “the army of Persia,” the first having already sailed under Major-General Foster Stalker, K.C.B. The brigadiers of this division were Colonels Wilson and Housen; Brigadier Trevelyan commanded the artillery and Brigadier Tapp the cavalry. When the second division reached the Gulf, Outram, having now the rank of Lieutenant-General, reserved it for Brigadier Havelock, C.B., Deputy Adjutant-General of H.M. Indian forces, who arrived soon after. Brigadiers Hamilton and Hale had the brigades of that division. Colonel Stuart of the 4th, or Queen’s Light Dragoons, commanded the cavalry of the second division; but those of both were placed under the

orders of Brigadier Faral, C.B.; while the entire command of the artillery was given to Brigadier Hill.

The whole force under Sir James Outram on this occasion was as follows:—3rd Bombay Cavalry, 243; Poonah Horse, 176, making only 419 sabres; H.M. 64th Regiment, 780; 2nd Bombay Europeans, 693; 78th Highlanders, 739, making 2,212 European infantry; Sappers, 118; 20th Native Infantry, 442; 4th Rifles, 523; 26th Native Infantry, 479; Beloochees, 460, making 2,022 coloured troops; total, 4,653. 3rd troop of Horse Artillery, six guns; 3rd and 5th Light-Field Batteries, twelve guns. Camp Followers—376 Europeans, 1,466 natives; one company of European Artillery, with fourteen guns. Total number of pieces, thirty-two. Such were the forces destined for the Persian campaign, of which an interesting narrative was published by Captain Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders.

The general rendezvous of the sea and land forces was at Ma’mur on the Persian Gulf, and after the arrival of Outram, active operations at once ensued, by the army commencing its march around the head of Bushire Creek, on a heavy road lying through loose sand. When the troops halted to bivouac in order of march, on the second day, there burst forth a dreadful thunderstorm. The rain fell in blinding torrents, mingled with heavy hailstones, drenching all to the skin, as the troops were without the shelter of either tents or trees. A piercing wind, that blew from some snow-clad mountains over the sandy waste, added to their misery; but the ardour of our troops was only equalled by their love for, and confidence in, the gallant Outram.

The dawn of the 5th of February stole into that comfortless bivouac, where it then became known that the Persians were halted nine miles in front, and in considerable strength. All loaded arms were discharged, and re-loaded, so that none should miss fire, after the rain, and then the march was resumed. About mid-day, the grey masses of the Persians were seen in possession of a strongly-intrenched position, so Sir James Outram ordered the bugles to sound a halt, while the regiments deployed from column into line; but the formation was barely complete when, to the annoyance of all, by the wavering and uncertain gleam of their arms, the enemy were discovered to be in full retreat, a movement during which our light cavalry overtook, and cut up their rear-guard. The Persians behaved with considerable spirit. One officer and several of our men were wounded, while Brigadier Housen had a narrow escape from a ball, which

pierced his saddle. Here the military governor of Bras-joon was made prisoner.

In the abandoned camp, of which we immediately took possession, great stores of grain and ammunition were found. An examination proved that we might have forced this position with ease, whereas Bras-joon, an adjacent village, had it been fortified, might have given us infinite trouble. For two entire days Outram's troops were occupied in destroying the enemy's military stores, and searching for buried cannon and treasure.

On the morning of the 7th of February the march was resumed, but in the direction of Bushire, the Persians having been observed to be still retreating into the fastnesses of the distant mountains. All remained quiet during this retrograde movement until midnight, when suddenly the army was startled by a volley of musketry flashing out of the gloom in its rear, accompanied with the discharge of two pieces of cannon. For half an hour this continued to increase, till the whole force became involved in a singular and indescribable skirmishing fire. Making every possible noise, and vociferously blowing their trumpets, the Persian cavalry galloped furiously to and fro, while a Persian bugler in the dark got close to the ranks of the 78th Highlanders and sounded the British bugle-calls, "cease firing," and then "incline to the left;" but the Highlanders, whom he failed to mislead, remained steady. The yells, shouts, and bugle-calls ceased after a time; the enemy, satisfied with the *alerte* they had given, drew off, and in silence the British remained under arms awaiting the dawn, before which five heavy guns were opened on us by the Persians with great precision. They had the range accurately, and succeeded in killing and wounding several officers, soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage animals; and when day fully broke, the enemy were seen in front to the number of 6,900 men, with eighteen pieces of cannon.

Their detailed strength in the field was as follows:—Guards, 900; two Karragoozloo battalions, 1,500; the Shiraz regiment, 200; the corps of Tabriz, 800; the Arab regiment, 900; Kaskai, 800 = 5,100; Sufengchees, 1,000; cavalry of Shiraz, 300, of Eilkhaneh, 500 = 800 sabres. The infantry were all clad in dark blue, with conical caps of black fur. Their knowledge of our bugle-calls is to be accounted for from the circumstance, that European discipline had been first introduced into the Persian army by two Scottish officers during the early part of the present century. The first Persian artillery corps was organised by Lieutenant Lindsay, of the Madras army, who had every difficulty

thrown in his way by the prejudice and ignorance of the Mohammedans. Though the Shah gave him unlimited power over his soldiers, it was only on the article of shaving off beards that the prince was inexorable, nor would that sacrifice ever have taken place had it not happened that, on firing the guns before him, a powder-horn exploded in the hand of a gunner, whose long beard was blown away from his chin. Lieutenant Lindsay lost no time in proving his argument on the encumbrance of beards to soldiers, and immediately produced the scorched and mutilated gunner before the Shah, who was so struck with his woeful appearance that the military beard was at once abolished. "The *Serbaz*, or infantry, were then placed under the command of Major Christie, of the Bombay army, an officer of the greatest merit, who inspired his troops with an *esprit de corps* that manifested itself on many occasions."* Another Scotsman, Dr. Campbell, was head of the medical staff, when, in 1816, Prince Abbas Meerza encamped the Persian army in the plain of Yam, in Azerbaijan.

But to return from this digression, on the morning of the 8th of February, when the mist drew up like a curtain, the Persian army had its right flank resting on the village which gave its name to the conflict—Khoosh-ab. In its front lay several dry water-courses, which were lined with skirmishers, and a cannonade on both sides preluded the closer strife. Sir James Outram now changed his front, and advanced with such speed that our loss was small when the weight of the Persian fire is considered.

The latter was soon silenced by our batteries, while our cavalry, headed by the 3rd Bombay, in one brilliant charge swept theirs out of the field like chaff before the wind; and when the line closed up there were only three battalions of Persians that stood their ground at all, or retired like trained troops. The following is an abridgment of Sir James Outram's despatch to Lieutenant-General Sir H. Somerset, Commander-in-chief, Bombay, dated from the camp near Bushire, 10th of February, 1857, detailing the defeat of the Persian army, under Shooja-ool-Moolk:—

"The enemy's loss in killed and wounded must have been very great. It is impossible to compute the amount, but from the number of bodies which strewed the ground of contest, extending several miles, I should say that fully 700 must have fallen. Two brass nine-pounder guns, with their carriages and horses, eight mules laden with ammunition, and several hundred stand of arms were taken; and the Persian commander-in-chief, with the remainder

* Morier's "Travels."

of his army, only escaped annihilation owing to the numerical weakness of our cavalry. . . . I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Frankland, 2nd European Regiment, who was acting as brigade-major of cavalry, and was killed in the first cavalry charge; Captain Forbes also, who commanded, and most gallantly led, the 3rd Cavalry, and Lieutenant Greentree, 64th Foot, were severely wounded. . . . I myself had very little to do with the action, being stunned by my horse falling with me at the commencement of the contest, and recovering only in time to resume

the whole brunt of the action, as the enemy moved away too rapidly for the infantry to overtake them. By ten o'clock the defeat of the Persians was complete. . . . The number of wounded could not be ascertained, but it must have been very large. The remainder fled in a disorganised state, generally throwing away their arms, which strewed the field in vast numbers, and nothing but the paucity of our cavalry prevented their total destruction, and the capture of the remaining guns. The troops bivouacked for the day close to the battle-field, and at night accomplished a march



VIEW OF THE FORT OF BUSHIRE.

my place at the head of the army shortly before the close of this action.

* * * * *

"At daybreak the Persian force, between 6,000 and 7,000 men, with some guns, was discovered on our rear left (north-east of our line of march) in order of battle. Our artillery and cavalry moved rapidly to the attack, supported by two lines of infantry, a third protecting the baggage. The firing of the artillery was most excellent, and did great execution; the cavalry brigade charged twice with great gallantry and success; a standard of the Kaskai Regular Infantry was captured by the Poonah Horse; the 3rd Light Cavalry charged a square, and nearly killed the whole regiment; indeed, upon the cavalry and artillery fell nearly

of twenty miles over a country almost impassable by the heavy rain which fell incessantly. After a rest of six hours, the greater portion of the infantry continued their march to Bushire, which they reached before midnight, thus performing another most arduous march of forty-four miles under incessant rain, besides fighting and defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short period of fifty hours. The cavalry and artillery reached camp this morning. . . . The rapid retreat of the enemy afforded but little opportunity for deeds of special gallantry. I have already alluded to the successful charges made by the 3rd Cavalry and Poonah Horse, under Captain Forbes and Lieutenant-Colonel Tapp, and to the very efficient service performed by the artillery

under Lieutenant-Colonel Trevelyan. The brigadiers commanding the infantry brigades—Wilson, Sisted, and Housier—with the several commanding officers of regiments, and, indeed, every officer and soldier of the force, earned my warmest approbation."

In the charge of the 3rd Cavalry, Lieutenant A. Moore won the Victoria Cross. He was the first man within the square of infantry. His horse was shot under him, and he was on the point of being bayoneted, when Lieutenant John Grant Malcolmson, of the same regiment, rode to his assistance, cut down the Persians on right and left, and by dragging him out of the enemy's square, also won the much-prized Order of Valour.

The grand total of our killed, wounded, and dead from wounds, was only seventy-seven of all ranks.

For their bravery on this occasion, the 78th Highlanders have on their colours and appointments the word "Khoosh-ab."

"There is a fine spirit in this regiment," wrote Havelock, in his confidential report. "I am given to understand that it behaved remarkably well at the battle of Khoosh-ab, near Bushire, which took place before I reached the army; and during the naval action on the Euphrates, and its landing here (in Persia), its steadiness, zeal, and activity, under my own observation, were conspicuous. . . . It is proud of its colours, its tartan, and its former high achievements."

As stated in the despatch, the troops rested on the field and refreshed themselves; but when they resumed their line of march again, the chilling torrents of rain began to fall. Great were the sufferings of our soldiers, but greater still were their patience, endurance, and heroic fortitude. The cold to which they were exposed was intense; and the season was especially severe, although the winter in that part of Persia is generally cold and wet, with dreadful tempests of hail. On the night

after the battle our men bivouacked in what was literally half-frozen mire. It was knee-deep, and nearly reached to the kilts of the Highlanders; yet rain continued to fall, while a sharp and biting wind swept in gusts over the treeless waste. Our troops came into Bushire without the loss of a straggler, bringing with them all the wounded, and even the dead, whom Outram resolved to bury within our lines with all the honour due to British soldiers.

For several days the rain continued to fall at Bushire, on the ramparts of which the British flag flapped heavily in the sea-breeze above the Persian Lion. A few fine mornings, however, enabled the troops to take exercise, and during this interval it was, that Brigadiers Havelock and Hamilton arrived from India to assume their commands. After the 14th of February the lines were again deluged with rain; but so excellent were the arrangements of Outram, that the health and spirit of the troops never drooped. Reinforcements arrived, but the furious surf that burst upon the shore prevented them from landing. A good arrangement of the commissariat—a piece of fortune rarely known in British armies—prevented the inconvenience which thus arose from getting the sea supplies for the men and cattle.

On the night of the 22nd of February the camp-fires of the Persians were seen to dot, as it were, with red flaming spots, the dark ranges of the distant hills; and though their cavalry patrols avoided all encounters and demonstrations by day, they never omitted an opportunity by night of cutting off any straggling camp-follower. Outram fortified the British lines by the erection of strong redoubts, which he armed with heavy sixty-eight-pounders; and matters remained thus till the 4th of March, 1857, when an amelioration of the weather suggested to Sir James the embarkation of his forces for an expedition against Mohammerah.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE WAR IN PERSIA.—EXPEDITION TO MOHAMMERAH ON THE EUPHRATES.—THE AFFAIR OF AKWAZ.—PEACE WITH PERSIA.—RESIGNATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

For the Mohammerah service the arrangements of General Outram were as follows:—General Stalker was to remain in command at Bushire, with Brigadiers Wilson and Tapp, with two field-batteries, the mountain trains, the entire cavalry of the first division, and three companies from H.M. 64th and from the Highlanders, the 4th

Rifles, the 20th Native Infantry, and the Belooch Battalion.

* For the circumstances attending the embarkation, and the arrival of the troops before that place, we are chiefly indebted to the pages of one who was an eye-witness and participator in the events of the war we waged on classic ground—Captain George Henry Hunt, of the Ross-shire Highlanders, together with Townsend's "Persian Campaign," &c.

Sir James was to proceed himself with the remainder, mustering about 4,000 men of all arms, those left for the defence of Bushire being about 3,000. The accounts of the Persian force in Mohammerah varied; some averred that it was held by from 10,000 to 13,000 men, with a numerous cavalry force in its vicinity, and had seven of the Shah's best regular regiments as its garrison. The works of the forts, or batteries, were described as formidable parapets of earth, eighteen or twenty feet thick, with heavy guns pointed towards the river. To encounter these until the troops should arrive and be in readiness to storm them, were the broadsides of the *Clive* and *Falkland* sloops; the *Ajdaha*, *Feroze*, *Semiramis*, *Victoria*, and *Assaye* steam frigates, which were to encounter the enemy's fire at 100 yards' distance.

The supposed general difficulty of the undertaking, only seemed to make the gallant Outram more resolved to accomplish it, and rumour affirmed that a mis-timed remonstrance from the Turkish Government against our attacking a place so near their own possessions only hastened his operations. On the 6th of March the *Falkland* sailed for the Euphrates; and about the same time H.M. 64th Regiment embarked in the *Bride of the Sea* transport, while the *Feroze*, *Pottinger*, and *Pioneer* entered the roads, bringing a troop of horse artillery and the long-looked-for Scinde Cavalry.

At the same time there came tidings that a new Persian general had assumed the command of the army recently beaten at Khoosh-ab; that he had brought with him considerable reinforcements, intending to advance; and that strong hopes, if not actual expectations, were entertained that he might be induced, when the departure of so large a portion of our force became known, to attack the camp, and try the strength of our new redoubts, and thus give the troops remaining behind an equal opportunity of honour and distinction with those who were departing.*

On the afternoon of the 6th, the *Kingston*, with four other transports, worked out of Bushire Roads, and early next morning were off the desolate-looking and rocky isle of Karrack—the *Icarus* of Alexander—which a detachment of the 4th Rifles held as a coaling station for the Indian Navy. By daylight on the 8th, the mouth of the Euphrates, that famous stream of classical and sacred antiquity, was in sight—"the river of Desire"—rolling into the Gulf of Persia as it rolled in the days of Xenophon.

With the *Falkland* sloop leading, under a cloud of canvas, the eight or ten vessels that had now

made for the same point, the anchorage was reached in the course of the day, and the cavalry patrols of the Persians were seen hovering near the beach, but though quite within gun-range, no shot was fired at them. A considerable body of their irregular cavalry and infantry occupied the village of Mahamur, opposite the anchorage, and had posted pickets in some ruinous buildings within rifle-range. The Persian cavalry along the bank of the great stream were seen, from time to time, indulging in feats of horsemanship, not unlike many seen only in a circus in Europe, while flourishing their swords and poising their lances, as if to impress the British with ideas of the dangers that were before them.

But now, while the troops were impatiently waiting to be led against Mohammerah, General Stalker committed suicide at Bushire. It would seem that this unfortunate officer, on finding that, by the departure of Sir James Outram, he was to have sole command in Bushire, became overwhelmed by a sense of responsibility, though in reality a most efficient and highly-honoured soldier; and, most singular to say, Captain Ettensey, the naval chief of the expedition, influenced, doubtless, by the event, perished by his own hand, from a consciousness of incompetency for the great task that devolved upon him.

Until the 23rd of March, the squadron, with the troops on board, remained at anchor. With their field-glasses, the officers from the tops reconnoitred the shore with ease; and on the night of the 24th, a boat, with muffled oars, having on board some of the staff, stole in to select a position for a mortar battery, and, unseen and unheard, passed under the cannon of Mohammerah; but as the darkness was great, not much was effected in the way of a reconnaissance. Meanwhile, the enemy were trenching hard at their works; and a Captain Maisonneuve, of *La Sibylle*, a French man-of-war, then on a cruise of observation in the gulf, under the pretence of a display of alliance, made energetic representations to the British of the vast strength of the enemy's position, and the incompetence of Outram's force to attack it, in the hope that the latter would yield to his opinion, and incur the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise.

Our active preparations continued until the dawn of the 25th, when the attack began, and in this the seamen of the Indian Navy, by their intelligence, order, and activity, showed that they were in no way inferior to their mess-mates of the royal service. On the night of the 25th, a gallant and useful manœuvre was executed. A raft, with two eight-inch and two five-inch mortars, was moored

* Captain Hunt.

behind a low island in the middle of the Euphrates, and fronting the most formidable battery of the Persians.

"The cool daring of the men who placed, and of the little band of artillery who remained on this raft for several hours of darkness in the middle of a rapid river, without means of retreat, and certain destruction staring them in the face, should the enemy, within but a few hundred yards, be aroused to the fact of their presence, requires no commendation. The simple narrative of the event as it occurred is sufficient." Of their presence there the enemy remained in perfect ignorance till daybreak, when the first shell thrown from the raft slew eleven of them as it exploded in the great battery, where they were engaged in prayer, and where the survivors were filled with consternation and wonder. This was the signal for the attacking ships to get under weigh, and engage the batteries, where the Persian gunners, clad in blue surtouts, with black fur caps, were already standing by their artillery.

The *Semiramis*, with the commodore's pennant flying, Captain Young, of the Indian Navy, and towing the *Clive*, twelve-gun sloop, led the squadron, says Mr. George Townsend, followed by the steam frigates *Ajdaha*, *Peroze*, *Assaye*, and *Victoria*, the latter towing the *Falkland*, twelve-gun sloop, which she cast off when in position. "The leading ships passing the lower batteries, and opening their guns as they could be brought to bear, were soon at their respective posts, followed in quick succession by the rear division, and but a few minutes elapsed after the *Semiramis* had fired her first gun before the action became general, the Persian artillery replying with spirit, the morning being very clear, with just sufficient breeze to prevent the smoke from collecting. A more beautiful scene than was then presented, can scarcely be imagined. The ships, with ensigns flying out from every mast-head, seemed decked for a holiday; the river glittering in the early sunlight, its dark date-fringed bank contrasting most effectively with the snow-white canvas of the *Falkland*, which had loosened sails to get into closer action; the sulky-looking batteries just visible through the grey, fleecy cloud which enveloped them; and groups of brightly-dressed horsemen flitting at intervals between the trees, where they had an encampment—formed altogether a picture, from which even the excitement of the heavy cannonade around could not divert attention." *

The Persian cavalry were clad in light blue uniforms, with white cross-belts. The calmness of

the day and smoothness of the water enabled steady aim to be taken; hence, very few of our shots were thrown away. And now, loud and high, between the din of the cannonade, were heard the pipes of the Highlanders, who, under Havelock, on board the *Bernice*, led the column for disembarkation. So crowded was her deck with these men—the future heroes of Lucknow—that, had a single shot plunged into their mass, the havoc would have been dreadful; but that peril was escaped; and the conduct of the Indian Navy in covering the landing was above all praise. At the critical moment, when the first boat with its freight of Highlanders drew near, they kept up such a succession of broadsides as quite to distract the attention of the enemy from the approaching transports. The latter were all armed with one gun or more, and these were all in operation now, and skilfully handled; and we are told that the "reckless exposure of the sailors of the Indian Navy must have filled the enemy with surprise, as it did the British army with admiration. The enthusiasm of these gallant tars equalled their audacity; in the midst of the furious cannonade, they cheered vociferously each detachment of the troops as they passed between the ships on their way to what appeared still greater dangers and more formidable encounters."

By two o'clock the infantry and some field-pieces were on shore, but the creeks of the river were so filled by the rising tide, that the passage of the Horse Artillery and of the 14th Light Dragoons was intercepted. Outram ordered all that were ashore to advance with him, and then the grenadiers of H.M. 64th opened fire on the Persian matchlock-men, while the troops passed on till they reached the extremity of the groves of date-palms, which covered the line of advance and concealed the enemy's position; then, all at once, their lines came in view as our troops emerged beyond the intercepting wood. By this time, the deep and hoarse booming of the cannonade had died away between the ships and batteries, in the chief of which the explosion of a great magazine had destroyed many of the guns and filled the Persians with dismay.

From the verge of the date grove, General Outram could now perceive that the position of the enemy consisted of the town and batteries flanked by intrenched works, which were thrown back to the rear of Mohammerah; and in front of these his formation was thus:—A line of contiguous quarter-distance columns, with a field battery on the right flank. Then came the 78th Highlanders; then a wing of the 25th Native Infantry, H.M. 64th, the 4th Rifles, and 23rd Bengal Light Infantry; a cloud

* "Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign."

of skirmishers covering the front with a close and sputtering file fire. The main point to be attacked was a camp to the left rear of the town of Mohammerah, where the Shahzadeh, uncle of the Shah Nasser-ed-Deen, had placed his cavalry and guns. His infantry had occupied another camp, about 500 yards to the right of this, and had also been quartered in considerable numbers in the batteries and adjacent date groves. At the moment of our advancing, these troops were drawn up in order of battle outside the camp of the Shahzadeh, who is said to have been appalled, when one of our sixty-eight-pound shots was shown him, and said, "Oh! if they fire such things as these, we had better be off!" The right of his line far out-flanked our left, which had actually no protection, when it marched into the open plain, and saw the 23rd Native Infantry thrown obliquely back. The scene which now ensued was a singular one.

The British advanced boldly in compact order of battle, and with a confident pace, with bayonets fixed, and colours waving in the centre of each battalion; but, "to their astonishment, as if the hosts of the enemy were a dissolving view, they melted away. The Persian soldiery refused to fight; battalion after battalion vanished, and with such rapidity, that before the British could recover from their astonishment the grand army of the Shah had disappeared!"

The advice of the Shahzadeh to "be off" had been obeyed implicitly. Every tent remained standing, and the ground around them was littered with arms and ammunition, accoutrements, garments, and shot, which, with fragments of shell, had come from our shipping. The dead lay there in ghastly numbers, but few wounded, as the others had been borne away, or were concealed by the people of Mohammerah.

The gross inefficiency of our shells was evinced by the number that lay there unexploded. As the timid Persians fled, hordes of Arab robbers drew near to plunder the camp, but were put to flight by the 14th Light Dragoons; while Sir James Outram pressed on the Persian rear. The Scinde Horse made incredible exertions to overtake them, but could only come upon a few wounded stragglers, who were murdered by the Arabs, partly from animosity and partly from love of pillage. Outram felt himself powerless to pursue effectually, from one of the old causes of British inefficiency—an inadequate cavalry force.

There were taken in camp eighteen beautiful brass guns and mortars; among them was a Russian twelve-pounder, cast in 1828, bearing an inscription to the effect that it was a present from Nicholas,

Emperor of Russia, to the Shah. The Persians killed amounted to about 500; but the wounded who died on the retreat, or were murdered by the Arabs, would increase that number by hundreds more; so their total loss could not have been less than 1,000 men.

Our casualties were only ten men killed and thirty-one wounded, including Lieutenant Harris, of the Indian Navy. The fire of the Persian artillery was undoubtedly good, hulling the ships, and cutting up their rigging; several boats were destroyed, but many lives were saved on board ship by the simple precaution of placing trusses of hay round their sides.

When our officers had leisure to look around them and examine Mohammerah, they were astonished by the strength of the place they had captured so easily; and it was found that Captain Maisonneuve had not over-estimated the defences of the position. "Nothing but stout hearts within them was required to make their capture a matter of bloody price to the victors," wrote an officer of the staff; "and, happily for us, these were wanting. Solid earthworks, open in rear, with parapets eighteen feet thick and twenty-five in height, riveted with date-stumps (which the heaviest shot will not splinter), and the whole interior thickly studded with pits full of water to catch our shells, had been the work cut out for us. The north battery had embrasures for eighteen guns, and stood on the right bank of the Karoon, at its junction with the Euphrates, and looked down the stream of that river. The south battery had eleven guns, and was on the opposite bank of the Karoon, commanding in the same direction. A small fort between the north battery and the town, and connected with the former by a long intrenchment, with embrasures for guns, mounted eight or ten pieces. This intrenchment, crowded with infantry, had kept up a heavy musketry fire during the whole action; and from the broken pieces of arms and appointments lying about, as well as patches of blood in all directions, our shot must have told fearfully among its occupants. Several minor batteries, of from two to four guns each, were on either bank, and just outside the west face of the town, on the right bank, was a very carefully-made and strong work for ten guns. The whole of the works bore marks of very rough treatment from our shot, though they were far from being ruined. Outside the small fort connected with the north battery, was a capsized brass twelve-pounder, with the carriage smashed, and three dead horses harnessed to it, all evidently killed at the same moment, if not by the same shot. A captain of

perately wounded, early in the day, in the north battery. The corpses of those who perished by our cannon-shot presented harrowing spec-

the hideous, eyeless black mask that had once been a countenance still grinning, as it were, at the beholder."



PORTRAIT OF NASSER-ED-DEEN, SHAH OF PERSIA.

tacles. "A huge African, in particular, struck on the back of the head by a round shot, which had carried away all the bones of the skull and face, lay across another dead soldier, with

Where the explosion of the grand magazine took place, the scene was awful—legs, arms, heads, and other wretched and mangled remains of humanity, protruding among the blackened and blasted ruins;

and there, too, lay wounded Persians, with their ghastly scars, exposed, undressed, to the hot sun, the whirling dust, and the stings of the insects that battened in their blood.

The 27th and 28th of March were employed in the collection and removal of guns and stores, in landing supplies and our own tents for the troops, who, with the exception of those to whom the Persian tents had fallen prizes, had, up to that time, been in the open air.

And now, Sir James Outram, having ascertained that the enemy had retreated, with the intention of halting at a place named Akwaz, about a hundred miles distant, on the Karoon, where they had a grand dépôt of all kinds of munition of war, resolved to send some steamers up that Persian river, with a detachment of troops, to do all the damage and destruction possible before the fugitive army could reach it.

The steam squadron consisted of the *Comet*, *Planet*, and *Assyria*, under Commander Rennie, of the Indian Navy, whose experiences of river warfare in Burmah and China had been considerable.

The stream to be navigated disembogues into the Persian Gulf by many channels, one of which joins the Euphrates. After its union with two tributaries at Bundikir it becomes a noble river, "exceeding in size the Tigris and Euphrates,"* and well suited for steam navigation.

The troops detailed for the service on its bank were 150 men of the grenadiers and light company of the 64th Regiment; "a like number furnished by Captain McAndrew's companies of the Highlanders. Each steamer took 100 men, the light company of the Highlanders going in the *Comet*; Captain Goode's grenadiers of the 64th in the *Planet*; and Captain McAndrew, with part of his own Highlanders and part of the light company of the 64th, in the *Assyria*."

These troops were accompanied by Captain Wray, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, Captain Green, Sir James Outram's military secretary, and Captain Kemball, our consul and political agent at Bagdad. On the morning of the 29th of March the steamers quitted Mohammerah, each having in tow a gunboat, armed with two twenty-four-pound howitzers. After sunset, on the first day of sailing, a party of officers landed, and detected the ground on which the retreating Persians had bivouacked, and the wheel-marks of five guns could be traced, with those of a small carriage. Getting under steam by dawn, next day, the ruinous Mosque of Imaum Scibbeh was

reached in the afternoon, and there our explorers again found marks of the enemy's camping-ground, so fresh that they must have been there but twenty-four hours before.

Several recently-made graves also afforded evidence that they had buried their dead by the way; while the total absence of bones or scraps of food about the bivouac fires and picket posts, proved that they were pressed for time, or were without food and forage. Again the squadron got under steam; and on reaching the Arab village of Ismaini, Commander Rennie ascertained that the enemy had passed through it but the day before, and that their force consisted of seven regiments of foot, 2,000 horse, and four guns, with a fifth, unserviceable, towed in a boat up the river.

On the 31st, at dawn, the *Comet* cast off the *Assyria*, put on her utmost power of steam, and went ahead, expecting to capture the boat with the gun; and soon after nine in the morning, a straggler from the rear-guard was captured, brought on board, and questioned: but he was so exhausted by hunger, fatigue, and fear, that his answers were incoherent; from some Arabs it was ascertained that the enemy, still towing the disabled gun, had reached the town in safety. The remainder of our squadron came up in the evening, and early in the morning of the 1st of April the whole steamed up towards Akwaz, which occupies the left bank of the river, and the Persian army was seen, under arms, on its right.

Their formidable cavalry force, together with their infantry, massed in four columns, were partly screened by a low range of sand-hills, which lay in their front that faced the river. Near a mosque in their centre were seen three guns, with a fourth on a slope near their left; and their cavalry patrols galloped to and fro within rifle-range, while the little squadron steamed slowly abreast of the position. A boat beneath the left bank escaped notice for a time, till a cutter from the *Comet*, with a corporal's guard of the 78th Highlanders, went off, and discovered her to be the towed craft, with a beautiful brass twelve-pounder on board, which was at once slung to the *Comet's* deck.

Some Arabs now hailed the shipping from the shore; and one, who came on board, volunteered the information that the garrison of Akwaz did not exceed 500 infantry, with thirty horsemen, left to protect the stores, which had scarcely been touched by the enemy as yet. As all this seemed reliable, it was resolved to make an attempt on the town, by landing on the left bank, and making a détour, out of cannon-shot, towards its eastern face, when, if it should be found of greater strength

* Layard.

than was reported, a mere reconnaissance was to be made, and then an orderly retreat to the boats. If practicable, the town was to be stormed and the stores burned. A gun-boat was ordered to ascend the Karoon as far as possible, without rashness, and open fire with two howitzers; and, as there were only two small boats on that side of the river where the Persian army lay, it was evident that no great reinforcement could reach the garrison of Akwaz.

The gunboat performed its service admirably, under the direction of Mr. Hewitt, of the Indian Navy, while dispositions were ingeniously made to lead the enemy to believe that Rennie's force was but the advance guard of a great flotilla. A single line of skirmishers, each twelve paces apart, first issued from the bushes on the plain in view of the enemy; 100 yards in rear followed their supports, also in single rank. At another interval of 100 yards the three principal detachments came on, about 200 yards apart, advancing in sections of threes (the formation in those days), and opened out to very wide intervals. The light company of the Highlanders was on the left, and when entering the town had to wheel to the left, and getting under cover at the water's edge, had orders to keep down the enemy's fire.

The grenadiers of the 64th, under Captain Winter Goode, in the centre, with orders to penetrate to the heart of the town, and at once begin the destruction of the stores. Captain J. Duncan McAndrew (who had served with the 40th in Afghanistan) was on the right, with a mixed detachment of his Highlanders; and the 64th was to wheel to the right on entering, to face any troops that might approach that front of the town, and destroy everything that came in the way.

The garrison did not wait the issue of all these arrangements, but took to flight, and crossing the river far above Akwaz, joined the army on the other bank; while the Sheikh, with a long retinue of religious persons, came to solicit protection, and he was assured that if he showed where the stores lay, all private property would be respected. As the Persian army still remained menacingly in its position, circumspection was necessary. A shell, splendidly thrown from one of our howitzers, fell into the quarters of the Shahzadeh, and nearly destroyed a mosque. On this, that official became so alarmed, that he gave instant orders for a retreat upon Shustee, a city in the province of Khuzistan, where the Karoon is crossed by a bridge 300 yards in length. There lay his next nearest depot, but at a long distance for an army to march that was

leaving all its stores behind; 10,000 men nearly, thus fled from 300, surrendering a city, with all their magazines of food and ammunition.

"Their infantry," wrote an eye-witness, "keeping in four distinct masses, went off first, taking the four guns seen in position with them; they were also said to have had three others with them of lighter metal. A small green palanquin carriage, with glass windows, and a *takhteraidan*, or mule-litter, in which Persian women of rank usually travel, were conspicuous in the midst of a large escort. This was the carriage the tracks of which had been found in several of the bivouacs. The cavalry brought up the rear, and a magnificent appearance this great body of horse presented. They certainly exceeded 2,000 in number, and were dressed in long blue frocks, with trousers of a lighter colour, white belts, and high black lambskin caps peculiar to the Persians. A sabre and long matchlock slung across their backs, appeared to be their only weapons, as (unusual in Asiatics) no lances were visible among them. The pick of the Bactdyari tribes, reputed the Shah's best cavalry, were present among the number. They carried three standards, but in crimson cases, not flying. One of these horsemen remained concealed behind a wall until their whole army had proceeded about a mile; then suddenly starting from his hiding-place, he fired his matchlock at the town, as if in defiance, and galloped off at full speed after his comrades. This was the last man seen of the Persian army."

The rear-guard had scarcely quitted their lines when a gunboat went across, taking Captains Wray and Green, with Lord Schomberg Kerr (son of the Marquis of Lothian) and twenty Highlanders, who, with perfect impunity, blew up a quantity of ammunition which had been abandoned. The Persians made no attempt to cut this little party off, which they might have done with ease, though they unlimbered a light gun, and shot at some Arab marauders, who were swimming the river to pillage in the empty lines. By mid-day the last gleam of the Persian arms had faded away in the distance.

All that time the work of destroying the stores in Akwaz had been quickly proceeding, after as much wheat and flour as the steamers could carry had been stowed on board of them, and vast quantities given to the Arabs. In addition to the grain, there were taken here fifteen cases of new firelocks and bayonets, fifty-six fine mules, a beautiful horse of the Shahzadeh's, and a great stock of trenching tools. All the fire-arms were of British manufacture, and bore the Tower mark. A

captured flock of sheep was divided between the squadron and the townspeople.

The 2nd and 3rd of April were occupied by our political agent receiving the submission of the Sheikhs of the surrounding districts; and while these events were occurring at Akwaz, there were negotiations for peace in progress at Paris, where it was concluded on the 4th of March. Tidings of this reached Mohammerah on the same day that the expeditionary force from Akwaz came into camp at head-quarters, after which Sir James Outram put himself in communication with the nearest Persian authorities with reference to the fulfilment of the treaty.

He arranged that a small garrison should remain in Bushire after the rest of the army had returned to India. In the ranks of his force great dissatisfaction prevailed with reference to the easy terms granted to the Persian envoys at Paris; and a general impression existed that the Emperor of France, or his foreign minister, was rather anxious, by interposition, to prevent us from gaining either renown or permanent influence in Persia. It was alleged by some that Lord Clarendon had been too facile, and that he and Lord Palmerston displayed too much eagerness to please the Emperor of France in making peace with the enemy; but the troops engaged became a useful reinforcement to the army of India, then struggling against the revolt in the provinces of Bengal and Central India. Hence it may not be without interest to give the detail, as issued by general order, in the camp at Mohammerah on the 9th of May, 1857, showing the places for whence these troops were destined.

"1st. The third troop of Horse Artillery to Kurrachee; first company, 2nd Battalion of Artillery, to Kurrachee; reserve companies, to Bombay; H.M. 64th Regiment to Vingorla; H.M. 78th Highlanders to Bombay; the light battalion to Bombay; Madras Sappers and Miners to Bombay.

"2nd. The 23rd and 26th Native Infantry are transferred to the first division, and will proceed to Bushire, with the detachment of Scinde Horse and Land Transport Corps now at Mohammerah.

"3rd. The staff of the second division will return to Bombay, with the exception of the Engineers, ordnance, and commissariat departments, which will proceed to Bushire, and await further instructions.

"4th. Brigadier-General Jacob, C.B., will command the troops stationed in Bushire, which will be organised as follows:—*Cavalry Brigade*: 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry, Scinde Horse, Poonah Horse, the Aden Troop, 14th Queen's Light

Dragoons—Brigadier Stewart. *Artillery Brigade*: 4th Troop Horse Artillery, 5th Light Field Battery, 8th Light Field Battery, three companies of the 2nd Battalion of Artillery, four companies of the 4th Battalion of Artillery—Lieutenant-Colonel Trevelyan. *Infantry*: 20th Regiment of Native Infantry, 26th Regiment of Native Infantry—first brigade, Colonel Macan; 4th Bengal Native Infantry, 23rd Native Light Infantry, Belooch Battalion—second brigade, Colonel Housier.

"5th. The Lieutenant-General avails himself of this opportunity to return his warmest thanks to the whole of the troops placed under his command for service in Persia, for their very exemplary conduct since their arrival in this country, evinced by the fact of scarcely one instance of misconduct on the part of any individual having been brought to his notice. This entire absence of crime among so large a body of troops assembled in camp re-ounds to the credit of both officers and men, and is the strongest possible proof of the high state of discipline in the force; whilst their conduct throughout the expedition to Bras-joon, and in the engagement at Khoosh-ab, bore ample testimony to the gallantry of all ranks before an enemy, and to their patient and cheerful endurance of fatigue and hardship under most trying circumstances."

It was on the 15th of May that Brigadier Henry Havelock, with the staff of his late command, embarked on board the *Berenice*, the same vessel in which, with the Highlanders, he had faced the fire of the batteries at Mohammerah; the 23rd saw her in harbour at Bombay, when the terrible intelligence of the sepoy revolt stirred in the inmost chord of every heart. Without landing, the Highlanders and 64th, full of eagerness and impatience, were dispatched for disembarkation at a point nearer the scene of action.

Henry Havelock, who was to be the chief saviour of our Indian empire in the terrible emergency that was every day growing darker, deeper, and more sanguinary, left Bombay in the *Erin* on the 1st of June, following the troops that had already been sent on. Off the island of Ceylon, and near a small civil station called Caltura, between Galle and Colombo, she struck upon a reef, and the loss of all on board seemed imminent. The cowardly crew of Lascars refused to go aloft and take in canvas to ease the ship, but lay huddled below in craven fear and fanatical indifference, while the British officers performed their work; and to the coolness, example, and firmness of all—but principally of Havelock—was it due that every soul on board did not perish.

On the 8th of June, he and his staff got on board

the *Fire Queen*; the 12th saw her in the roads of Madras; and on the 17th she reached Calcutta, bringing with her the new Commander-in-chief of the Bengal Presidency, Lieutenant-General Sir Patrick Grant, C.B., an officer who had entered the service of the Company in 1819, and served at Maharajahpore, at Moodkee, and Sobraon, receiving two severe wounds, and having three horses shot under him, and who had married a daughter of the veteran, Viscount Gough, so well known in the wars of India.

The arrival of these officers at Calcutta—but more especially Havelock—infused joy and hope into the hearts of many whose courage had begun to droop under the dreadful tidings that daily came from Central India and elsewhere, and the cause of which shall be given in a future chapter.

To preserve order in the narration of the Persian campaign we have omitted to mention, under its date, the departure of Lord Dalhousie from India. Previous to that event, his successor, Viscount Canning, arrived, and the two nobles met at Government House, amid festivities and splendour, balls and banquets. On the day of Lord Dalhousie's departure, wrote one who was present, "as early as four in the morning, the regiments began to gather, and by half-past four the companies had lined the road from the palace to the steamer; and here, again, I had the opportunity of admiring the drill and tactics of the sepoy troops. Many of them are noble-looking fellows, and some of the native officers compare favourably with the white man.

"The Household Troops, or Body Guard, are all picked men, and you would not wish to see a finer body of cavalry. At five o'clock the guns from the fort began to roar, and we at once knew that his lordship had started from Government House. An hour later the Governor was in his yacht; the regiments were marching to their barracks; the friends of the Governor, under Prince's monumental tablet, had given the last wave of the handkerchief, and resumed their carriages and their gossip; the pleasure-seekers were again upon the course to comment upon the occurrences of his departure; the coolies began to disperse; the cannon were hushed; the bells ceased to vibrate; and Lord Dalhousie was on his way to Britain to be censured and be praised, while Lord Canning was left to govern India."

But, save for what was called his annexation policy, no censure fell on the name of Dalhousie at home, while in India his social qualities had endeared him to all, and to none more than the

troops.* Moved by an emotion of admiration of the great ruler who had improved, enlarged, and consolidated the empire of British India, the entire population of Calcutta crowded the plain to witness his departure, and to testify their regret.

As he was only forty-four years of age when he quitted India on the 6th of March, 1856, it was fondly hoped that he had then performed only the first act of the brilliant career for which he was so peculiarly adapted by his many talents and virtues; but with something of that emotion which is not uncommon in some Scottish minds, he seemed to forebode otherwise; and in his farewell reply to an address from the people of Calcutta, he said, "I have played out my part; and while I feel that, in my case, the principal act in the drama of my life is ended, I shall be content if the curtain should drop now on my public career."

His words were mournfully prophetic. Eight years of incessant toil had exhausted his constitution, and after a lingering illness of four years, he sank into the grave on the 19th of December, 1860, at the age of forty-eight, and was laid by the side of the marchioness (who pre-deceased him), in the family vault of the ancient church of Cockpen, in Lothian; and there, amid the most beautiful and sequestered scenery, an obelisk is erected to his memory, by his daughter, Lady Susan Ramsay, who had accompanied him to India.

His administration of that great country forms one of the most important epochs in British history. Broad and comprehensive, his plans always bore the stamp of solid improvement rather than sensational innovation. If he exacted the rigid performance of duty from those under him, says Marshman, he set them the example by his own intense application to public business, to which, by a noble spirit of devotion, he sacrificed leisure, ease, comfort, and health. His judgment was independent, his intellect sound, and in his character he combined firmness with rapid decision. He investigated with patient care every question that came before him, and never failed to adduce weighty reasons for the decisions at which he arrived; and his admirable administration of the Punjab alone would form the greatest glories of his government, the general merits of which were thus summed up in the columns of the *Times*:—"He could point to railways planned on an enormous scale, and partly commenced, at an expense of little more than £50 a mile; to 2,000 miles of road bridged and metalled—nearly the whole distance from Calcutta to

* Among these he was popularly known by the patronymic of "The Laird of Cockpen," a quick-step often played by the bands as a compliment to him.

Peshawur; to the opening of the Ganges Canal, the largest of the kind in the world; to the progress of the Punjab Canal, and of many other important works over all India, as well as to the reorganisation of an official department of public works. Keeping equal pace with these public works, he could refer to the postal system which he introduced, in imitation of that of Rowland Hill, whereby a letter from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, or from Assam to Kurrachee, is conveyed for three farthings, or one-sixteenth of the old charge; to the improved training ordained for the Civil Service, covenanted and uncovenanted; to the improvement of education and prison discipline; to the organisation of the legislative council; to the reforms which it had decreed, such as permitting Hindoo widows to marry again, and relieving all persons whatsoever from the risk of forfeiting property by a change of religion."

Such was the active tenor of Lord Dalhousie's administration; and before closing the narrative of it, a notice must be given of an important change which was made in the constitution of the East India Company.

In 1853 the charter of 1833 expired, and a bold effort was made to wrest the Government of India from the Company, but the Whig Ministry resolved to continue it in their hands, not for any definite period, but for so long as Parliament should ordain. By Sir Charles Wood, Bart., the President of the Board of Control (and, in 1859, Secretary of State for India), the bill was introduced in a lucid speech of five hours, which, when it was considered that he had only come into office five months before, and had been then a stranger to the affairs of India, was deemed an exhibition of no ordinary power, and held out the prospect of an able and vigorous administration, and this was subsequently realised to the utmost extent.

The chief alterations suggested were these: The number of the Court of Directors was reduced to eighteen from thirty, and the elimination was effected by a most ingenious process of balloting, devised by the secretary, Colonel Sir James C. Melville, K.C.B.; and of the number thus reduced, a certain proportion were to be named by the Crown. "Under the old system many of the most eminent of the public servants in India were excluded from the Direction on their return to England, owing to their invincible repugnance to a laborious and humiliating course of canvassing; but the minister was now enabled at once to avail himself of their valuable assistance." *

Bengal and Behar were now placed under a separate lieutenant-governor. Prior to this, the administration of these provinces, peopled by more than 50,000,000, and contributing fully a third of the Indian revenue, had been cast on the Governor-General; and when he was absent, a circumstance which not unfrequently happened, the duty devolved on the senior member of Council, who was sometimes an officer of the army; and under this anomalous system there had been no less than ten governors and deputy-governors of Bengal in the course of as many years. During this period of perpetual change and consequent weakness, the office of secretary had been held by Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick James) Halliday, a cadet of Haileybury, who had entered the Company's service in 1825; and to whose great local knowledge, judgment, and diligence it was owing that the administration exhibited the requisite degree of consistency; and for his eminent services he was appointed, in 1854, first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

By a third provision of the charter, the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Court of Directors to make way for the principle of open competition without reserve.

CHAPTER XL.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.—A BRIEF NOTICE OF ITS PROGRESS.

INDIA was one of the earliest fields of the Christian missionaries, and history and tradition alike assign it as the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, and to him is ascribed the foundation of several churches in the distant East. The story that he

preached the Gospel in India is of great antiquity, and is extremely well supported. Bishop Heber and Neander both admit its general credibility, and that a Christian church was founded in his

* Marshman.

name in India at a very early period, is an undoubted fact ; while the Syrian Church at Malabar, in India, acknowledges St. Thomas as its founder, and many Christians were there in the early part of the sixth century—so many, that the visit of the ambassadors of Alfred the Great, headed by Bishop Swithelm, in the ninth century, to the shrine of St. Thomas is one of the most interesting events in mediæval history. Mailapore, or “the City of the Peacock,” a town on the seashore near Madras, and called by the Portuguese San Tomé, as being the scene of the labours and martyrdom of the great apostle of India, is to this day pre-eminently a stronghold of Christianity there.

the East.” The bones found in the vault were removed to Goa, and interred with splendour in a church built there in honour of St. Thomas.

The Portuguese, in their curious account of his mission, tell us that, on his voyage to India he was cast away on the isle of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, which certainly was inhabited at an early period by a little Christian community ; for there St. Francis Xavier, the second apostle of India, in 1542, found a population professing a kind of Christianity, oddly mingled with Mohammedanism and Judaism. St. Thomas, it is added, had predicted that the religion he had planted in India should flourish there in strength again, and this



THE INDIAN SILENIUS.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century Marco Polo was shown the spot where St. Thomas suffered martyrdom on “the Great Mount,” which was visited by pilgrims from all Christendom, while the Mussulmans themselves revered the apostle as a holy man. The Portuguese, on their first arrival in India, in 1498, to their surprise, found many Christians there, who called themselves the Christians of St. Thomas. John III. of Portugal ordered the remains of the saint to be sought for “in an old ruinous chapel which stood over his tomb without the walls of Mailapore.” By digging there in 1523, a very deep vault was discovered, and there were some human bones, together with the head of the lance by which the saint was slain.* This vault is still shown in a small chapel of the cathedral, says the author of “Scenes and Sights in

* Alban Butler.

prediction he inscribed upon a pillar near Mailapore. This pillar then stood forty miles from the sea, and its inscription told that when the waters should reach the foot of it, a race of foreigners should arrive in India and restore the Christian faith. When Vasco de Gama landed in the south of India, he found the encroaching sea washing its base ; all of which is perhaps as true as another Portuguese assertion, that St. Thomas altogether built in Southern India 3,300 Christian temples !

“The religion of India,” says Bruce, “has been unchanged since the days of St. Thomas to our own. At this day Christian missions and schools are freely subscribed to by wealthy worshippers of Siva. A missionary who waits on the heathen King of Travancore, and asks money for religious purposes, does not depart empty-handed. The Christian school at Jubbulpore, in the Nerbudda

territory, annually numbers some forty or fifty pagan subscribers, including the Rajah of Saugor.*

On either side of the Red Sea, Christian colonies had by this time been established, and in many instances merchants and seamen, as converts, must have been anxious to disseminate the Gospel; and any zealous monk who put himself on board ship in the Red Sea was sure of respect on his voyage, and a welcome from co-religionists in India; but ere long the western world began to sink into anarchy and barbarism, and the sixth century saw "the eagle of Rome become little better than a carrion crow."

It was in April, 1541, that St. Francis Xavier sailed on board the admiral's vessel, which carried Don Martin Alfonso de Sousa, Governor-General of the Indies, with five other ships, to take possession of his government, and he landed at Goa on the 6th of May, 1542, after "touching at Socotra," according to Alban Butler. Preaching, teaching, and baptising, he visited La Pescaria, or the Pearl Coast, Cape Comorin, Travancore, at the Spice Isles, Amboyna, and Japan; he died when about to visit China, in 1552, in his forty-sixth year, bequeathing the scenes of his labours to the Jesuits, who, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, had ever had great success in India.

To disarm prejudice, some writers assert that they have, in many instances, introduced themselves as white Brahmins, and "with some amount of compromise in the way of religious observances, to induce numbers to receive the outward form of this Christian baptism;" but, with an order so rigid, this seems barely probable.

During the reign of Ackbar, the Roman Catholic missionaries who came from Goa were received at his court, and for fifteen years resided at Agra with respect and in honour.

The earliest Protestant missionaries came from Holland and Denmark; and with the latter the eminent Schwartz was closely connected.

But among the Hindoos, Christianity in any form has made very limited progress, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of Christian missionaries, as the great mass of the Indians are idol-worshippers, and retentive of all the customs that pertain to the grossest idolatry; so that their most simple domestic habits differ in no way from those of their forefathers in dark and distant ages, since every act they perform refers to the superstitions they deem religion. Hence the number of converts has always been small, and is likely to be increased only as education becomes diffused, and the mind

of the people enlightened by the educational system pursued by the British Government—a system to which the Company was somewhat averse, though at an early period considerable attention was certainly paid to the diffusion of the Christian faith among their native servants, by the establishment of schools and chapels in their factories.

By the charter of 1698 the Company were bound to maintain a chaplain and schoolmaster in every garrison and superior factory, and to set apart a proper place for the performance of divine worship. They were also obliged to have a chaplain for every vessel of 500 tons, whose salary was to commence with the voyage of the ship, and who was to be approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London; while all resident ministers in India were required to learn Portuguese and the Hindoo languages for the due instruction of "the Gentoos and others in the Christian religion;" and on the union of the two companies in 1708, it was directed by the charter that the chaplain should take rank after the fifth member of council at his factory.

In 1677 the Company sent out a special teacher, Mr. Ralph Orde, with a liberal salary, "to teach all children to read English and to write and cypher gratis; and if any of the other nations, Portuguese, Gentoos, or others, will send their children to school, we require that they shall also be taught gratis; and," adds the document which is quoted by Peter Auber, "he is likewise to instruct them in the principles of the Protestant religion."*

In 1744 the Company gave hearty assistance to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had sent to India missionaries and quantities of books, aiding the Danish missionaries already established in Southern India; and to those preachers they gave the use of a church at Madras and another at Cuddalore, empowering their agents at the former city "to give them, at such times as you shall think proper, in our name, any sum of money not exceeding 500 pagodas, to be laid out in such manner, and appropriated to such uses, as you shall approve of."

In the year 1752 the Court of Directors wrote to Bombay, desiring to have "the soldiery, and others of our dependants in the presidency of Bombay, instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion," and ordering two more chaplains to reside at Tellicherry and Anjengo, together with the formation of charity schools for educating the children of soldiers, mariners, topasses, and others, adding: "When schools are erected in consequence of this recommendation, our chaplains are

* "Scenes, &c., in the East."

* "Rise and Progress," &c.

frequently to visit them to see what improvement the children make, and to give their utmost assistance in instructing and confirming them in the principles and profession of the Protestant religion." *

With all this, it must be borne in mind that, unlike all other rulers in India, the British Government has scrupulously abstained from any violent interference with the various religions beliefs of the natives, however grotesque these may be. Its ecclesiastical establishments have been chiefly for the benefit of its own Christian servants, though for far too long a period the spiritual good of these numerous and hard-worked classes of Europeans was overlooked; but of late years churches and chapels have sprung up in all considerable towns, stations, and cantonments.

The labours of Christian missionaries with all this, however, have not been attended with any great success, as compared with the many millions among whom their labours are directed, and the more cautious Anglo-Indians have rather shrunk from the risks attendant on a too energetic spirit of proselytising. "Partly through their own fault in attempting to translate the whole of the Scriptures into the most difficult languages, with which they were most imperfectly acquainted, and partly through the sense-striking, attractive, and splendid ritual of the Catholic church, the success of the English missionaries, whether of the Established Church or Baptists, has been very inferior—at least, in a numerical amount—to the Papal missionaries. And yet the most able and best member of the great Roman Propaganda had been found to confess, after residing forty years in India, that only the very worst of the natives he converted remained steady in their new faith." †

At Tinnevely, an extensive district of the Southern Carnatic, one of the best efforts of the missionaries was to be seen, and it was such as to encourage the hope that much might have been done elsewhere. In the very centre of the district were two villages containing 900 native Christians, with regular schools, native priests, and catechists. All lived in harmony; no idol was to be found there, and not a vestige of Hindoo idolatry. Service was performed in the church daily, and groups of women were to be seen under the great shadows of the palmyra-tree spinning cotton while chanting Lutheran hymns. One village was named Motheloor, and the other Nazareth. They were the result of the labours of the Christian Knowledge Society at Tinnevely. They had been, says Auber, for years without a missionary among them; but

retained the faith and doctrines they had been taught, performing all the offices of the Lutheran religion among themselves.

Among the last religious efforts of the Portuguese in British India was the erection of a little church at Cossimbazar, which somewhat resembles a pagan temple, and where a slab in the doorway "desires our prayers for Fra Jeronimo, Augustine friar of Goa, who founded this chapel in 1766." Near it may be traced the graveyard of the ancient Dutch factory, in which were laid, in 1759, the remains of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings.*

Despite what the charter of 1698 ordained concerning the ecclesiastical establishment, many of the stations were found to be destitute of churches and chaplains in the time of Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), who, about 1795, took measures to have these wants supplied, and who complained much of the general indifference and infidelity prevalent among our people in Bengal. †

But at one time the East India Company actually adopted the policy of excluding missionaries altogether from their territories; and as these restrictions existed till about the beginning of the present century, religious progress was necessarily slow; and, in 1813, during the debates upon the new charter, when much was said respecting the propagation of Christianity, nearly every man who had lived in India was bitterly opposed to the appointment of missionaries to be salaried by the state. Nevertheless, the time had come when it was necessary that India should have a regular and well-appointed hierarchy, headed by prelates of the Anglican Church; and in the renewed charter a provision was made "for the maintenance and support of a church establishment in the East Indies."

By the 49th section, it was provided, that if his Majesty should be pleased, by his royal letters patent under the Great Seal, "to erect, found, and constitute one bishopric for the whole of the British territories in the East Indies," and one archdeaconry for each of the presidencies, the Company were to pay £5,000 per annum to the bishop, and £2,000 per annum to each of the archdeacons.

While the subject of the Episcopal establishment was under discussion, a claim was put in for the State Church of Scotland, on the just and ample plea, that the majority of British residents in India were Scotsmen, and of the Presbyterian communion. The justice of the claim was not denied by Parliament; but on some mysterious

* *E.I.U.S. Journal*, 1837.

† "Lord Teignmouth's Life and Letters."

* "Rise and Progress," &c. † MacFarlane's "India."

plea of expediency, more easily asserted than vindicated, it was not recognised by the Act; in short, the usual narrow and provincial system of legislation prevailed, and the appointment of Scottish chaplains, which the Presbyterian residents were entitled to demand as a right, was only given as a boon from the Court of Directors, while the claims of the Roman Catholics were, of course, at that time, ignored.*

The first Protestant Bishop of Calcutta was Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, D.D., who was born in 1769, and was consecrated on the 8th of May, 1814, as metropolitan of all India. This first appointment was admirable, and it has been justly said, that the lawn has not been often worn by better men than Bishop Middleton and Reginald Heber. The former died on the 8th of July, 1822, and a monument to his memory was erected in St. Paul's, London. Subsequently Bombay and Madras were each made bishoprics; the latter only so lately as 1855.

Native conversions were frequently the cause of much ill feeling and monetary quarrels among relations, while the converts themselves were placed in an unfavourable position. By certain regulations promulgated in 1793 and 1803, it was provided, that all questions of succession to property should be decided in conformity to the religion of the parties. The obvious intention of this was to give Hindoos and Mohammedans the benefit of their respective codes, than which nothing could be more equitable. "Unfortunately, the regulations were loosely and obscurely worded, and in a case which was daily acquiring new importance, was entirely overlooked. The efforts of Christian missionaries were beginning to bear fruit, but no provision had been made for the social position of their converts. As the regulations stood, there was ground for maintaining that by the mere fact of their conversion, they forfeited the rights of succession which would undoubtedly have belonged to them if they had continued Hindoos. This result, which had never been contemplated, and was, moreover, in itself absolutely intolerable, was remedied by a new regulation (in 1829), which provided that the rules relating to succession, as affected by religion, should bind those only who were *bonâ fide* of Mohammedanism or Hindooism when the succession opened. The effect was to free Hindoo converts to Christianity from all trammels of their former superstition, and give them full possession of Christian freedom."†

In 1833, when the new Bill passed, on the extinction of the Company's monopoly, it contained

a series of sections, which, after providing for the intended new bishoprics of Bombay and Madras, enacted that at each of the presidencies "two chaplains shall always be ministers of the Church of Scotland," and concludes with justly declaring "that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Governor-General in Council granting, from time to time, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, not being of the united Church of England and Ireland or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient, for the purpose of instructing, or for the maintenance of places of worship."

In 1820 the Bishop's College, near Calcutta, was founded for the education of such students as the Government or the religious societies connected with the Church of England may place there. It has a principal, two professors, eight missionaries, two catechists, and a printer. The Bible has been translated into ten languages for India, and the New Testament into five others—not reckoning the Serampore versions.

In Ceylon there is a bishop of the Church of England, with several clergymen; the Church of Scotland, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, and American missionaries are all engaged in the work of religious and intellectual teaching; but throughout the island, among all Christian denominations, the Roman Catholics preponderate; yet the Governor reported about 1850, that multitudes who call themselves Christians in public are, in secret, closely attached to Buddhism and the Hindoo mythology.

In Mauritius, says Mr. Pridham, the Church of Rome has ever the pre-eminence, in the antiquity of its foundation and its numerical superiority. The white and creole population, with few exceptions, belong to that persuasion—somewhere about 80,000. The remainder of the religious community may be divided into two sections—the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters. Among the former are the officials civil and military, some Anglo-Indians, and a few negroes; while the latter is extremely limited indeed, and consists only of a few old Huguenot families.

There is also an English bishop at Victoria (Hong-Kong), who, in time to come, may exercise a very beneficial influence on the countries and islands adjacent to India.

Few Protestant missionaries have been more active in India than the Baptists, whose head-

* *Ann. Register*, 1813, &c. † Beveridge's "India."

* Leyland's "Colonial Empire," &c.

quarters are at Serampore, on the west bank of the Hooghley, twelve miles above Calcutta, a little Danish settlement sold to our Government by that of Denmark in 1845, but where they were nearly crushed, during the administration of Lord Minto in 1811, by measures unfortunately at variance with the good sense and enlightened spirit he usually displayed.

Although he defrayed out of the public treasury the expense of several native grammars, dictionaries, and other rudimentary works, printed at the Serampore Press, and aided liberally the Serampore translation of the Scriptures, he yet issued an edict, which evidently tended, if not to crush them altogether, at least to diminish their usefulness, and bring them under bondage. Prejudices were then strongly entertained by Sir George Barlow and all old European residents that the recent mutiny at Vellore had some connection with missionary labours; hence they were prohibited from preaching in the streets, from sending itinerant native preachers into villages, and from the gratuitous distribution of controversial tracts; though no restriction was imposed on their private tuition or their translation of the Scriptures; and they were at full liberty to continue divine service in Bengalee within the walls of their mission houses; but one of the earliest acts of Lord Minto's government threatened the luckless missionaries with something very like proscription.

The reason for this procedure against them was the discovery of a pamphlet in Persian, containing an account of Mohammed, so scurrilous, that it was deemed dangerous, inflammatory, and likely to excite discontent among the Mussulman population. Hence, the Governor-General in Council not only prohibited the issue of religious tracts, but ordered that publications in the vernacular tongue in the mission house at Calcutta should be abolished; and as this was not deemed sufficient to place the missionary press more completely under government control, the Baptists were ordered to remove it from Serampore to Calcutta.

As Serampore was then Danish and not British territory, it has been justly said that Lord Minto had no more power over the missionaries there than he would have had at Copenhagen. It was a distinct violation of the rights of a European sovereign. "The removal of the missionaries from Serampore," says a writer on the subject, "was equivalent to a confiscation of their property there, since it rendered the whole establishment on which their capital had been expended, worthless. If by some absurd misnomer this could be called toleration to Hindoos and Mohammedans, what was it

to Christian missionaries but rank persecution? They were to be put to an expense which they declared to be ruinous, and their mouths were to be gagged in order that they might not be able to preach the Gospel within their own mission-house to the natives who would have come of their own accord to listen to it. The whole proceeding was so monstrous, that when the missionaries remonstrated, Government hesitated in carrying out coercive measures which could only have been characterised as an anti-Christian crusade. The interdict on preaching in the chapel at Calcutta was withdrawn, and the missionaries saved their Serampore press by submitting to a censorship."

Lord Minto's edict against the Baptists was the more to be regretted that he had the well-earned honour of being deemed a model administrator.

The year 1812 saw their press again in full operation, and we find Dr. Carey writing thus to Mr. Fuller, another leading Baptist:—"I have a great desire to do what I can to ensure the gradual perfection of the Oriental versions of the Scriptures after my death, and I am therefore trying to lay a foundation for Biblical criticism in these languages by securing to the public the little that I know of them. I have, therefore, begun to write grammars of the Telnya, the Orissa, and the language of the Sikhs, to which I intend immediately to add grammars of the Kurnata, the Kashmeera, and the Nepaula; of the Bengalee, Sanscrit, and the Mahratta, I have already published grammars, and a dictionary of the Mahratta. I am about a Bengalee Dictionary. I have also in my mind, and have proceeded far in collecting materials for a general dictionary of the Indian languages, derived from the Sanscrit, of which that language, of course, is the basis. I intend to give the Hebrew and Greek synonyms of the Sanscrit throughout. Should I live to accomplish all this, and the translation in hand, I think I could then say, 'Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.'"

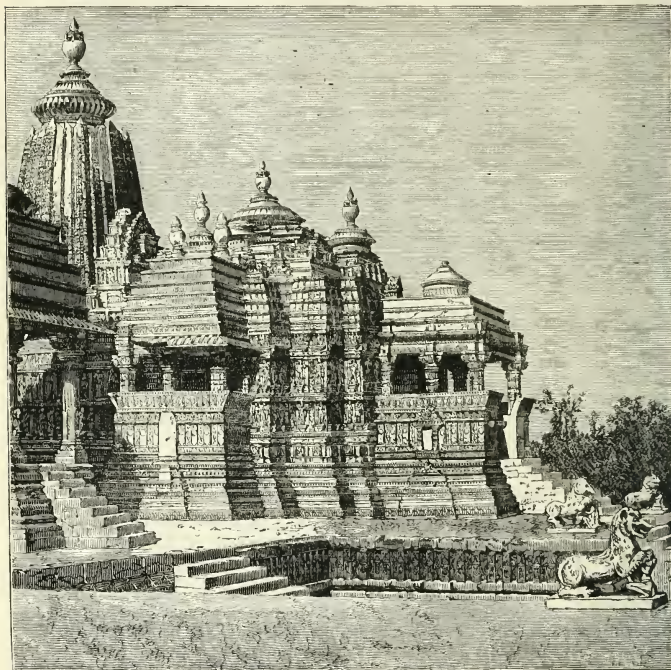
By Mullen's general census of Indian missions, taken in 1862, there were in India in that year, 418 missionaries; eighty-one ordained natives; 1,079 catechists; 890 native churches; 118,893 Christians; 21,252 communicants; at school, 54,888 boys, and 14,723 girls.

For all this, unfortunately, it seems to be admitted that the Government schools have not done much generally for either religion or morality; the students who go into them as Hindoos or Mohammedans often coming forth with little or no faith at all, and their conduct in society being

afterwards deplorably unprincipled and lax. "One distinction between the missionary schools and those of the Government is this—the missionaries make the Bible a class-book, while the Government teachers exclude it. The scholars of the mission-

or idolatries; but," adds this writer, "we cannot believe that a merely secular education will much contribute to make the population either better or happier."*

Among the most interesting conversions to

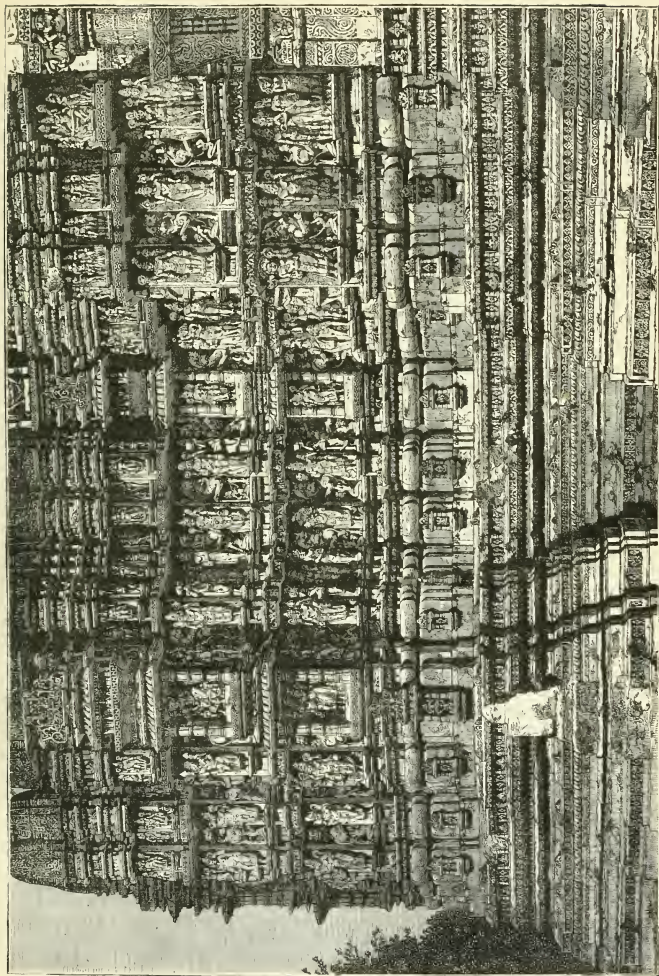


VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF KALI AT KIJRAHA.

aries need not believe the Bible, but they must read it, and have the opportunity of believing. It is found that this regulation by no means deters children from going to the missionary schools, which, indeed, are said to be much better filled than those of the Government, by persons who wish to receive a cheap and practical education. We are fully sensible of the difficulty, and even danger, of any direct interference with old religions

Christianity was that of the Princess Guaromma (daughter of the Rajah of Coorg), who is described in one of Prince Albert's letters "as an amiable and intelligent girl," who was baptised in London, 30th of June, 1852; "Victoria was her godmother," he adds, "and will look after her education." She married a Scottish gentleman, a cadet of the Campbells, of Kinloch, and died young.†

* Bohn's "India." † "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii.



THE FACADE OF THE TEMPLE OF KALI AT KIJRAHA.

The missionary reports for the year 1876 give the number of native Christians in connection with the Church of England in India at 20,884, with 24,213 scholars. The Church of Scotland there is divided into seven presbyteries, but as the reports for the year are defective, or without a synopsis, no statement can be given; while those of the Free Church of Scotland show about 914 baptised

adherents, with 5,564 scholars; the United Presbyterians number, in "Christian community, 383," with 3,350 pupils.

The Roman Catholic Church in India, Burmah, and Siam shows an approximate number of fifteen bishoprics, 906 priests, and 100,000 adherents, with 1,000 schools, attended by 40,000 children; and these are exclusive of the archbishopric of Goa.

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD CANNING GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—OF THE SEPOYS AND INDIAN ARMY GENERALLY.

CHARLES JOHN VISCOUNT CANNING succeeded, as we have stated, Lord Dalhousie, and was the thirteenth and last of the Governors-General of the East India Company, and first Viceroy of the Crown. He had sat in the House of Lords for twenty years, and had thus acquired a considerable amount of official experience. He inherited a great name, and was a favourite of Lord Palmerston, under whose auspices he now took office. At the farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors, he uttered these memorable words:—"I wish for a peaceful term of office; but I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin."

Most prophetic was this sentence. Some of the most remarkable events in the history of British India occurred during the administration of Lord Dalhousie; but these were destined to be surpassed in importance, and to require all the talent and powers of Lord Canning to face them—the dreadful mutiny, and almost extirpation of an army 150,000 strong; the awful massacres of Europeans of every age and sex; the loss and recovery of the North-western Provinces; the total dissolution of the ancient East India Company, of so many memories; and the complete annexation of the Indian Empire to the British Crown.

For some time after the departure of Lord Dalhousie, his successor believed that India was in a state of tranquillity; but as the eventful year wore on, elements that, though not of immediate danger, were certainly disquieting, began to manifest themselves. The deposed King of Oude, who had been permitted to take up his abode in the suburbs

of the Indian capital, had his secret emissaries actively at work in scattering the seeds of hostility to our Government in and around Calcutta. To Mr. Coverley Jackson, a civilian, was given the chief commissionership of Oude, a post for which he was somewhat unfitted. "Instead of labouring to reconcile the chiefs and people to a foreign rule, as Outram and Sleeman would have laboured to do, his time was passed in unseemly squabbles with his subordinates, and in sowing the dragon's teeth of rebellion among the proud aristocracy of the country by a wanton and disastrous interference with the tenure of their estates."*

In Delhi, the ancient Mohammedan capital of India, the royal family had been permitted, unwisely, to maintain a semi-royal court, in which the proceedings of our Government roused a keen feeling of dissatisfaction. Contrary to the advice of some of the most experienced men in the Court of Directors, the Board of Control had resolved to remove the royal family from Delhi, and on the death of the king, Bahadour Shah, to abolish the regal title, with all its immunities.

Lord Dalhousie had delayed taking action on this measure, from a feeling of deference to the urgent remonstrances of the Directors; and thus to Lord Canning was left the consideration of this distasteful piece of policy, but he at once came to the conclusion, that the stately royal palace of Delhi, the citadel of a strongly fortified town, and measuring a mile in circumference, was immediately required for military purposes, and should be in the hands, not of its native princes, but of the British Government.

A mortifying communication to this effect was

* Marshman.

laid before the king, who, at the same time, was informed that his son, Mohammed Korash, would be recognised as his successor, but without the title of king. His young and most favourite wife, Zeenat Mahal, resented the exclusion of her own son, and equally so this abolition of regal dignity and the high privileges of the long line of the Moguls. With all the activity and zeal of an artful female intriguer, she set every secret engine to work to excite a hostile movement against the British Government, not only in Hindostan, but in the Deccan, and even at the Court of Persia, then at war with our troops under Outram, while fast and far spread the rumour that Lord Canning had come out with orders from the Queen of Great Britain to enforce Christianity on the people of India, Hindoo and Mussulman alike.

There went abroad, too, a strange prophecy that the raj, or rule, of the Company would pass away at the end of a hundred years, and 1857 was the centenary of the glorious field of Plassey. Most industriously were the rumour and the prediction propagated together, and the fate of the Feringhees was supposed to be like everything else viewed from an Oriental point of view, amenable to the inexorable law of destiny. Hence, towards the close of the year 1856, the public mind had become completely unsettled, and vague apprehensions of some portentous event or coming calamity pervaded the entire community; and it would seem that this event might have taken place sooner, during the Crimean War, and when we should have been less able to face it—if to face it all—but for one circumstance.

The Indian Moslem ever takes a deep interest in the fate of the Padishah; and it is a fact now thoroughly ascertained, that our support of Turkey in the war with Russia in 1854 had such an effect upon the Mohammedan population of India, as to postpone the Mutiny for a year or two, and to lessen its force when it came.*

In times before, mutinies had repeatedly broken out in the native army, and, in many instances, the measures of repression to which the officers resorted had rather evaded the matter than punished or extinguished it. Moreover, the native troops of India, whether under their own princes or the British flag, had never been quite exempt from a somewhat insubordinate spirit; thus Holkar, Scindia, and other Mahratta princes had been repeatedly coerced by their own soldiers, while Runjeet, the fierce old Lion of Lahore, was wont to declare that he dreaded his own victorious troops more than he did their vanquished enemies; and

in the Company's army, from the first calamity at Buxar in 1764, to the latest mutiny, in 1850, at Shikarpore, there had been a succession of petty outbreaks, all more or less disquieting or formidable.

In approaching the events which we are now about to relate, it is impossible to forget the prophetic words of one who knew India well—the far-seeing and wary Scottish veteran, Sir Thomas Munro, concerning the great extension of our Indian Empire by annexation, as tending to give the Mutiny its extent and power.

“If we could subdue all India to our dominion,” said Munro in his time, “it is doubtful if this would be desirable either for the natives or ourselves. One of the effects of this conquest would be, that the Indian army, having no longer to combat warlike neighbours, would gradually lose its discipline, and that the native troops would have leisure to contemplate their own strength, and turn it against their European masters.”

The same politician had earnestly advised the maintenance of the native protected princes on their thrones, as a source of union between the Supreme British Government and the Hindoo and Mussulman populations.

In the year 1827 the armies of the East India Company belonged to the three Presidencies, each under its own commander-in-chief. That of Bengal consisted of a regiment of artillery, a corps of engineers, ten regiments of cavalry, and seventy-five of infantry. The Madras army consisted of a regiment of artillery, another of engineers, eight regiments of cavalry, and fifty-four of infantry. The Bombay army comprised a regiment of foot artillery, one brigade of horse artillery, having four troops European, two battalions of European and two of native artillery, three regiments of cavalry, and twenty-nine of native infantry. The cavalry were clad in silver-grey, faced most frequently with orange or red, and laced with silver. The infantry were in scarlet, and the artillery in dark blue.

Their European troops were recruited for in Great Britain and Ireland, the head-quarters for these being at Warley, in Essex.

In addition to these fine and carefully developed forces, recruited for among the best and most warlike tribes of India, there were added to each of these three armies many local and irregular corps, officered from the line, and denominated as Sikh Battalions, Irregular Horse, Infantry and Cavalry of the Punjaub, Assam Light Infantry, Oude Infantry, the Gwalior Contingent, Provisional Battalions, Militia, and Rangers. To all these the strange necessity for having a complete set of

* *Vide* Lord Northbrook's speech at Falmouth in 1876.

native officers, the senior of whom—however long his service, and the number of his battles, scars, and medals—was inferior to the junior European subaltern, proved the great peril of this vast military organisation.

In India there were then of all kinds about 294,675 men in arms. Of these, 40,000 or more belonged to the royal light cavalry and infantry of the line, whose head-quarters at home were respectively Maidstone and Chatham, but were struck off the home strength, and were paid and maintained by the East India Company.

The country from which the Bengal infantry had usually been recruited extended from the eastern quarter of Behar to Rohilkund. In person, the men there are robust, and when in their own dress, and untrammelled by the unseemly European garb, either civil or military, most of them seemed fine examples of the human form, especially those in the flank companies, which then existed.

Writing of the Indian army in his time, by desire of Lord Buckinghamshire, Sir John Malcolm says, that the Bengal dragoons were men of stouter frame than the same corps in Madras. "The latter are almost all Mohammedans," he continues, "and a considerable portion of the Bengal cavalry are of the same race. The fact is, that with the exception of the Mahratta tribe, the Hindoos are not, generally speaking, so much disposed as the Mohammedans to the duties of a trooper; and though the Mohammedans may be dissipated and less moral in their private conduct than the Hindoos, they are zealous and high-spirited soldiers, and it is excellent policy to have a considerable portion of them in the service, to which experience has shown, they often become very warmly attached. In the native infantry of Bengal the Hindoos are in the full proportion of three-fourths to the Mohammedans. They consist chiefly of Rajpoots, who are a distinguished race among the Khiteere, or military tribe. We may judge of the size of these men when we are told that the standard below which no recruit is taken is five feet six inches. The great proportion of the grenadiers are six feet and upwards. The Rajpoot is born a soldier. The mother speaks of nothing to her infant but deeds of arms, and every action and sentiment of the future man is marked by the first impressions that he has received. If he tills the ground—which is the common occupation of this class—his sword and shield are placed near the furrow, and moved as his labour advances. The frame of the Rajpoot is always improved (even if his habits are those of civil life) by martial exercises; he is, when well treated, obedient, zealous, and faithful."*

* "The Indian Army," 1834.

Sir John was further of opinion that neither the Hindoo nor Mohammedan sepoy could be deemed of a revengeful nature, though both were prone to deeds of extreme violence, especially in points where they deemed their honour—of which they have a very keen sense—slighted or insulted, or their character stained. Of this spirit, two or three examples may be given. In 1772, a sepoy of the 10th Bengal Native Infantry, supposing himself injured, quitted the ranks, and approaching Captain Ewens, commanding, with "recovered arms," as if about to make some request, shot him dead, and then quietly awaited the death he merited. Captain Crook, of the Madras Cavalry, once struck a sentry for allowing a water-bullock to enter his tent. The man waited calmly till relieved from his post, and then seeking the captain, shot him dead with his carbine. He made no attempt to escape. He had avenged his honour, thus terribly, for a blow given, and he met with calm fortitude the death which punished his crime.* An officer relates another instance of adherence to honour thus:—A sepoy, of the Bengal Native Infantry, was accused by one of his comrades of having stolen a rupee and a pair of trousers. The serjeant-major, before whom in the first instance the charge was brought, was both unable and unwilling to give it credence. Besides the unusual circumstance of a native soldier being guilty of so base an act, the accused sepoy had always been remarkably conspicuous for his brave and upright conduct. His breast was literally covered with medals, and he had long been accustomed to the voice of praise. Still, however, justice demanded that the charge should not be dismissed without an impartial investigation. The whole affair was brought to the notice of the commanding officer, who desired that the sepoy's residence should be immediately and thoroughly examined. On opening his knapsack, to the utter astonishment and regret of the whole regiment, the stolen property was discovered. None, however, looked more thunderstruck than the sepoy himself. He clenched his teeth in bitter agony, but spoke not a single word. The colonel told him that though circumstances were so fearfully against him, he would not yet pronounce him guilty, as it was not impossible he might be the victim of some malignant design. He therefore dismissed him from his presence until the result of further inquiries should produce a full conviction of his guilt or innocence. In a few hours the sepoy was observed to leave his little hut, and walk with hurried steps to a neighbouring field. He was soon concealed from sight by a

* Ibid.

thick cluster of bamboos. Suspecting the purpose of his present visit to so retired a spot, a comrade followed him, but was unfortunately too late to arrest the hand of the determined suicide. The poor fellow lay stretched on the ground, with his head hanging back, and the blood gushing from his open throat. He had effected his purpose with a sharp knife, which he still grasped, as if with the intention of inflicting another wound. He was carried to the hospital, and carefully attended, but the surgeon pronounced his recovery impossible. A pen and ink were brought to him, and he wrote with some difficulty on a slip of paper, that he firmly hoped that he had not failed in his attempt to destroy himself, for life was of no value without honour. He stated, too, that though it might now be useless to affirm his innocence, he hoped that a time might come when his memory should be freed from its present stain. He lingered no less than fifteen days in this dreadful state, and died at last apparently of mere starvation; for, though he invariably made signs of a desire for food, it was, of course, impossible to give it to him, and any nourishment would merely have prolonged his misery. Two days before he died, it was discovered that a Bengalee servant, of low caste, who had taken offence on some trivial occasion, had placed the stolen goods in the sepoy's bundle, and then urged the owner to accuse him of the theft. The disclosure of this circumstance appeared to give infinite satisfaction to the dying soldier.

Prior to the dark days we are approaching, the native and the British soldier always became great friends; the latter invariably spoke well and pettingly of "Jack Sepoy," by whom they were in turn admired for their daring valour, and other excellent qualities. "It is pleasant," wrote an officer on this subject, "to see the ranks intermingling on a march, and to hear the native, when the sun grows hot, begging to be allowed to carry the musket of his wayworn European comrade."

In 1856 there was more than one cause to disquiet the minds of the native troops, whom many—and no mean authorities—averred that we had pampered too much. More than 40,000 men of the sepoy army were recruited in that land which had ever been a source of trouble—Oude—and with the view of attaching them more especially to our service, they had enjoyed the privilege of having their numerous and vexatious lawsuits decided before those of others, on the production of a rescript from their commanding officer. This exclusive and remarkable privilege, which greatly enhanced their importance in their own localities, was abolished when Oude was annexed, and hence

a feeling of general discontent took deep root. In addition to this growing annoyance, only six of the Bengal regiments were enlisted for foreign service; and, in 1856, a Government order was issued to the effect, that in future no man would be enlisted as a soldier who was not willing to embark when required. This order, which was absolutely necessary for the discipline and military utility of the army, produced a deep and marked discontent in every regiment of the Bengal army.

Hitherto the military service of the India Company had been deemed a noble and honourable profession; but, under the new rule, the sons and nephews of the high-caste sepoys, who were waiting for vacancies, would have to forego that service altogether, or defile their caste, by crossing the *Kala pawnee*, or "black water," as they termed the ocean.

By this time a change had come over the European soldier's view of his native comrade. The singular facility with which, in our early Indian campaigns, enormous masses of native troops were defeated and dispersed, as at Plassey and elsewhere, by a mere handful of Europeans, led to the not unnatural conclusion, that they were as inferior in natural courage as in physique; and it was with a feeling almost bordering on surprise, that it was found that the sepoys, in subsequent wars when disciplined and led by British officers, became good and efficient soldiers. Hence, on more than one occasion, those of Madras have crossed their bayonets in battle with the best grenadiers of King Louis; and at Bhurtpore a Bengal regiment thrice planted their colours on the breach, when two corps of the line declined to quit the trenches.

Few troops in the world were more caressed and carefully considered than those of the native armies, after a revulsion of sentiment and good opinion took place in their favour. They were lauded in general orders, and, often without any application on their part, they had increased pay and allowances given them. "They were petted and pampered like children," says a writer, "or as if they had been Prætorian cohorts, with whom it rested to bestow or withhold the imperial title and power. No wonder, then, that they became inflated with an idea of their vast importance, and considered themselves the real masters of the state. Their self-complacency gradually over-stepped all bounds, and, like all mercenary armies, they threatened to become more formidable to their employers than to the enemy."

Many statesmen had already seen the peril of humouring them so much. Lord Hardinge is

reported to have declared before he came to India "that he had no apprehension about any enemy he was likely to encounter, except the Bengal army; and Lord Metcalfe—a much higher authority—is known to have entertained so much uneasiness as to the permanence of British supremacy in the East, that he once said, "that some fine morning all the Europeans in India would get up with their throats cut."*

The discontents in Oude, with the rumours of an intended forcible conversion of all classes to Christianity, caused measures for defence and offence to be taken with decision and promptitude; and well was the force of systematic and combined action understood by the Hindostanees. For a long time past it had been known that a brisk and sustained (but to the European, puzzling) correspondence was maintained between the different regiments of the Bengal army, however far apart they might be stationed.

There was, as yet, no reason to suppose that any schemes of revolt or aggression were in progress, or anything beyond a general understanding that the battalions might mutually rely on each other for a combined resistance if the British Government attempted in any way to coerce them in matters of religion, or alter the conditions under which they enlisted. As an emblem of universal agreement, a chupatty, or little cake, made simply of flour and water, went from hand to hand, and from station to station, pledging each man to stand by his comrade—each regiment to do so by its neighbour.

Noted as the Mohammedans were now for a generally insolent and overbearing demeanour, those of Delhi surpassed all others, in a swaggering air, and avowed hatred of the Feringhees. Nor was this altogether unnatural. The loss of empire could hardly fail to inspire them with something, at least, of sullen animosity towards their conquerors; for now, instead of being a dominant race, under an emperor, they were reduced to engage in trade or agriculture, or submit to wretched pittance as the dependants of a puppet king, who was the degraded pensioner of a race of unbelievers.

The idea that some catastrophe was coming prevailed in the minds of many Anglo-Indians; but many more there were who laughed, and said—"Oh! the thing will last our time, and so we need not care." And while they thus deluded themselves into fancied security, the native army had also deluded itself, but into the belief that it was now in a condition to dictate terms to Govern-

ment; and when such an idea prevailed, revolt became inevitable, and the only point to be determined was—the time.

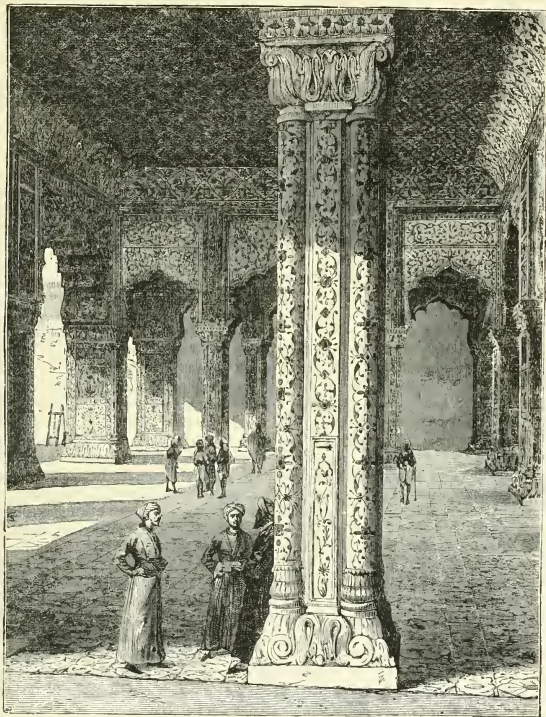
In the way, or ultimate success, of this movement there was one great obstacle—the intense and ancient antipathy between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans. The former composed by far the greater bulk of the population; and the latter, though quite numerous enough to be formidable, derived from their superior position, as a once dominant and still warlike class, a greater degree of influence than their mere numbers would indicate.

The natural effect of this antipathy was to keep the two classes apart, and make it seem impossible to combine for any common object. Aware of this security against a united revolt, our Government appear not to have under-rated it; and yet, by a most singular and unforeseen fatality, they—without a suspicion of what would ensue—destroyed the security, and enabled Hindoo and Mohammedan to fraternise, and make a combined effort together for the overthrow of our empire in India.

This was the cry so artfully raised, that the religion of both was in danger, and that Christianity alone would be tolerated. It has been deemed singular that such a cry could have any influence, as a succession of Governors-General had vied with each other in carrying to their utmost limits, the true principles of religious toleration; and some had given so much countenance and encouragement to the most absurd of native superstitions and idolatry, as to nearly incur the charge of forgetting that they themselves were Christian men, and the representatives of a Christian Government; thus, in 1803, even the car of Juggernaut, with its blood-encrusted wheels, was placed as carefully under a guard of British troops as if it had been the altar of a Christian church!

It is almost needless to say that not the slightest intention to reverse this policy had been manifested; but ripe as they were for revolt, the Bengal sepoys were ready to listen to any incendiary, and to grasp at any pretence to justify their meditated treachery. The terrible delusion spread like wildfire, "and a circumstance so trivial in itself that one can hardly speak of it with gravity," became, if not the cause of a revolt, unsurpassed in magnitude and ferocity, the spark applied to the subtle train so many hands had laid, and, in a day, all became death, desolation, and despair—when a disaster, unlike anything known in history since the Sicilian Vespers, filled India with alarm, and Britain with horror and grief.

* The "Indian Mutiny." By an editor of the *Delhi Gazette*.



GREAT HALL OF THE DEWAN KHÁS IN THE PALACE OF DELHI.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE ENFIELD RIFLE IN THE BENGAL ARMY.—THE SPIRIT OF MUTINY AT BERHAMPORE, ETC.—DISBANDING OF THE 19TH BENGAL NATIVE INFANTRY.—REVOLT AT MEERUT.

It has been deemed questionable whether the disaffection excited by the two royal families of Oude and Delhi, or even the vague discontent of the native troops, would have culminated in a revolt of the whole army, with its attendant atrocities, but for the very unexpected incident of the greased

cartridges, which caused a most opportune source for complaint against the Government.

Towards the close of 1856, it had been determined to replace the old infantry musket, "the Brown Bess," of so many wars and glories, by an improved firearm, with a grooved, or rifled bore,

and which could not be easily loaded without the lubrication of the cartridge ; and Dumdum, a cantonment six miles north-west of Calcutta, was one of the schools of musketry for instruction in the use of this new weapon—the Enfield rifle.

Early in January, 1857, when the manufacture of these cartridges (which, before being used, must be torn by the fingers, or bitten) was proceeding briskly in the Artillery Arsenal of that place, a *classie*, or low-caste workman, asked a soldier of the 2nd Grenadiers, a high-class Brahmin, for a draught of water from his *lotah*, or drinking-vessel. The grenadier declined, on the plea that the vessel would be defiled.

“You think much of your caste,” sneered the *classie*; “but wait a little; the *sahib-logue* (white gentlemen) will soon make high and low caste on an equality; as cartridges smeared with beef fat and hog’s lard are being made up in the magazine, which all sepoy’s will be compelled to use.”

The mention of two kinds of fat was singularly artful and malicious, as one was the abomination of the Hindoos, and the other of the Mohammedans; like a double-edged sword, it cut two ways, and the subject once mooted, was not likely to be permitted to subside. The astounded grenadier rushed, in an agony of shame and terror, to the sepoy lines, where the news was speedily discussed with much real, and probably more pretended alarm; for the story spread like wild-fire, and the credulous sepoy’s of both religions readily believed it was a base attempt on the part of the Government to undermine their faith. It was useless for anyone to insist upon the absurdity of this idea; they were convinced of its truth, and could not be persuaded that though the cartridge-paper might be glazed, it was not greased.

The public post was literally laden with the letters of the alarmed sepoy’s, and in a very few days every regiment in Hindostan was affected with the same emotions of danger and frantic passion. The little cloud of which Lord Canning spoke by chance was “growing larger and larger,” and might, in its bursting, overwhelm the empire of British India with ruin. When first made aware of what was passing, Major Bontein, the officer commanding at Dumdum, paraded all the native troops in the barracks and cantonments, and asked them if there were any complaints.

On this, at least two-thirds of them, including the native officers, stepped to the front, and in a manner that—whatever it veiled—was perfectly respectful, stated their objection to the method of preparing the new rifle-musket cartridges, as “the mixture employed for greasing these was opposed to their

religious feelings, and they begged to suggest the employment of beeswax and oil in such proportion as, in their opinion, would answer the end required.”

It is but too probable that the moderation thus shown, blinded the military authorities at the beginning to the extent of the evil. At all events, there seemed no necessity for instant or severe action, and they contented themselves by ordering that the further manufacture of greased cartridges should cease, and that, in future, the men might purchase the necessary ingredients at the bazaar, and apply them with their own hands! The moderation exhibited at Dumdum proved quite exceptional; for, in other quarters, the excitement, instead of being allayed by assurances that the cause for it had ceased to exist, continued to increase, and the Inspector-General recommended that the Home Government should not send out any more made-up ammunition for the Enfield rifles.* At first, it was only the grease to which the sepoy’s objected; but it was now discovered that there was something mysteriously wrong with the paper, as, unlike that which had been previously used, it had a glazed appearance, which, the sepoy’s were resolved to consider, was the result of greasing. Thus, on the 6th of February, General Hearsey, commanding the division of Bengal troops, reported as follows, from Barrackpore, to head-quarters:—“A most unreasonable and unfounded suspicion has, unfortunately, taken possession of the native officers and sepoy’s at this station, that grease, or fat, is used in the composition of this cartridge-paper; and this foolish idea is now so rooted in them, that it would, in my opinion, be both idle and unwise to attempt its removal.”

As, if no ulterior or darker purpose were in view, it was generally believed that the objection to the polluting cartridge was sincere, and the growing excitement was treated with calmness; but ere long, indications of deliberate evil were manifested.

On the day before General Hearsey wrote the letter above quoted, a *jemadar*, or native lieutenant, waited upon Lieutenant Allen, of the 84th Regiment of the Line, then stationed at Barrackpore, a large military village, distant twenty-four miles by water from Calcutta, and informed him that the four native regiments in the cantonments were ready to break out in open mutiny, and that he had been invited to attend a meeting on that very night, for the purpose of maturing the plot, and scheming out the mode of its operation. Lieutenant Allen was loth to attach much importance to a statement so startling; yet he boldly visited the lines at the time when the alleged meeting was to be held, that

* “The Sepoy Revolt; its Causes, &c.” By Henry Mead.

he might have ocular evidence of it; but none took place.

The faithful jemadar, however, persisted in his statement, and asserted that the resolution to hold the meeting had been postponed in consequence of certain suspicions being excited; but that his information was correct, was proved by General Hearsey reporting again, on the 11th of February, that the Europeans at Barrackpore were "dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion;" that he had been watching the bearing of the sepoy for some time, and was convinced that "their minds had been misled by some designing scoundrel."

To counteract the impressions produced by those intrigues, the general paraded all the troops on the 9th, and availed himself of that knowledge of Hindostanee which he so thoroughly possessed to endeavour to disabuse the minds of his hearers.

"Energetically and explicitly," he says, "I explained in a loud voice to the whole of the men the folly of the idea that possessed them—that the Government, or their officers, wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices, and impressed upon them the absurdity of their, for one moment, believing that they were to be forced to become Christians. I told them the British were Christians of the Book, *i.e.*, Protestants; that we admitted no proselytes but those who, being adults, could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet, imploring to be made 'Book-Christians,' it could not be done; they could not be baptised until they had been examined in the tenets of the Book, and proved themselves fully conversant in them; and then they must, of their own good-will and accord, desire to become Christians of the Book ere they could become so."

In conclusion, the general asked them if they understood what he said, especially the 2nd Grenadiers, who nodded their assent, after which he dismissed the parade; but, still doubtful of the temper of the troops, he laid before the authorities the dangerous policy of having six regiments of native infantry brigaded in one place, such as Barrackpore, without any European corps of cavalry, infantry, or artillery, to be a check upon their movements; adding, that so far as influence went, the native officers were of no use; all they could do was to hold themselves aloof, hoping, by so doing, to escape censure, though, in fact, they were afraid of their own men. He then quoted the remark of Sir Charles Metcalfe, which we have given elsewhere.

A detachment of the 34th Native Infantry (one of the regiments harangued by General Hearsey) marched into Berhampore, 116 miles north of

Calcutta, on the 24th of February, and the members of it were, according to the custom in such cases, entertained by the sepoy of the 19th Bengal Native Infantry, there in garrison; and at the feast the all-engrossing topic of the greased cartridges was fully discussed, together with all other grievances, real or fanciful; and the sequel was not far distant.

On the following day, when Colonel Mitchell, the officer commanding, ordered a distribution of blank ammunition, for musketry exercise, the men of the 19th refused to put it in their pouches, on the plea of having suspicions as to how the cartridges had been prepared. As they were of the old fashion, made up, as usual, in dark blue paper, and at a time before Enfield rifles had been heard of, this conduct was deemed as absurd as it was outrageous. Colonel Mitchell intimidated them with some difficulty; they accepted the packets of ammunition in sullen and ominous silence, and repaired, on dismissal, to their lines.

In the course of the evening, after secret consultations, during which they worked themselves into a frenzy of excitement, they rushed forth, burst open the little huts where the spare arms were deposited, and seized them with shouts of defiance. To Colonel Mitchell only two courses were open: to march against the mutineers in the dark, or remain under arms till morning; and both of these were open to doubt and objection. There were no European troops at Berhampore, and no others, save a detachment of cavalry and a battery of artillery, both of whom, doubtless, sympathised with the infantry now in revolt.

The night was so intensely dark, that even with the aid of torches there would have been a difficulty in finding the way; while the ground near the lines was interspersed with dangerous tanks, which would have impeded the operations of cavalry, and the torchlight reflected from which would have enabled the mutineers to open a destructive fire, while they themselves would have been quite unseen. Anxious to avoid an issue so bloody and doubtful, Colonel Mitchell held a negotiation with them. This ended in a compromise; he, on his part, agreeing, as a first step, to withdraw the horse and artillery, and the mutineers on theirs, agreeing to make submission. To this arrangement Colonel Mitchell should never have stooped, by permitting mutineers to dictate terms, at a time when insubordination was spreading far and wide.

During these incipient affairs, the Commander-in-chief, General the Hon. George Anson (son of the Earl of Lichfield), who had been in the Guards, and served at Waterloo, was, unfortunately, far away

at Simla, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. But Government seemed to be now fully alive to the perils that were impending; and two days after the news from Berhampore reached Calcutta, the Oriental Company's ship, *Bentinck*, was steaming towards the Irawaddi, with orders to bring the whole of H.M. 84th Regiment from Rangoon, with all possible dispatch. Meanwhile, the refractory 19th had been ordered down to Barrackpore. There, too, with an eye to the future, were dispatched a wing of H.M. 53rd (or Shropshire), with two troops of artillery, while twelve guns were also brought into the cantonment.

At this most dangerous period there was a great paucity of European troops in India, which had, in a great measure, been denuded of those that were imperatively necessary to control an infuriated, and most infatuated, native army. Battalion after battalion had been withdrawn, despite the remonstrances of Lord Dalhousie, who ultimately was compelled to inform the "cheese-paring Government" at home, "that he would not be responsible for the safety of the empire if any more European troops were withdrawn; yet four more regiments were sent to Persia after he had retired from the country;"* and now, there was little more than one British regiment to ten of natives between Calcutta and Agra!

On the 24th March, our 84th Regiment reached Calcutta, and proceeded at once to Chinsurah, to wait the arrival there of the 19th. The object of all these preparations was too palpable not to be completely understood by the secretly disaffected; and, presently, the 34th Bengal Native Infantry in particular, forgetting the probably affected moderation which they professed when harangued by General Hearsey, loudly expressed their sympathy with the 19th, whom they declared to merit, not punishment, but honour, as a reward for the defence they made of their sacred religion.

The time now passed on with little disturbance, but with intense disquietude and anxiety by the Europeans—especially those who had families; and it afterwards transpired, that a great and general conspiracy had been organised throughout that vast sepoy army which we had been more than a hundred years in bringing to perfection, for the simultaneous revolt of every regiment, at every station in Hindostan, on the last Sunday of May, 1857, at the hour of church service, when all Europeans were to be murdered, without regard to sex or age. But God willed it otherwise; for had this event actually taken place, we must inevitably have lost India, for a time, at least.

* Marshman's "India."

The 34th, though they must have been fully aware of the vast importance to themselves of remaining quiet till this terrible Sunday came, could not suppress unequivocal signs of the mutinous spirit that inspired them. Thus, two days before the 19th came in, on the 29th of March, a sepoy of the former corps, named Mungal Pandey, maddened by the excessive use of *bháng*, and other intoxicating drugs, armed himself with a sword and loaded musket, and staggered up and down in front of the lines, calling upon his comrades of the 34th—the *Bradshaw-ka-Puttan*—to rise, and threatening with death any European who should approach him. Lieutenant Bough, the adjutant, rode to the parade-ground, and, assisted by Sergeant-Major Hewson, attempted to disarm the dangerous drunkard, while calling upon the quarter-guard to turn out; but the latter, under a jemadar, looked sullenly and passively on, spectators of the struggle. As the adjutant approached, Mungal Pandey, from the cover of a field-piece, fired, and shot the horse of that officer, who then discharged one of his pistols, but missed, and ere he could draw his sword, Pandey made a rush, and cut him down. Ere the blow, which was not mortal, could be repeated, Hewson sprang forward, but was severely wounded, and both Europeans would have been murdered in the end, had not the orderly of Lieutenant Bough, a Mohammedan, seized Pandey, who was in the act of levelling his reloaded musket.

With several other officers, whom the sound of the firing had alarmed, General Hearsey, C.B., was promptly on the ground, and, by his resolute spirit, crushed that which was on the eve of becoming a general mutiny. Riding up to the jemadar and his recreant guard, with a cocked pistol in his hand, he threatened to blow out the brains of the first man who showed the slightest symptom of disobedience. They were thus overawed, and withdrew to their posts. For their conduct, both Mungal Pandey and the jemadar were tried, convicted, and hanged in front of the lines. The name of the former fanatic, who won an unenviable notoriety in India, as the shedder of the first blood in the cause of the mutineers, was, from that circumstance, given to all sepoys, as "*Pandies*," who excited the hostility or contempt of the British.

On the day after this outrage, the 19th Native Infantry, on the way to Barrackpore, reached Barasut, eight miles distant, when something of the punishment in store for them transpired, and Lord Canning, in a minute of date the 27th of March, had announced what it was to be:—"The open refusal of the whole regiment to obey orders, the seizure of arms with violence, and a tumultuous but

combined resistance to the authority of its officers, with arms loaded, is an offence for which any punishment less than dismissal from the service would be inadequate; mutiny so often and defiant cannot be excused by any sensitiveness of religion or caste, by fear of coercion, or by the seductions or deceptions of others. It must be met promptly and unhesitatingly, without the delay of a day more than may be necessary."

It has been questioned whether Lord Canning acted up to his own ideas of the enormity of the crime when he proposed so mild a punishment as mere dismissal, or being turned out of the service; and this painful ceremony took place at Barrackpore, on the 31st of March, though the regiment had petitioned for pardon.

When they entered Barrackpore on that day, the 19th found there under arms H.M. 53rd and 84th, two European batteries, and the Body Guard of the Governor-General, a corps of whose fidelity, though Indians, there never was a doubt, and the disbandment was at once carried into effect—a measure that undoubtedly filled the regiment with grief, and which they strove to avert by too late signs of real, or pretended, repentance. On one side of the parade-ground stood the European troops and batteries, with the Body Guard; on the other were the 34th, with the native troops previously at that station. Between them were halted the doomed 19th Regiment.

To all the officers it was a time of no ordinary anxiety; for at any moment all the natives might make common cause against all who had white faces, and of the former 4,000 were present.

The warrant for disbandment was read, and concluded thus:—

"The regiment has been guilty of open and defiant mutiny.

"It is no excuse for this offence to say, as has been said in the before-mentioned petition of the native officers and men of the regiment, that they were afraid of their religion, and that they apprehended violence to themselves.

"It is no atonement of it to declare, as they have therein declared, that they are ready to fight for their Government in the field, when they have disobeyed and insulted that Government in the persons of its officers, and have expressed no contrition for their heavy offences.

"Neither the 19th, nor any regiment in the service of the Government of India, nor any sepoy, Hindoo or Mussulman, has reason to pretend that Government has shown, directly or indirectly, a desire to interfere with the religion of the troops.

"It has been the unvarying rule of the Govern-

ment of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants of every creed with careful respect, and to representations or complaints put forward in a dutiful and becoming spirit, on this or any other subject, it has never turned a deaf ear.

"But the Government of India expects to receive in return for this treatment the confidence of those who serve it.

"From its soldiers of every rank and race it will, at all times and in all circumstances, enforce unhesitating obedience. They have sworn to give it, and the Governor-General in Council will never cease to exact it. To no men who prefer complaints with arms in their hands will he ever listen.

"Had the sepoys of the 19th Regiment confided in their Government, and believed their commanding officer, instead of crediting the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men have deceived them, their religious scruples would still have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they have hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the state, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honourable service.

"But the Governor-General in Council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and lost all claim to consideration and indulgence.

"It is, therefore, the order of the Governor-General in Council, that the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry be now disbanded; the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged from the army of Bengal; and this be done at the head-quarters of the presiding division, in the presence of every available corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment be paraded for the purpose; and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears of pay, and be required to withdraw from the cantonment.

"The European officers of the regiment will remain at Barrackpore until orders for their disposal shall be received from his Excellency the Commander-in-chief. This order to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service."

When ordered to ground arms, the regiment obeyed without a murmur; their colours, which were of dark-green silk, were then taken away, and the number of the 19th, which had been raised in 1776, was struck from the Indian Army List. Though the sentence could not be reversed, their peaceful and repentant behaviour won them several indulgences, which they could scarcely have anticipated. They received payment of their arrears to

the utmost anna, with money to pay for the cattle and boats that had brought down their families. "This gracious act was keenly felt," says General Hearsey, than whom none knew the sepoys better; "and loudly they bewailed their fate, saying the regiment had been misled."

The future fate of the 19th, the *Ung-ka-Pultan*, has something of melancholy interest in it. They begged to be enlisted into other corps, and offered to fight the 34th, as the original source of their disgrace. Both requests were, of course, declined, and they dispersed to seek other homes. Many

no example was made of the 34th Regiment; and of the general in command the leading English journal wrote bitterly at this time.

"The Commander-in-chief, a holiday soldier, who had never seen service either in peace or war, was, in the meantime, enjoying the pleasant climate of Simla. A shameless job had some years before sent him at one step from Tattersall's and Newmarket to the command of an army in one of the Presidencies; and when a vacancy occurred in the chief command of 300,000 men, the authorities at home at once recognised the claims of family and



NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF NATIVE BENGAL INFANTRY.

perished of cholera by the wayside; some were employed as menials by rich natives, but none of them were afterwards seen in arms at any time against the Government, while some were found serving bravely as volunteers against the rebels.

Government now hoped the matter was set completely at rest. The danger was actually spoken of as a matter of the past, and a vessel was chartered to take back the 84th to Rangoon. It seems now difficult to conceive how the Governor-General and his Council were so deluded. Their conduct was slow and vacillating towards the 34th, which contained a number of those men who had cheered and applauded Mungal Pandey; and now incendiary fires, the sure forerunners of mischief, were constantly taking place in localities far apart, yet

personal acquaintance in the disposal of the post. General Anson appears to have had no share in the disbandment of the Barrackpore regiment, and it was not until three months afterwards that the adjutant-general notified withdrawal of the objectionable cartridges."*

Meanwhile, the distribution of the mysterious and unleavened *chupatties* was becoming more visible, not only among the troops, but the general population.

On the 2nd of May, the 7th Oude Irregular Cavalry, then cantoned about seven miles from Lucknow, when ordered to bite, or otherwise tear, the new cartridge, the use of which, though recalled by order, through some unexplained oversight was

* *Times*, 1857.

still served out, refused. The regiment was one which belonged to the deposed monarch of Oude, and from that circumstance, and other influences brought secretly to bear upon its members, though the insubordination took the pretended aspect of a religious scruple, it sprung from a different sentiment; as, on the 8th of May, the regiment sought to instil a mutinous spirit into the 48th Bengal Native Infantry, quartered at Lucknow, and tacitly proposed that the corps should league together. Fortunately at this time the administration of Oude was in the hands of the able Sir Henry Lawrence,

ordered out for carbine practice with the new cartridge, all, save five, declined to use it. The eighty-five malcontents were at once brought before a court-martial, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour. On the 9th of May their sentences were read out on parade. Their uniform was stripped off them, and iron shackles were fixed to their ankles. Many of these men were the flower of the regiment, who had done the Queen good service in many a battle, and they implored the general to have mercy, and not degrade them by a doom so ignominious; but they



NATIVE OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

who was officiating as chief commissioner in the absence of Outram, and took instant measures for repression. The aspect of some of the regular native troops, with a wing of H.M. 32nd, and a battery of eight guns, which he brought against them, proved too much for the mutineers, who threw down their arms and fled. At first Sir Henry was disposed to disband and disperse the whole of this mutinous Oude regiment, and permit those who were guiltless to re-enlist; but Lord Canning acted, perhaps, more wisely, and urging that it "was a fiction discharging soldiers one day to take them back the next," ordered the dismissal only of the native officers, with one or two exceptions, and about fifteen sepoys.

But a more eventful scene was at hand. Ninety men of the 3rd Light Cavalry, at Meerut, when

were marched off to gaol. On the following evening, while the Europeans were in church, the men of the 11th and 20th Bengal Native Infantry began to assemble tumultuously within their lines, and were evidently bent on mischief. The European officers at once hurried to the spot, in the hope of pacifying them. One of the first who arrived was Colonel Finnis (brother of the then Lord Mayor of London), who was shot in the back while in the act of haranguing the 20th. Choking in blood, he fell from his horse, and was hewn to pieces. The work of slaughter thus fairly inaugurated, the sepoys gave way to the most dreadful excesses; while the troopers of the 3rd, with yells, rushed to the gaol, burst in its gates, and released not only their comrades, but every felon and miscreant in the place. Joined by these wretches, and all those

vagabonds who usually infest our Indian military stations, the European bungalows were sacked and given to the flames, while an indiscriminate massacre ensued of all Christians, without regard to sex or age. The women and children, who took refuge in the gardens, were all tracked out and shot down amid the most fiendish yells.

None who witnessed the horrors of that Sunday night at Meerut ever forgot them. "On all sides," wrote one, "there shot up into the heavens great pinnacles of waving fire, of all hues and colours, according to the fuel that fed them; huge volumes of smoke rolling sullenly off in the sultry night air, and the crackling and roar of the conflagration mingling with the shouts and riot of the mutineers." "Bungalows began to blaze around us," wrote another, "nearer and nearer, till the frenzied mob reached that next our own. We saw a poor lady in the verandah, a Mrs. C—, lately arrived. We bade the servants bring her over the low wall to us, but they were too confused to attend to us. The stables of that house were burned first. We heard the shrieks of the horses. Then came the mob to the house itself, with awful shouts and curses. We heard the doors broken in and many shots, and at that moment my servants said they had been to bring away Mrs. C—, but found her dead on the ground, cut horribly, and she on the eve of her confinement." "It was not until sunrise on Monday," wrote a third, "that we knew, with anything like certainty, the extent of the atrocities committed by the savages within the cantonment of Meerut. What spectacles of terror met the eye almost simultaneously with the return of day! The lifeless and mutilated corpses of men, women, and children were to be seen, some of them so frightfully disfigured, and so shamefully dishonoured in death, that the very recollection of such sights chills the blood." *

It is difficult to believe that there was at this time, in Meerut, an European force consisting of H.M. 60th Rifles, the 6th Dragoon Guards (only half-horsed, however), a troop of horse artillery, and 500 artillery recruits—about 2,000 men in all, and fully officered. But, unfortunately, the command was in the hands of General Hewitt, an old man,

* "The Chaplain's Narrative."

who, though he had done good service in his day, was now unfitted by age, enervated by long residence in India, and unable to act with proper promptitude at such a crisis—or as Rollo Gillespie acted at Vellore, when, half a century before, with a handful of dragoons and his galloper guns, he crushed the mutiny there, and saved the Deccan.

He pleaded, in his report, that he did not think the result was premeditated, and that much valuable time was lost in calling out the Europeans, whose barracks were at some distance from the native lines. When the Queen's Carbineers were, at length, in their saddles, they dashed off at a brisk pace, through clouds of blinding dust and darkness, for it was then eight in the evening, and there is no twilight in India. Instead of riding straight for the scene of outrage, for some unknown reason they skirted it, and finally debouched on the left rear of the native infantry cantonments, which were then sheeted with fire.

On reaching the parade-ground of the 11th, they found the 60th Rifles and artillery already there; but the mutineers and others were all off *en masse* for Delhi, horse and foot, where a sure welcome awaited them.

Had the wretched General Hewitt at once set off with the Carbineers and horse-artillery guns, leaving the Rifles to follow, he would undoubtedly have overtaken and cut them to pieces, and thus prevented the horrors that took place at Delhi; but he contented himself with little more than a reconnaissance. An officer of the Carbineers volunteered to push on with a party, and possess himself of the bridge of the Jumna, but this was not permitted.

The 60th Rifles contrived to pick off a few of the rearmost of the fugitives, and then the horse artillery galloped to the front, unlimbered, and opened a useless fire upon a copse, in which it was supposed many were concealed. The heavy discharges of grape crashed and tore among the trees, but did no other damage; and after this demonstration, on the plea of protecting the station against any other nocturnal assault, the force returned to Meerut, while, flushed with their partial success, the mutineers, without further molestation, pushed on for the city of the Moguls.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ATROCITIES AT DELHI.—VIGOROUS MEASURES IN THE PUNJAB.—PROGRESS OF THE MUTINY.

ABOUT eight o'clock on Monday morning a disorderly party of the 3rd Cavalry were seen from Delhi galloping down the Meerut Road towards the pontoon bridge, which spans the Jumna near the walls of the Selinghur Fort. On this being reported to the commissioner, Mr. Simon Fraser, some suspicion led him to have the city gates closed; but ere this could be done the mutineers, horse, foot, police, and convicts were all pouring within the walls, when, without a moment's delay, the work of destruction commenced. They made their appearance in front of the stately palace, calling clamorously for the king, announcing that they had come from Meerut, resolved to fight for their faith, and to murder all Europeans.

They set fire to all the bungalows in the Durya Gunge, killing every European they met; they plundered the dispensary near the fort, and on seeing Mr. Fraser driving in his buggy, shot him, cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph. At the palace gate they shot down Captain Douglas, the brave commander of the guards, who ventured to remonstrate with them. Rushing upstairs they found the station chaplain, the Rev. W. Jennings, and his daughter, who had lately arrived from England, and was on the eve of her marriage. Despite her tears and shrieks, they butchered her father before her eyes, and then put her also to death, after subjecting her to the most dreadful indignities.

While similar atrocities were occurring everywhere throughout that beautiful city, a grand instance of self-devotion was given by two British officers in the magazine of the arsenal, which was the greatest in India, stored with many heavy guns, and a vast quantity of firearms, powder, percussion caps, and material of war. There was another magazine outside the walls at two miles distant in the cantonments; these were occupied by the 38th, 54th, and 74th Bengal Native Infantry. On the mutineers entering the city, Lieutenant Willoughby went to the great magazine, and had the gates closed and barricaded, and every measure for a defence taken. This magazine contained 300 pieces of cannon, 20,000 stand of muskets and bayonets, 200,000 rounds of shot and shell, and other munition to correspond.

"Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two six-pounders, double-charged with

grape, under Sub-conductor Crow and Sergeant Stewart, with the lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that if any attempts were made to force the gate both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on that part of the magazine in which Lieutenant Willoughby and I (Lieutenant G. Forrest) were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux de frise* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate, and the magazine in its vicinity, were two six-pounders, so placed as to command the gate or a small bastion beside it. Within sixty yards of the gate, and in front of the office, and commanding two cross-roads, were three six-pounders and a twenty-four-pound howitzer, which could be managed so as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns had been placed in the several positions above-named, they were loaded with double charges of grape. The next step taken was to place arms in the hands of the native establishment, which they most reluctantly received, and appeared to be in a state, not only of excitement, but of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by Europeans, particularly the Mussulman portion of the establishment. After the above arrangements had been made, a train was laid by Conductors Buckley, Scully, and Sergeant Stewart, ready to be fired by a preconcerted signal. So soon as the above arrangements had been made, guards from the palace came and demanded possession of the magazine in the name of the King of Delhi. To this no reply was given. Immediately after that, the soubahdar of the guard on duty at the magazine informed Lieutenant Willoughby and me, that the King of Delhi had sent down word to the mutineers that he would without delay send scaling-ladders from the palace for the purpose of scaling the walls, and which shortly after arrived. On the ladders being erected against the walls, the whole of our native establishment deserted us by climbing up the sloped sheds inside of the magazine, and descending the ladders on the outside; after which the enemy appeared in greater number on the top of the wall, and on them we kept up an incessant fire of grape, every round of which told well, as long as a single round remained." *

* Lieutenant Forrest's "Narrative."

The assailants were all in the uniform of the King of Delhi, and the only persons to work the four field-pieces against them were Lieutenant Forrest and Conductor Buckley. The crisis had come! The magazine had been entered at two points; the capture of the guns was certain, and already these two officers had been wounded, one by two musket-balls in his left hand, and the other by one above the elbow. This was at half-past three p.m. Lieutenant Willoughby gave the signal, Buckley repeated it, and Scully fired the magazine.

A roar followed as if the earth were splitting asunder, and while all Delhi, from the bank of the Jumna to the Cashmere Gate, shook and trembled, the mighty magazine exploded, and, for a time, a dark cloud overhung the palace and the city. Hundreds of the mutineers were blown into the air, and won the death they deserved; but none of the brave defenders escaped without injury. Conductor Scully was so dreadfully wounded that for him escape was impossible, as his head and face were so scorched and contused. Many women and children who had taken shelter in the magazine also perished. Willoughby and Forrest succeeded in reaching the Cashmere Gate. The latter escaped, and the former was murdered on the road to Meerut; but Buckley and another, who sought the same place by a different route, reached Hewitt's head-quarters in safety.

While the struggle at the magazine was in progress, horror was reigning supreme elsewhere in Delhi, and a general massacre of the Europeans ensued everywhere. The bank was pillaged. Mr. Beresford, the manager, his wife and five children, had their throats cut by pieces of broken glass; the treasury, the church, and the office of the *Delhi Gazette*, were all demolished. The presses were hurled into the river, and the types used as slugs, while the printers and compositors were hacked to pieces. About thirty persons, who barricaded themselves in the house of a Mr. Aldwell, made a resolute but futile defence, as Mrs. Aldwell and her three children alone succeeded in escaping, disguised as natives, and after many painful adventures reached the palace of the king, who had there some fifty other Europeans, whose lives he guaranteed, with what faith we shall soon have to show.

As soon as the brigadier commanding found that the mutineers were in Delhi, he got the troops under arms at the cantonments, and lost no time in sending down the 54th Bengal Native Infantry, under Colonel Ripley, with two guns; and that officer, while hoping like the rest for better things, foresaw but too clearly the terrible sequel. There were no European troops in or near Delhi, and

nothing was left to our officers but the slender and desperate chance of putting down a revolt by soldiers who, however well disciplined, sympathised with it. The consequence was, that the three regiments in Delhi, when brought face to face with the mutineers, fraternised with them, or—like the infamous 54th—stood by while their officers were all murdered in succession by the 3rd Cavalry.

All thought of making head against the mutineers was abandoned now; but Brigadier Grove deemed it possible that the Flagstaff Tower, a work of some strength, near the cantonments, might be defended till succour came; but from whence it would come none knew. There, accordingly, the surviving officers, and some European residents who had escaped from the city, took refuge. The defence seemed practicable, and there the brigadier took post, with two guns and 300 sepoy who still obeyed orders. But this exception to the general treachery was of brief duration; and when they revolted, the handful of Europeans could only disperse and fly for their lives in the night, but under a fire of cannon and musketry from the walls of Delhi. Some officers and their wives succeeded in making their escape; and many a tale is told of the heroic bearing of delicate ladies, some bearing children in their arms, while, under the scorching sun of the Indian May, they sought refuge in the deep jungles, or waded through streams, with little clothing and no food. Meanwhile, the mutiny within the city assumed the form and magnitude of an organised rebellion; and the king, either in execution of a premeditated design, or as he afterwards vainly pretended, under the influence of intimidation, assumed the sovereignty of India. An old silver throne was brought into the marble hall of audience. On this he took his seat under a salute of twenty-one guns, received public homage as the heir of the Mogul, and began to issue royal mandates.

His son, Mirza Mogul, was named commander-in-chief, and a very helpless one he proved. The fugitives in the place, chiefly women and young girls, could all have been saved and concealed by these infamous princes, had their number been 500 instead of fifty; but they were capable of committing in cold blood atrocities greater even, when measured thus, than those of the mutineers.

For five days and nights these unhappy creatures, stripped to the skin, were kept in the palace, and all they were compelled to undergo will never be known. On the fifth day they were ordered to be put to death in the great courtyard, and by ten a.m. great numbers of people came flocking to the palace as to a festival. Mrs. Aldwell and her three children were the only Europeans

who escaped ; this she achieved by skilfully adopting Mohammedan disguises, and teaching them to repeat the Mohammedan confession of faith. In this way, with their fair skins, they passed for Cashmerians.

This lady relates, that on the order being issued to bring the victims to the courtyard they cried piteously. After they were all counted, a rope was thrown round them to prevent any escape. Four men who were found among them were taken forth and shot. The rest, on a given signal, were suddenly attacked, by the king's body-guard and some of the mutineers, with the sword, and all were stabbed, hewn down, and cut to pieces.

From 100 to 150 men were employed in this work. Soon after, the bodies were placed in carts and flung into the Jumna. These were some of the first-fruits of the revolt at Delhi.

On an appointed day, the King of Delhi—this monarch without a kingdom—proceeded with much pomp and circumstance through the magnificent "Street of Silver" (which is ninety feet broad and 1,500 long) and other parts of Delhi, and enjoined the bazaar people to open their shops. Prince Mirza Abubeker was appointed general of the cavalry. The troops held the old king responsible for the supplies, but refused to give up the public money found in the treasury—more than half a million sterling. Several native officers were promoted to high nominal commands, and most active measures were taken to place the blood-stained city in a state of defence. A kind of discipline was generally maintained, and a determination was expressed to do battle to the death with the British if they approached the walls.

Thanks to the telegraph—that element of civilisation for which India had been so recently indebted to Lord Dalhousie—the electric wire flashed down to Calcutta the tidings of these terrible events, and the establishment of a Mogul dynasty ; and then to Madras, to Ceylon and Bombay, Lord Canning sent immediately for every available royal regiment, while a steamer was dispatched to intercept the Earl of Elgin, then on his mission to China, and to entreat him to forward to Calcutta the European force which accompanied him, while orders were given to dispatch to the front the Highlanders and other Europeans returning from Persia as fast as they arrived.

The telegraph gave our officers in the Punjab immediate notice of the crisis at Delhi, which operated as a common signal to all the native regiments throughout Bengal ; and accordingly, in many localities the tidings of it no sooner came than a determination was evinced to join in the

same career of crime and bloodshed. Our authorities had now to prepare for the worst ; and to diminish the means of mischief, it was resolved to disarm the sepoys whenever they could be overawed ; and nowhere was this policy so quickly adopted and ably carried out as in the recently-annexed Punjab.

As its inhabitants were warlike in spirit, there was a necessity for keeping a firm hand over them ; hence the troops in the "Land of the Five Waters" were 59,656 strong. Of these 35,900 were Hindostanees, 13,430 were Punjaubees, and only 10,326 were Europeans. It was considered Lord Dalhousie's "pet province," and he drained the old districts of their best officers to enrich its establishments. "Never," says Marshman, "since the introduction of British power into India had so large a number of statesmen and generals of the first order been collected together in the administration of any province. At the head of this galaxy of talent stood Sir John Lawrence, a tower of strength, with a genius for military organisation, although a civilian, second only to Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie ; while among the foremost of his assistants were Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod, Herbert Edwardes, Neville Chamberlain, and, above all, John Nicholson. But it is not easy to select any names without doing injustice to other distinguished men, civil and military, whose zeal, devotion, and energy achieved the success of which their country is justly proud. . . . Cut off from all communication with the Government of India in the capital, they were constrained to act on their own judgment and responsibility ; and when the vigour of their proceedings is contrasted with the official feebleness too visible in Calcutta, this isolation cannot but be considered a fortunate circumstance."

The Hindostanee troops in the Punjab, though the strongest force there, were so cantoned as to be scarcely capable of combined action, and were without the sympathy of the inhabitants, who viewed them as foreigners ; hence, had they mutinied, they might have had more than the Queen's troops to face. These advantages were not forgotten by the authorities ; thus the Punjab, from which, at this crisis, the greatest danger was apprehended, not only remained tranquil, but materially assisted in the final suppression of the revolt.

On the 12th of May the telegraph informed our officers at Lahore of the outbreak at Meerut and the revolt at Delhi ; but Sir John Lawrence was then at Rawul Pindee, an old walled town of mud-built houses, 165 miles N.N.W. of the capital ; and owing to a stoppage in the telegraph he could not

be communicated with at this time, when instant action was necessary, as dissatisfaction among the sepoys was notorious. Mr. Robert Montgomery, the judicial commissioner, assuming the requisite responsibility, summoned a council of the civil and military authorities, and suggested the propriety of depriving the sepoys of their percussion caps, if not of their arms. The latter, as the bolder course,

pile arms, at once obeyed; and it was afterwards ascertained that this prompt measure had not been enforced one hour too soon, as these regiments had formed a plot for seizing the fort at Lahore, and massacring every European there and at Mean Meer. But now ensued something of a blunder at Ferozepore.

On his first intelligence of the mutinies, Mr.



PORTRAIT OF LORD CANNING.

was preferred. Six miles from Lahore, in the large cantonment of Mean Meer, were the 8th Bengal Cavalry, with the 16th, 26th, and 49th Bengal Infantry, to control and overawe whom the only European force consisted of H.M. 81st Foot (850 strong), with two troops of the Company's horse artillery.

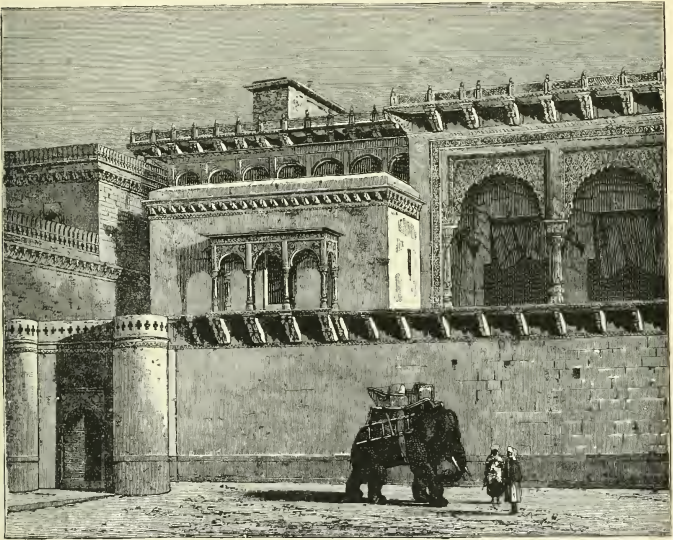
In spite of the great disparity of force, as a portion of the 81st had to keep Lahore from becoming a focus of mischief, and only 300 bayonets with twelve guns could be brought against them, the sepoys, 3,500 strong, when ordered to

Montgomery sent off an express to that place to inform Brigadier Innes. The intimation, which reached that officer on the 13th May, for some reason, failed to impress him sufficiently. In his care was an immense arsenal full of military stores; and though he could not but be aware of the imperative necessity of properly securing it, the 45th and 57th Bengal Native Infantry were permitted to retain their arms, and lost no time in showing how little they deserved the trust he reposed in them; but, as Sir John Lawrence stated in his report on the subject, "it was fortunate that

the European barracks were close to the arsenal, into which building a company of Europeans were introduced just before it was assailed by the native infantry. But after the arsenal had been secured and the mutineers repulsed, they were allowed to return and burn buildings in the cantonments at their pleasure during the whole night of the 14th of May. No adequate efforts were made even to punish them. Even those who in their flight from

at Ferozepore, no murders of Europeans were perpetrated.

So early as the 19th of April, the appearance of incendiary fires at Umballa announced the discontent of the native troops there; and by the 8th of May wandering Fakirs and others, went about with a prediction "that in the following week infidel blood would be shed at Delhi and Umballa, and that a general rising would take place."



COURTYARD OF THE PALACE OF GOVINDGHUR.

the station towards Delhi had been seized by the police and the country people, were not brought to trial until reiterated orders to that effect had been issued. But unfortunately, at Ferozepore, errors did not end; for when, at a date subsequent, the light cavalry were disarmed, their horses were not taken away. When, however, the taking of the horses was insisted on at last, the troopers had a full opportunity of concocting their plans for an outbreak; as the order, instead of being kept secret, was formally copied, and circulated in the order book!

But notwithstanding these unfortunate blunders

But only two days after, on the 10th, as if they feared others would anticipate them in the sanguinary game, the 5th and 60th Native Infantry rushed, by tacit arrangement, to their bells of arms, and clamorously began to load and cap their muskets. They were eventually quelled, and, most strange to say, unconditionally forgiven, after which the most of both battalions marched off to join the rebels at Delhi.

These minor blunders were exceptions to the able management evinced in the Punjab and Cis-Sutlej provinces. The fort of Phillour, on the Doab frontier, was fortunately saved by having a

company of European infantry and some European gunners placed into it, while the native troops were expelled. The same promptitude saved the fort of Govindghur, one of the most important strongholds in the Punjab, having complete command of Umritsir, the holy capital of the Sikhs. When the revolt took place, it was held by a strong detachment of the 59th Bengal Native Infantry

and only seventy European gunners, who must have been overpowered and destroyed, had they not been reinforced by a subdivision of H.M. 81st, hurried over from Lahore in native one-horse gigs.

What the 59th would have done may be deduced from the fact, that it was necessary soon after to deprive them of their arms and ammunition.

CHAPTER XLIV.

AFFAIRS IN PESHAWUR.—ACTS OF DISARMING.—MUTINIES IN THE DOAB, AT BAREILLY, AND ELSEWHERE.

At the time of these occurrences, our troops in the valley of Peshawur consisted of 2,800 Europeans, and 8,000 natives, with eighteen field pieces and a mounted battery. On hearing of the mutinies, it was suggested by Colonel John Nicholson, an Irish officer of great gallantry, to form a movable column of select troops, while, at the same time, a rigid supervision of the sepoy correspondence was made at the Post Office; and the 64th Bengal Native Infantry, which was notoriously disaffected, was broken up into small detachments, which were posted far apart. But the insolent demeanour of the men was no longer concealed, and letters, addressed to them through the post, revelled in descriptions of the atrocities perpetrated elsewhere on the Feringhee men, women, and children, and urging them to emulate the example.

A letter from a portion of the 51st Native Infantry, stationed at Attock, addressed to the 64th, fell into the hands of Brigadier Cotton, commanding at Peshawur, and part of it ran thus:—"The cartridge will have to be beaten on the 22nd instant. Of this you are hereby informed. This is addressed to you by the whole regiment. Oh, brothers! the religion of Hindoos and Mohammedans is all one; therefore all you soldiers should know this. Here, all the sepoys are at the bidding of the jemadar, soubahdar-major, and havildar-major. All are discontented with this business, whether small or great. What more need be written?"

Another hand in the same letter added—"In whatever way you can manage it, come into Peshawur on the 21st instant. Thoroughly understand that point; in fact, eat there, and drink here!"

Made thus aware of what was about to take place, and that (as Colonel Edwardes said at a council

of war) "whatever gave rise to the mutiny, it had settled down into a struggle for empire under Mohammedan guidance, with the Mogul capital for its centre," the authorities were able to counterwork the plot of the 55th and 64th. On the 21st of May, the day appointed, a party of the former corps quitted their post on the Attock ferry, and marched towards Nowshera, where Major Verner, who commanded there, had been informed of their intentions, and thus intercepted and disarmed them. But the moment he entered Nowshera with his prisoners, three companies of the 55th, stationed there, rescued them, broke into the magazine, filled their pouches with ammunition, crossed the Cabul, and, on hastening to Murdan, where the rest of the battalion was quartered, its mutiny was complete.

It was but too apparent now, that it was impossible to delay the general disarmament of the native troops, and the movement began in Peshawur. There were stationed the 5th Cavalry, the 26th, 24th, 27th, and 51st Bengal Native Infantry. The 21st, having hitherto shown no sympathy with the mutineers, was exempted from the degradation, together with the 7th and 18th Irregular Cavalry—the latter not without considerable hesitation on the part of those in command. "But the case stood thus. Four native regiments were to be disarmed, while three, who were to be spectators of the operation, were by no means free from the suspicion of being more inclined to oppose than to assist in it."

On the morning of the 22nd, H.M. 70th Foot, and the 87th Irish Fusiliers, with the artillery, took post at each end of the cantonments; and so firmly and promptly acted our officers, that the four regiments dared not resist, but laid down their arms when ordered to do so. And this master-

stroke had a magical effect on the people and chiefs in the valley of Peshawur.

The next step was to deal with the 55th, in open mutiny at Murdan. At midnight, on the 23rd, a force of 300 European infantry, 250 irregular cavalry, with police, and eight guns, quietly left Peshawur, under Colonel Chute, of H.M. 70th, accompanied by Colonel Nicholson, as political officer. *En route* they were increased by a party, under Major Vaughan, from Nowshera, and by sunrise on the 25th, the whole were seen approaching Murdan. On this, the mutineers at once abandoned the fort, and fled towards the hills of Surat, but Nicholson's galloping troopers soon overtook them, and facing about, they made a desperate resistance.

Broken by a charge, they fled again in small parties; but 120 were slain, and 150 made prisoners. Many of these were marched back to Peshawur, and blown from the guns on parade.

About the same time, the 5th Native Infantry were in a state of mutiny at Umballa, although fully aware that H.M. 75th was then ready to annihilate them, for the blood of every Briton was at fever-heat now; but the officer commanding them, dreading the responsibility of bloodshed, merely disbanded them, on which they marched off to swell the fast-gathering army of traitors at Delhi. Thus every officer did not act with the wise energy of Nicholson, as Brigadier Johnson permitted Loodiana to be plundered, and the three regiments from Jullunder and Phillour to march off with all their arms to Delhi.

The 14th, at Jhelum, was found ready for revolt, but the officer sent against them by Sir John Lawrence disobeyed his instructions, and in the sharp conflict which ensued, as the sepoys had the advantage, they made their escape. This emboldened the discontented regiments at Sealkote to rise, in that way which was now the fashion, upon their officers, burst open the gaol, plunder the treasury and the European houses, and set out on the march to Delhi. But Nicholson was not far off, with his select movable column, and after having succeeded in disarming three more regiments, regardless of the then insufferable heat, he pushed on with untiring energy and speed.

Overtaking the Sealkote mutineers, he cut them to pieces, took all their baggage and ammunition, together with the spoil of the station. Four hundred of them were left dead on the field.

In short, within a month from that Sunday evening at Meerut, there was scarcely a native regiment between Allahabad and the banks of the Sutlej which had not revolted; and as the sepoys

flocked towards Delhi, as the seat of the new government, the recapture of it became daily more urgent, and, to all appearance, more arduous. Lawrence and his gallant compatriots turned all their attention to the dispatch of men and munition for the intended siege; but with the slender means at his disposal, and the harassing local demands upon them, he thought of placing Peshawur and all the district that lay beyond the Indus, in the hands of Dost Mohammed, and thus obtaining the valuable aid of the royal forces quartered there. Colonel Edwardes earnestly opposed this idea, and referred to Lord Canning, on the 10th of June. "Hold on at Peshawur to the last," was his reply, dated the 15th of July, for so completely had the rebels cut off the communication between Calcutta and the Punjab, that it was sent by steamer to Lord Harris at Madras, to be telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, from whence he was to send it to the front as best he could.

Though the energetic measures resorted to in the Punjab gave security there for a time, the revolt made alarming progress elsewhere. Early in May, the 9th Native Infantry were in the Doab; three companies were stationed at Allyghur, three at Mynpooree, three at Etawah, and one at Bolandshuhur. Though startled and shocked by the events at Meerut and elsewhere, their officers still had confidence in them, especially after parties of the revolted 3rd Cavalry, in search of plunder, came near them, and were fired upon and driven off. At the station of Bolandshuhur it chanced that a mutinous agent, or spy, was captured by them, and given over to the authorities, by whom he was hanged. Unfortunately, he proved to be a high-caste Brahmin, and this sequel so shocked and enraged the very men who had apprehended him, that a frenzy seized them on the 20th of May; they plundered the treasury, opened the gaol, and marched off to Delhi. By the 24th, every detachment of the corps had imitated their example. The men at Mynpooree were opposed and thwarted by the bravery and energy of a young English lieutenant, named De Kantow, who succeeded, by an admirable display of patience, temper, and courage, in saving the contents of the treasury, for which he was warmly thanked by the Governor-General.

After a little pause, a simultaneous burst of insurrection took place, and in localities so far apart, that it seemed scarcely possible to have been the result of a previous understanding. On the 28th of May, the Huriana Light Infantry, and the 4th Irregular Cavalry, quartered in the towns

of Hansi and Hissar, north-westward of Delhi, broke out into open mutiny. This they inaugurated by an indiscriminate massacre of all the Europeans, accompanied by atrocities as black and as sickening as any that had yet occurred. On the very same day, at the distant locality of Nusseerabad, fifteen miles south-west of Ajmere, in the heart of Rajpootana, the 15th and 30th Bengal Native Infantry, with a company of native artillery, revolted and made themselves masters of the guns, but not without a struggle. As if to show how little sympathy the army of their presidency had with the movement, the 1st Bombay Lancers thrice charged the mutineers, but without success, as the disparity of numbers was too great, and they were compelled to retire to Beawr, thirty miles distant, while the former set the cantonments in flames, and marched off to Delhi. During the struggle, many European officers fell, but, protected by the lancers, the survivors were enabled to escape. One of these, Lieutenant Prichard, writes thus of the dreadful suspense in which the Europeans were kept at that terrible time :—

“ I think all who have passed through the eventful period of 1857 will agree with me that the most distressing time of all was the interval—short in some cases, long in others—which elapsed before the troops actually declared their mutinous intentions. To trust them really was impossible ; at the same time we could not actually distrust them.

. Those who had families to protect, wives and children, whose fate might be so dreadful that the stoutest heart feared to contemplate it, and the bare possibility of which was enough to unman any one, experienced this anxiety to the utmost. But there we were, day after day, looking out eagerly for reports, discussing among ourselves anxiously the signs of the times, and the feeling of our men, and the prospect of their remaining faithful, with the chance of escape, or the first mode of action to be adopted if they mutinied. From the first thing in the morning to the last thing at night, we were kept with our mental energies strained to the very utmost, striving to maintain a careless, unconcerned demeanour, lest we should encourage disaffection by showing want of confidence. Expecting to hear from the lines every moment the sound of uproar that would herald in, we knew, a scene of outrage and massacre, we looked at our wives and little ones, and felt how powerless we were to save and protect those whom God had given us for protection, from a lawless and bloodthirsty rabble, drunk with lust and fury.”

After denying the truth of those stories that

some officers shot their wives to save them from indignities, he says, “ The accounts of the atrocities heaped upon the ladies at Delhi and many other places, were, alas, no fabrication. They were too true. This has been proved by investigation made upon the spot, though the detailed results of those inquiries will probably never be made public, and perhaps it is just as well they should not be.”*

Simultaneous with the rising in Rajpootana was a formidable outbreak at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkund, where the wrongs suffered by the Rohillas, in consequence of the compact between Warren Hastings and the nabob, had never been forgotten, and were remembered now with all the unreasoning rancour of a transmitted feud.

On receiving tidings of the proclamation of a king at Delhi, the 18th and 68th Bengal Native Infantry, cantoned at Bareilly, were thrown into a state of high excitement, which was enhanced by the passage through their lines of 150 mutineers of the 45th, from another post. Their officers had foreseen the impossibility of averting an outbreak, and had wisely transferred all women and children to Nynce Tal. The men talked sometimes openly of revolting, but being loth that any of their intended victims should escape them, they employed all the arts of Oriental treachery to delude their officers, and professing contrition, begged for forgiveness for having been at all misled, and then urged, some with tears in their eyes, that the European ladies and children might be brought back from Nynce Tal. With this their relations were not so infatuated as to comply. But the request imposed so much upon Brigadier Sibbald, that he wrote to Government, extolling the fidelity of his sepoys ; and ere the letter reached its destination, he was one of their first victims.

On Sunday, the 31st of May, by a preconcerted signal, they rushed to arms, and commenced the work of devastation and slaughter, by pouring grape and musketry into the officers' quarters, firing the houses, plundering the treasury, and loosing from gaol some 3,000 prisoners, who instantly fraternised with the populace, who were notorious as the most turbulent in British India ; and Ruktawar Khan, a soubahdar of artillery, who assumed the rank of general, commanded the whole, and rode through the streets in the carriage of the murdered brigadier, attended by a numerous staff. The escapes of many on that night—for the revolt took place at eleven p.m.—were marvellous, but few were more so than those of Captains Peterson and Gibbs, and Lieutenant Warde of the 68th, who had to gallop along the line of the whole

* “ The Mutinies in Rajpootana.”

parade, exposed to volleys of musketry and grape, at 200 yards. An old native judge, one of the Company's servants, named Khan Bahadur Khan, the descendant of an old Rohilla chief, proclaimed himself King of Rohilkund, and inaugurated this assumption by a cruel tragedy. Among the prisoners captured were Messrs. Robertson and Raikes, of the civil service, Doctors Hay and Bach, principal of the college. All of these unfortunates were brought to trial before a mock court; the forms of law were gone through, and they were hanged in front of the gaol. On the same Sunday, the 28th mutinied at Shahjehanpore, shot an officer dead, and sent a party to murder the Europeans in the church; but though Mr. McCallum was shot in the pulpit, and though others were cut down, the greater part effected an escape to Oude, only to be in the end barbarously massacred near Aurangabad. There the ladies were compelled to quit their carriages by the sepoy of the 41st, and "on their alighting they were shot one by one—the children, some bayoneted, others dashed on the ground." All the officers were then killed. "The police jemadar afterwards came up, and finding the bodies of the officers, ladies, and children lying there, had a large hole dug, and buried them all in it."^{*}

Most atrocious was the mutiny at Jhansi, which stands 140 miles south of Agra, where a bitter feeling of disaffection existed, especially among those who regretted the fall of their independence, and the loss of their native court. The ranees had never concealed her hatred of the British Government, whose pension she had scornfully spurned; thus Jhansi was not long in taking a part in the terrible Bengal convulsion. The only troops there were the left wings of the 12th Bengal Native Infantry, and 14th Irregular Infantry, and with these the ranees and her advisers had begun to tamper on the first tidings of the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi; but a dread of being unsuccessful kept them in a state of sulkiness till the 4th of June. Forewarned of the coming peril, the Europeans, whose whole number, women and little ones included, amounted to only fifty-five, had taken shelter in the Star Fort, and the task seemed indeed a dark and desperate one to withstand the bloodthirsty hordes who beset them. They barricaded the gates, and defended themselves for four days and nights, the ladies behaving admirably, cooking their scanty store of provisions, nursing the wounded, and casting bullets; but after Captain

Gordon, Lieutenant Powys, and others had fallen, their position became most desperate.

Then the merciless ranees sent her elephants, and the gates were forced. By retiring to some buildings they were able to fight—as only men can fight—who do so for those that are dearest to them—for a little longer; and, as an unconditional surrender was impending, they gladly accepted the terms offered—to surrender the fort on condition that their lives were spared. "This offer, after it had been confirmed by the most solemn oaths, was accepted, and all who had survived the miseries of the siege, having laid down their arms, were beginning to retire, when, in utter violation of all that had been stipulated and sworn, they were carried off to a place of execution, and put to the sword, man, woman, and child, with a barbarity too horrible for description."

The men were destroyed first, Captain Burgess taking the lead, with his elbows tied behind his back, and a Book of Common Prayer in his hands.

At Agra, once the capital of all India under Akbar, and the centre of the leading province of his mighty empire, great anxiety was felt as the rebellion spread; but, as there was a European force there, whatever happened, there would be a sharp struggle. In garrison were the 3rd Bengal Fusiliers (now 107th of H.M. Line), a troop of European artillery, with the 44th and 67th Native Infantry. That the latter meant mischief soon became apparent, from the number of incendiary fires that broke out at night. By these they hoped to lure forth the white troops to extinguish the flames, when advantage would be taken of their absence to seize the fort; but the arrangements of those in command defeated this. Aware that everything depended on possession of the fort, no means were omitted to secure it. On the 14th of May the sepoy troops were harangued on parade, when they made the air ring with protestations of their inviolate fidelity. It chanced that the two native regiments were on bad terms, and Mr. Colvin thought to turn this to good account by employing each corps as a check upon the other; but, about the end of May, it became desirable to bring in a quantity of treasure from Muttra, thirty miles distant; and, not to weaken the European force, a company from each sepoy corps was sent to escort it, in the belief that their mutual hatred would preclude any act of common treachery. However, no sooner was the money in their possession than they forgot their feud, and marched off to Delhi with it. In consequence of this the remaining companies of both regiments were instantly disarmed, and many of the men deserted.

* "The Indian Mutiny," 1858.

The outbreak at Allahabad presented the usual features of cruelty and crime. There some of the native infantry, to "throw dust in the eyes" of the authorities, were so loyal in their protestations

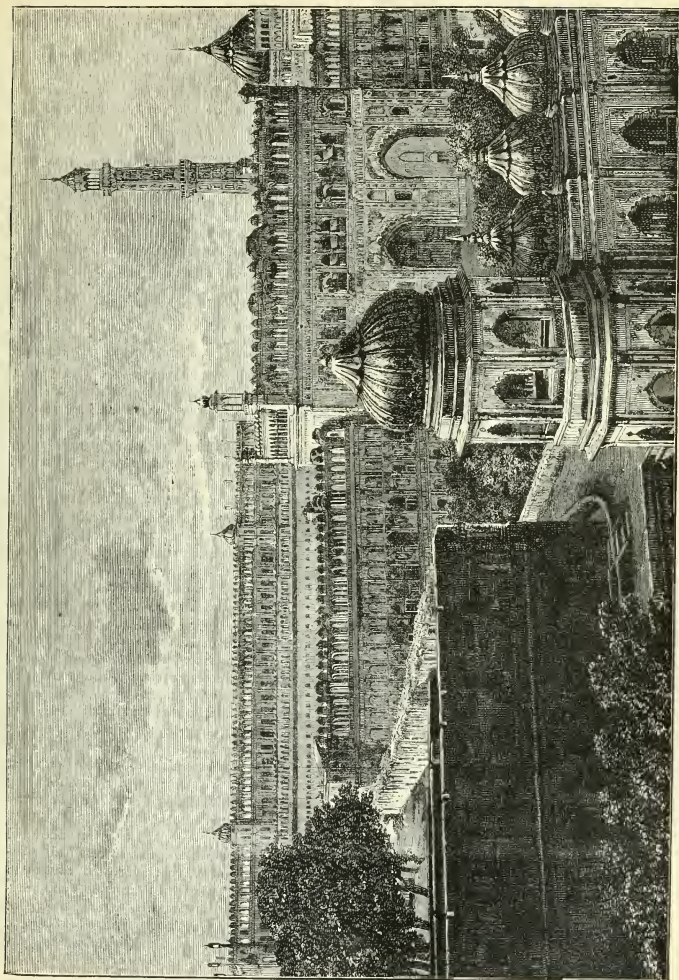
up to a kind of frenzy by stragglers from other stations. Situated at the delta of the Ganges and the Jumna, the city is considered the key of Lower Bengal. Its arsenal contained 40,000 stand of



FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS FROM THE MUTINEERS.

that they volunteered to march against Delhi, and the 6th in particular were thanked by the Governor-General, and on the 6th of June officers and men fraternised in a tableau "that would not have disgraced the earlier days of the first French revolution;" but in the same night all were worked

new arms, a vast number of cannon, and other stores. A few Europeans—the magazine staff—were the chief guardians of the arsenal, while the garrison within the fortress consisted of a Sikh regiment 400 strong, and a company of the 6th, the other nine being in the cantonments. Further to



VIEW OF THE GREAT IMAMBARA, LUCKNOW.

strengthen the fort, a body of European invalids, all of whom were men of extreme age, were brought by steamer from Chunar, and arrived at a crisis, when the company of the 6th who held the principal gate had conspired to admit the rest of the battalion.

On the 6th of June, at nine in the evening, as the officers were at mess, the bugles in the cantonments sounded the alarm. They hurried out; a fire was instantly opened upon them, and five officers of the 6th, with nine young ensigns attached to the corps, were all shot down. On this night, the bravery of the unfortunate Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3rd Oude Irregulars, who strove to hold the bridge of the Jumna, was gloriously conspicuous, till he was shot through the heart. Many other officers were barbarously murdered within the lines, while the work of unchecked rapine, fire and pillage, reigned everywhere around the fort, which a few Europeans, with the Sikhs (after driving out the company of the 6th), defended stoutly. As usual, the treasury was plundered, the gaol burst open, and prisoners to the number of thousands were liberated, and before dawn the whole were off to Delhi, the common focus, leaving more than fifty Europeans lying murdered in all directions; and now British authority had totally ceased to exist along the whole bank of the Ganges from Allahabad to Agra, more than 250 miles.

The houses of the Europeans at the former place had, as elsewhere, been destroyed; the railway-stations shared the same fate; the telegraph-wires had been cut down, "the lightning dawk" posts being deemed magical; the lines of rail were torn up for twenty miles. The locomotives were for some time left untouched, lest they might explode; but ultimately they were cautiously riddled with round shot from a distance, amid yells of triumph.

Sixty miles below this city stands Benares, the grand seat of Hindoo science and mythology, where, if religion had aught to do with the revolt, it might have been expected to have shown its utmost fury. Its population of 180,000 was famous for its turbulent character. The regiments there in garrison consisted of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, the Loodiana Infantry, and the 13th Bengal Irregular Cavalry, while the only Europeans were the gunners of Major Oliphant's battery, a party of the Madras Fusiliers, and 150 men—"brave Irishmen of the 10th," as Colonel Edwardes justly called them.

As it was believed that the Sikh corps and the cavalry would be faithful, while the 37th were mutinous, a general parade was ordered for the disarmament of the latter, on the evening of the 4th of June. Prior to this, they discovered by some unknown channel the degradation that awaited

them, and to make matters worse, tidings came that the 17th Native Infantry had mutinied successfully at Azimghur, a place fifty miles distant, and carried off £170,000 from the treasury. As there was no time to be lost now, the bells of arms were ordered to be locked; but the sepoy forces forced the doors, and secured their muskets by open force, and appeared with them on parade. On one side stood the Europeans, little over 200 strong; on the other were the natives, above 2,000; but the former had three pieces of cannon, while the latter had none.

Some of the companies of the 37th, on being ordered, piled their arms; but while in the act of doing so, a few dared to fire upon their officers. The Sikhs, supposing their only safety lay in joining the mutineers, now poured a ragged volley among the Europeans, and had three showers of grape from Oliphant's guns sent into them. They bravely charged up to the very muzzles of the cannon three times with the bayonet, and thrice were repulsed by the withering fire of grape. As darkness had now fallen, Colonel Spottiswood of the 37th took a blazing port-fire, and with his own hand set fire to the sepoy lines of huts. The flames spread fast, and threw up such a lurid light as to expose to full view the mutineers who, from cover, were firing on the handful of Europeans, who retorted so terribly, that in a few minutes 100 of the former lay dead, and twice that number were wounded, when the rest fled in the wildest disorder. Though Major Guise, of the cavalry, had been murdered early in the night, some of his corps and some of the Sikhs remained loyal or neutral, and craved pardon, urging that they had acted under terror of the sepoys. Colonel Neill, who was on the scene of action with his famous Madras Fusiliers, acted with stern promptitude and decision in scouring the country and bringing in prisoners, who were hanged, flogged, or shot, as their cases required. The most guilty sepoys and sowars (*i.e.*, riders), were placed in the fort, and when their crimes were made clear, they were blown from the guns, a mode of punishment more dreaded by them than any other. While the Colonel was endeavouring to enforce order at Benares, he was commanded by Lord Canning to march to Allahabad. "Can't do it," he curtly telegraphed; "wanted here."

On the 4th of June we had only four killed and twenty-one wounded; and this success had an excellent effect upon the population, who, contrary to what had been feared from their number and peculiar character, did not venture to rise; though at Jaunpore a Sikh detachment murdered its officers, and on being joined by the fugitives of the 37th, plundered the treasury and decamped.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE MUTINY IN OUDE.—SIEGE OF LUCKNOW.—COMBAT OF CHINHUTT.—MASSACRES AT CAWNPORE.

"THE first and most vivid impression received from the pages of early travellers in India," says a writer, "is made by the frequent recurrence of cases of premeditated cruelty. From the highest to the lowest among 'the mild Hindoos,' quite as much as among the fierce and fanatic followers of the Arabian prophet, princes and people alike appear to delight in the infliction of barbarous tortures, except where satiety of horrors has induced an utter indifference to human suffering."* As they were in the days of Mandeville and Marco Polo, so were the Hindostanees in the days of the Mutiny in their lust of cruelty and bloodshed.

Sir Henry Lawrence was meanwhile preparing for the worst in Oude, which was destined for a time to be a main centre of the revolt. His headquarters at the Lucknow Residency were situated on the northern side of the city, near the right bank of the Goomtee. Close by were the treasury and other public buildings, all of stone, and a mile or more distant was the Chowpeyrah Istubul, an edifice used as barracks by the only European troops in the province—H.M. 32nd Foot. "At some distance to the north of the barracks stood another building called the Kuddum Rasool, converted into a powder magazine. In the same vicinity were the lines of the 3rd Regiment of Military Police. Immediately south of the barracks was the Tara Kotee, or observatory, where the law-courts were grouped. About a mile above the Residency, and on the same side of the river, were the Dowlut Khana and Sheesh Mahal, forming part of the palace of the old Kings of Oude. In one were the head-quarters of the brigadier commanding the Oude Irregular Force, and in the other a magazine containing many stands of arms and native guns. Still farther up the river, and to the westward, was the palace of Moosa Bagh, occupied by the commanding officers of the 4th and 7th Oude Irregular Infantry, which were cantoned in its vicinity. About a quarter of a mile above the Residency, the Goomtee was crossed by an iron bridge, the road from which led almost in a straight line to the Muraion and Moodkeepore cantonments."

In the latter, at the distance of three miles from the city, were the 13th, 48th, and 71st Native Infantry, the 7th Cavalry, two battalions of native, and one of European artillery. The 2nd Oude

Cavalry were at Chukkur Kotee, on the left bank of the river. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had full military power, saw a necessity for altering these arrangements. Four guns were brought from the Muraion cantonment into the quarters of the 32nd Regiment, which furnished 120 men to guard the treasury and Residency in lieu of native troops. The women, children, and sick were placed in the Residency, and the rest of the 32nd were stationed close to the European battery; and as a place of strength, and for the concentration of stores—more than all, as a final asylum when the worst came—choice was made of the Muchee Bhawn, midway between the Residency and the Dowlut Khana.

The 24th of May, the great Mohammedan festival of the Eed, had, as in some other places, been generally fixed upon for a rising in Oude; but the terrible crisis, so fearfully looked forward to by all Europeans, did not arrive till the 30th. On that evening, when the gun was fired as usual at nine o'clock, its echoes had barely died away in the cantonments, when the light company of the 71st turned out with their arms, and began firing ball at random, while two parties of the same corps and the 7th Cavalry appeared suddenly at opposite points, and made for the mess-house, with the evident design of placing the officers between two fires, and rendering escape hopeless. At the sound of the first shot Sir Henry Lawrence was in his saddle, and he hurried with his staff to that part of the cantonment where 300 Europeans, with six guns, were posted. Two of these guns were placed on the road that led to Lucknow, to intercept any mutineers who might attempt to reach it; the other four swept the native parade, where the natives stood under arms, by regiments—first, the 71st; next, the 13th; and lastly, the 48th, for military order always prevailed when the native officers revolted with their men. The 71st shot down Brigadier Handscomb, and then advanced firing.

A shower of grape from the four guns sent them flying to their lines, where they barbarously murdered a European officer, whose body was found a mass of bayonet and bullet wounds. The 48th, who had been in the rear, and did not suffer from the grape, were not active in the mutiny, but refused to aid in its repression, and deserted in such numbers that only fifty-seven remained with the colours. The mutineers obtained a considerable amount of pillage; they burned the bungalows,

* James Hutton.

and ruined the cantonments, but had sustained a defeat. On the 31st they were seen in position near the lines of Moodkeepore; but after a few discharges from the guns, they fled in confusion towards Seetapore. Meanwhile, the greatest alarm prevailed in the city. A company of the 71st, which had been removed from the Muchee Bhawn to another station some days before, on being ordered to "pile arms," refused to obey; and on that evening—the 31st—the city mob, to the number of 6,000, rose, and crossed the river by a ford, and were moving, in a yelling and ferocious mass, towards Muraion, to join the mutineers; but when this scheme was frustrated by the cannon on the road, they returned to the city, and after rioting in the streets, were repressed by the native troops in the Dowlut Khana, who did not decline to act, and fired on them heavily for an hour; but after this the European women and children were compelled to take shelter in the Residency.

As if taking the signal from Lucknow, a revolt took place at all the principal stations in Oude, and with the same sickening details attending all. On the morning of the 3rd of June, the noise of musketry and tumultuous shouts announced to Seetapore that the 10th Irregulars were plundering the treasury. When hastening, with two companies of the 41st, to the rescue, Colonel Birch and two other officers were slain. In anticipation of some such event, Mr. Christian, the Civil Commissioner, had collected all the European civilians with their families at his house, under a guard of the military police, who, when the mutiny became general, murdered him and made an indiscriminate massacre of all who were in the mansion.

In Fyzabad most hideous crimes took place, when the 22nd Native Infantry and the 6th Oude Irregulars rose. Colonel Goldney, the commissioner, obtained shelter in the fort of a talookdar for the Europeans, while the treasure was assigned to the mutineers. On solemn promises given, the officers with their families began to descend the river in boats, but according to a concerted plan were overtaken by the mutinous 17th at a place called Begumgunge, where volleys of grape and musketry were opened upon them. Many perished instantly; others attempted to escape by swimming, but were shot or bayoneted the moment they reached the bank. Colonel Goldney alone was taken. "I am an old man," said he, "surely you will not disgrace yourselves by my murder?" But he was slain on the spot.

Of the massacre near Aurangabad we have already written; but while the mutiny spread thus in Oude, the condition of its capital became daily

more alarming, and the idea of a siege, which many there had scouted, now began to be seriously, yet desperately, entertained. Sir Henry Lawrence was indefatigable; he had guns mounted at every commanding point, a store of provisions laid in, and in addition to his Europeans were 437 men of the mutinous garrison, who remained true, and, to all appearance, as much interested as the former in holding out against the insurgents. Throughout the month of June, Sir Henry not only repelled every attack, but inflicted severe chastisement on the rebels when they came too near. But, owing to the number of women and children who had taken shelter in the Residency, provisions began to run short, and it therefore became necessary to make a sortie in the direction of the enemy's camp. This brought on the affair which was known as the "battle of Chindhut," a few miles east of Lucknow.

Intelligence came in, on the 29th of June, that the rebel advance guard, consisting of 500 bayonets and 100 horse, were then collecting supplies for their main body, which, on the following day, was to come from Nawabgunge Bara Bankee, in consequence of which the troops from the cantonments were sent into the Residency and the Muchee Bhawn, which literally means "the fish-house," a castle of the ancient Shikhs, over the gate of which a fish is carved. At four a.m. next day, a force, consisting of 250 of the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment, 100 Sikh cavalry, thirty-five Volunteer Horse, a party of Carnegie's Burkandazees, with an eight-inch howitzer, and ten field-pieces, drawn by elephants and horses, and manned by natives, set forth as a sortie under Sir Henry, and early though the hour, the air was close and suffocating.*

Beyond the Kokrail Bridge the first difficulties were experienced, as the path there was the summit of an unfinished embankment of loose earth, with gaps where arches were to be built. After a halt under a blazing sun, and while—by some oversight—no refreshment was served out, the force moved slowly on, till their advanced files were fired on from the village of Ismailgunge, on the Chindhut road, about 9 a.m. Followed by the rest of the guns, the howitzer now came clattering up and opened fire, while the column still struggled along the embankment, exposed to the round shot of the enemy, whose strength had been increased, and at that time, unknown to Sir Henry, actually amounted to 5,550 bayonets, 800 horse, and 160 artillerymen, with twelve nine-pounders.

These were seen posted in front of Chindhut. The detachment of the 32nd deployed to the left, between Ismailgunge and the road; the native

* "Siege of Lucknow;" Rees' "Personal Narrative," &c.

infantry crossing the latter to the right, and drawing up in front of a small hamlet. And now, after a fire had been exchanged for about twenty minutes, the enemy seemed to be giving way, till our troops became the victims of treachery. The native gunners cut the traces of their horses, threw the guns into a ditch, and galloped off; at least the howitzer, six field-pieces, and most of the limbers were lost thus, while a murderous fire was poured on our slender force by the enemy. Then the Sikhs turned their horses' heads and fled. Sir Henry was constrained to retreat. The Europeans, who could be spared least, suffered most, 112 being killed, and forty-four wounded, among whom was the brigadier. "Men were falling, untouched by ball; the heat of a June sun was killing more than the enemy."* The loss in natives was also great, but far less by casualties than by shameful desertion.

After this reverse, Sir Henry was obliged to contract his lines of defence within the Residency grounds; and what was more disastrous even than the loss of life was the damage to that reputation, which had enabled him to keep the *budmashes* of the city in awe. The few natives who had hitherto remained nominally faithful, now mutinied in the Dowlut Khana, as did the police, who held a grand domed edifice, named the Imambara, or "House of the Twelve Patriarchs," midway between that building and the Muchee Bhawn. Meanwhile, the victorious rebels from Chinhatt had urged the pursuit unchecked, till they attempted to force the brick bridge above the old castle, and the beautiful iron bridge of three elliptical arches above the Residency. Though repulsed, by means of a ford they entered the city, and there established themselves in such numbers, that, before nightfall, the Muchee Bhawn and the Residency were both closely invested.

On the 4th of July Sir Henry expired of a wound received from a shell which burst into his room; and British India was deprived, when at its greatest need, of the priceless services of one of its most illustrious servants. On his death the command devolved on Brigadier J. E. W. Inglis, of the 32nd, an officer who had served with that regiment during the rebellion in Canada, and throughout all the operations of the Punjaub campaign. Had there been no women and children to hamper their movements, the brave handful of the 32nd would have cut their way to Cawnpore or Agra; but with 350 helpless creatures depending upon their humanity and valour, they had no alternative but to fight during that close and perilous siege of twelve weeks, till relieved by Outram and Havelock.

Three days before the little disaster at Chinhatt, there was perpetrated at Cawnpore that dreadful massacre of which it is impossible to think or write with adequate patience, too great pity, or horror.

Separated from Oude by the Ganges was the district of Cawnpore, one of the most fertile in Upper India, which, after the battle of Buxar, had been ceded to Britain by the vizier-king of Oude. In its capital, of the same name, situated on the west side of the river, and built in a straggling manner on a sandy plain, broken occasionally into sandy ravines, General Sir Hugh Wheeler, with only 200 European soldiers, held the command, and opposed to him was a strong brigade of native troops, consisting of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Bengal Native Infantry, with the 2nd Cavalry; and he was compelled to rest satisfied for the worst eventuality with means that were miserably inadequate. In the hope that the sepoys, if they did revolt, would quietly march off to Delhi, he formed an intrenchment which, though incapable of long defence, would furnish a temporary asylum. Reinforcements from Government were expected; but, urgent though the case was, Sir Henry Lawrence could only, when applied to, send him, on the 21st of May, fifty men of the 32nd, conveyed in post-carriages, and two squadrons of cavalry.

In this great emergency, Sir Hugh received an offer which was too tempting to be declined. It consisted of two guns and 300 matchlock-men, furnished by Doondhoo Punt, the wretch better known as the Nana Sahib of Bithoor, who secretly had been most assiduous in fomenting a spirit of rebellion amongst the troops. His residence, Bithoor, was within a few miles of Cawnpore, and his protestations of friendship were lavish, while he only waited an opportunity for vengeance. A singularly brutal voluptuary and bloodthirsty miscreant, his relations with us were such as to make him madly vindictive. On the dissolution of the Mahratta empire, when the last of the Peishwas was bereft of all power, he was permitted to live at Bithoor, and take the title of rajah from that place. Being without children, he adopted Nana Sahib, and left him property to the value of four millions sterling. A pension allowed by the British to his patron lapsed, according to usage, on that person's death without heirs male. The Nana pleaded Oriental law and custom as an adopted son, and claimed the pension, which our Government declined to accord; and from that hour he became a deadly enemy to all Europeans.

This bitter emotion he carefully concealed under a mask of admiration for western civilisation and a taste for European customs; and he lavishly

* "Siege of Lucknow;" Rees' "Personal Narrative," &c.

entertained, à l'Anglaise, British civil and military officials and their families at his palace of Bithoor. It appeared to be his ambition to be regarded as an English gentleman; he spoke the language fluently, and filled his palace with European furniture and pictures; he used British horses and carriages, but withal professed himself a profound Hindoo devotee. Sir Hugh Wheeler's long residence in India, and intimate acquaintance with native manners, made him more open to the influence of such a character; but though warned to be on his guard against him, such was his confidence in the Nana, that to his troops he assigned the guardianship of the treasury.

On the morning of the 5th of June the whole of the native troops mutinied, set fire to their lines, and marched to the treasury, where they were joined by the Nana's troops. £170,000 was packed on elephants or in carts, and they departed for Delhi; but, halting at the village of Nawabgunge, they were joined by the Nana, who put himself at their head; and as his object was not to revive a Mogul dynasty, but to raise a Mahratta throne for himself as Peishwa, he prevailed upon them to return and drive the Feringhees out of their entrenchment, inside which, three days before the rising, all the Christian non-military residents had been removed. It was totally unfitted to stand an investment of any duration, being completely commanded from various quarters, and, moreover, was simply a bank or breastwork. "The selection of such a place," it has been said, "was certainly a fatal error; and it is difficult to explain how an officer of so much experience and ability as Sir Hugh Wheeler could have fallen into it. He had a choice of other places. His entrenchment was at the south-east extremity of the cantonment, below the town of Cawnpore; whereas, at an equal distance above it, at the north-east extremity, stood the magazine, amply supplied with guns and military stores, and near it the treasury, which happened at that time to be well replenished. Ravines on one side, and the proximity of the river on the other, gave the magazine strong natural defences, while a high enclosing wall of masonry, with numerous substantial buildings, supplied at once the means of resistance and, what was equally wanted, adequate shelter. The only plausible account of the preference given to the entrenchment is that Sir Hugh, after having so long served with sepoys, still clung to the belief that they would not mutiny at all, or would, at worst, after temporary outrage, quit the station, and hasten off to Delhi."

The whole number of persons crowded within the entrenchment amounted to more than 500.

Of these not more than 200 were combatants, and 330 were women and children; but these numbers vary in the several accounts.

On the afternoon of the 5th the Nana seemed irresolute what course to pursue; but on the following morning he made a hostile demonstration against his former friends in Cawnpore. He sent a party of horse into the town, with orders to kill every European, Eurasian, and native convert they could find, without attacking the entrenchment, and then to fire the town. All this they did *con amore*. A high wind blew at the time, and a few minutes sufficed to involve the whole place in flames. The noise of the wind, the roar of the conflagration, the wild cries of the mutineers, maddened with bhag and excitement, and raging for blood, mingled with shrieks, oaths, and prayers, "formed an atmosphere of deviry which few of our countrymen could wish to breathe again. A few of the residents fought with the fury of despair; but they were a handful against many thousands of enemies, and silence gradually settled over the place, which a few hours before had been fair and flourishing."*

It was now that by beat of drum Nana Sahib proclaimed himself Peishwa of the Mahrattas, and unfurled two standards; one was announced as that of Mohammed, the other of Huneyman, the Monkey-god. Around the former all the Mussulmans crowded; around the latter mustered all the robbers, *badmashes*, and other villains of the locality. A position was taken up by the mutineers in front of the meagre entrenchment, which Sir Hugh Wheeler and his little band defended with the most heroic and romantic gallantry, hourly expecting help from whence no help could come. Various assaults were repelled at great cost to the mutineers, who at last cannonaded the place almost with impunity from twelve pieces of cannon, while Sir Hugh at times could only reply with one; hence the miseries of the besieged have seldom, if ever, been exceeded in the history of the world, while the dauntless courage and endurance they displayed have never been surpassed.

Captain John Moore, of the 32nd, who served at Moulton and Goojerat, wrote thus from Cawnpore on the 18th of June to Lawrence at Lucknow:—"Our troops, officers, and volunteers, have acted most nobly, and on several occasions a handful of men have driven hundreds before them. Our loss has been chiefly from the sun and their heavy guns. Our rations will last a fortnight, and we are well supplied with ammunition. Report says that troops are advancing from Allahabad, and any assistance

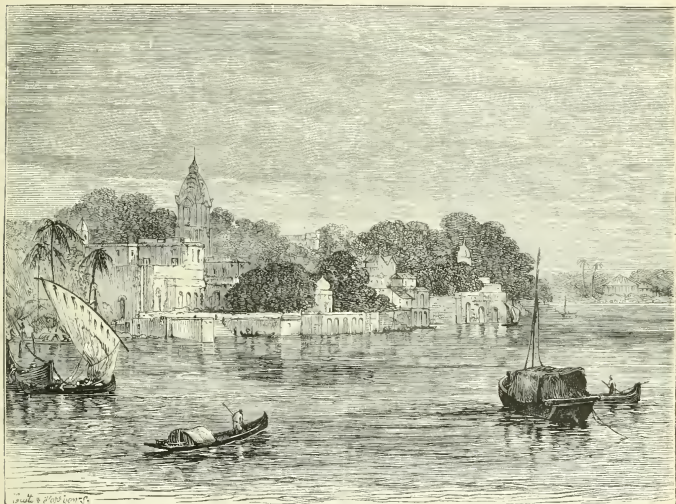
* "The Sepoy Revolt." By Henry Mead,

might save our garrison. We are, of course, prepared to hold out to the last."

Another letter, dated 24th June, after mentioning that the attack had been continued for eighteen days and nights without cessation, says, "The condition of misery experienced by all is utterly beyond description in this place. Death and mutilation in all their forms have been daily before us. The numerical amount of casualties has been frightful, caused both by sickness and the implements of war."

the dreadful sequel could be far off. The first thought was to assume the offensive, and by a desperate effort capture or spike the enemy's guns, or perish in the attempt. By this time a stray dog had been turned into soup; an old horse was considered a delicacy, and the well was nearly exhausted.

Meanwhile, outside Cawnpore, Europeans—men, women, and children—were daily dragged from their hiding-places in the surrounding country and



VIEW OF CAWNPORE.

The dead could only be disposed of by waiting till night, when the enemy's fire slackened; and they were thrown into a well outside the entrenchment. On the 13th of June, the enemy's live shells, which had compelled the officers to strike their tents, set fire to a barrack which was used as a hospital and shelter for the soldiers' families. The flames spread fast, and forty of the sick and wounded were burned to death; and now, as every other building was riddled by balls, the women and children had by day to burrow in holes in the ground, and there, too, they had to pass the night in the open air. It was impossible that with their thinning number and diminishing food,

put to death, every form of torture and indignity being previously resorted to; for infamies puerile and disgusting seemed to afford infinite delight to the Nana, who in some instances caused the noses and ears of his victims to be hung round their necks like beads.

It chanced that during the investment of the entrenchment, 126 British fugitives—the first who fled from Futtehghur—arrived opposite Cawnpore in boats. On these unfortunate and helpless people, some of whom were wounded, the Nana brought guns and musketry to bear, with the alternative of being sunk or submitting to his protection. Afraid to trust him, some declined, and

got away ; while the majority accepted his promises of security as their only chance ; and the moment he had them in his power, he ordered the work of slaughter to commence. "The women and children were dispatched with swords and spears ; the men were ranged in line, with a bamboo running along the whole extent, and passing through each man's arms, which were tied behind his back. The troopers then rode round them and taunted their victims, reviling them with the grossest abuse, and gloating over the tortures they were about to inflict. When weary of vituperation, one would discharge a pistol in the face of a captive, whose shattered head would droop to the right or left, the body meanwhile being kept upright, the blood and brains besprinkling his living neighbours. The next person selected for slaughter might be four or five paces distant. And in this way the fiends continued to prolong for several hours the horrible contact of the dead and the living. Not a soul escaped ; and the Nana Sahib thanked the gods of the Hindoos for the sign of favour bestowed upon him by the opportunity thus vouchsafed to torment and slay the Christians."*

The proposed sortie was a step which, with a force so slender, despair alone could justify ; hence it cannot be wondered at that, before incurring a responsibility so terrible, Sir Hugh Wheeler should listen to terms offered by that artful demon, the Nana. On the 24th of June, an aged lady named Mrs. Greenway, who with her family had been taken prisoner, and only spared on the promise of paying a lac of rupees as a ransom, arrived at the intrenchment, bearer of a note from the Nana to the effect that all officers and soldiers who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's government, would be sent in safety to Allahabad if they would lay down their arms. On this, provisions and conveyance would be amply furnished them. Sir Hugh Wheeler, ignorant of the fate of the Futtehghur fugitives, authorised Captain Moore to act in the matter as he should consider best ; and on the following day a treaty was made, by which Sir Hugh, on the part of the British Government, agreed to give up all the money, stores, and guns in the intrenchment ; the Nana, on his part, undertaking, and solemnly swearing "not only to allow all the inmates of the garrison to retire unmolested, but to provide means of conveyance for the wounded, and for the ladies and children." Hostilities at once ceased, and preparations for a departure were joyfully begun.

On the morning of the 27th, the miserable remnant of the garrison, with the women and children,

quitted the intrenchment, and were permitted quietly to embark in boats ; but the river-bank was lined with sepoys, "and then was perpetrated one of the most diabolical acts of treachery and murder that the darkest page of human annals records."*

Acting for the Nana, Tantia Topee took his seat on a platform and ordered a bugle to sound. Then two guns, that had been concealed, were run out, and opened with grape ; while a fire of musketry was poured from both banks of the river. The thatch of some of the native boats was ignited by hot cinders ; thus many of the sick, the wounded, and the helpless women were burned to death. The stronger women, many with children in their arms, sprang into the current, and were shot down in succession, or sabred by the troopers, who rode their horses into the stream. A number of both sexes, however, reached the shore, and then the Nana issued his orders that not a man should be permitted to live ; but that the women and children should be taken to his residence. There they were added to some captives from Futtehghur, and they all huddled together in one room, a prey to sorrow, grief, and horror. They were fed on the coarsest food, subjected to every foul indignity, and taken out by couples to grind corn for the household.

It is difficult to give any correct narrative of the fate of the British women and children who were dragged from the boats ; all the details are so different, and only agree in those which are too atrocious to place before the reader. The first demand of the Nana was that they should enter his harem ; but the women replied that they would prefer death. Among them was a younger daughter of Sir Hugh Wheeler, who has been represented as displaying an amount of courage that certainly borders on exaggeration. Before her capture she is said to have shot five sepoys with a revolver. Mr. Shepherd, a commissariat officer, who had disguised himself as a native cook, asserts that she was taken away by a trooper as his particular prize ; and that when in his hut she seized his sword, cut off his head, and then threw herself into a well. The ayah of a European family said that it was in the hut, and after cutting off the sowar's head, she shot four other sowars. Other accounts represent her being carried off by the trooper when the rebels retreated. Whatever was her fate, she was never seen or heard of more.

On the evening after this second massacre, the Nana celebrated the event by a series of salutes : one, of twenty-one guns, in his own honour as Peishwa, while he seated himself upon a throne,

* "The Sepoy Revolt."

* Marshman's "India."

and had Bithoor illuminated; another, of nineteen rounds, to his brother, Bala Sahib, now entitled Governor-General; and a third to Jowalla Pershaid, a rebel Brahmin soubahdar, whom he appointed Commander-in-chief. He concluded these ceremonies by a speech, in which he lauded his troops for their glorious achievements at Cawnpore.

Amid all this, on the 1st of July, another batch of fugitives from Futteghur arrived. "All the men, like those at Cawnpore, were put to death. The women and children were carried off to join the others already imprisoned in a building called

the Subada Ke Kotha, where they were destined to endure another fortnight of misery, and then become the victims of one of the most inhuman massacres ever perpetrated."

Not contented with the atrocities he had committed, the Nana, on hearing that a British force was advancing against him, resolved to cut off the noses and right hands of all the Bengalee clerks in the pay of commercial firms, or of the Civil Service, and all persons who were known to speak English; but already the British drums were beating not far from Cawnpore, and an army of vengeance and retribution was coming on.

CHAPTER XLVI.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECOVERY OF DELHI.—VICTORY OF BADULEE KE SERAI.—THE CORPS OF GUIDES.—THE SIEGE OF DELHI.—COMBAT OF NUJUFCHUR, AND ARRIVAL OF THE SIEGE TRAIN.

FROM Rangoon, Madras, and Ceylon, reinforcements of the Queen's troops were now pouring into Bengal; and in Britain, where the dreadful tidings brought by every mail from India, produced an amount of excitement and indignation that was unparalleled, and too often grief and horror, the general voice of the nation declared that, cost what it might in blood and treasure, the revolt must be suppressed and its crimes avenged; hence the embarkations of troops on a scale adequate to the crisis had commenced.

In India, one of the primary objects was the recovery of Delhi, and for this purpose all available troops were hurried on. Under the immediate direction of the Commander-in-chief, three European regiments—H.M. 75th, or Stirlingshire, the 1st and 2nd Fusiliers—which had been stationed near Simla, among the hills, arrived at Umballa, on the 23rd of May. To these were added the 9th, and a squadron of the 4th Lancers, the 60th, and two troops of horse artillery. These were formed in two small brigades, under Brigadiers Halifax and Jones, and with them the Commander-in-chief was preparing to move for Kurnaul when he died of cholera, on the 27th of May. General Reid, the next senior officer, was too unwell to be capable of undertaking the siege of Delhi, the operations against which were therefore entrusted to Sir Henry Barnard. To co-operate with the troops now advancing, a column came from Meerut, consisting of a wing of H.M. 60th Rifles,

two squadrons of the 6th Dragoon Guards, fifty troopers of the 4th Irregulars, two companies of native sappers, Scott's battery of six guns (two of which were eighteen-pounders), under the command of Brigadier Wilson, encamped, on the 30th, near Ghazee-ud-deen Nugger, a fortified village, about fifteen miles from the capital, where the Meerut and Delhi road crosses the little river Hindon by a suspension bridge.

A rumour that the mutineers, emboldened by numbers and past successes, meant to dispute the passage, was regarded as improbable, and hence there occurred a species of surprise when, about four in the afternoon, a picket of irregular cavalry, which had been posted beyond the bridge, came galloping into camp with the announcement that the enemy was in front. As if to give solid proof of this, an eighteen-pound shot came crashing into the camp, just as the Rifles got under arms, and advanced supported by the Carbineers.

Two companies of the 60th proceeded at the double to secure the bridge, which the brigadier deemed the key of his position, while he detached four guns and a squadron of Carbineers along the bank of the river to turn the enemy's flank. The rebels having opened with heavy guns upon the advanced companies, two more battalion companies were sent forward to support them, while four guns of Scott's battery and a troop of Carbineers also went into action. When within eighty yards of the enemy's guns, the Rifles, filled with ungovern-

able hate and fury, charged with fixed sword-bayonets. This movement was decisive, and the rebels, though outnumbering them at least sevenfold, took to disgraceful flight, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

The struggle was not yet over. Trusting to the strength of the village in which they had intrenched themselves, the mutineers mustered courage for another encounter, and next morning—Sunday, the 31st of May—opened a sharp cannonade, but kept their guns at such a cautious distance that no more captures were made. This precaution, and the intensity of the heat, made pursuit impossible, and enabled them to escape with the tidings of their own defeat to Delhi.

The intense excitement of our troops, as a general rule, enabled them to surmount everything; they had but one ardent and intense longing—for battle and vengeance. "Our blood is roused," wrote one of them at this time; "we have seen friends, relations, mothers, wives, and children brutally murdered, and their bodies mutilated frightfully. This alone, without the pluck that made us victorious over the Russians, would enable us, with God's assistance, to be victorious over these enemies. As the riflemen charge—ten to a hundred—the word is passed, 'Remember the ladies! remember the babies!' and everything flies before them. Hundreds are shot down or bayoneted. The sepoys, it is true, fight like demons; but we are British, and they are natives."*

In this last encounter we had Lieutenant Perkins, of the artillery, killed, and forty rank and file more or less severely wounded.

The Meerut column did not move till the 4th of June, when it did so in the direction of Bhagput, and on the 7th it reached Alipore, and formed a junction with the two brigades from the north. Quitting Alipore next day, the united forces, with the immediate prospect of fighting, advanced in three columns, marching in order of battle. The rebels had strongly intrenched themselves at a place called Badulee Ke Serai, to intercept the approach of the British troops to the line of the cantonments, which at Delhi occupy a lofty and somewhat rocky ridge northward and westward of the city, facing the Jumna, and a tract of ground which, in wet seasons, is always inundated. It was at Badulee Ke Serai, then, that the encounter was to take place, and the despatch briefly records it thus:—"As soon as our advanced picket met the enemy, these brigades deployed, leaving the main road clear. The enemy soon opened a very heavy

fire upon us, and finding that our light field-pieces did not silence their battery, and that we were losing men fast, I called upon the 75th Regiment to make a dashing charge, and take the place at the point of the bayonet; this service was done with the most heroic gallantry, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, and every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of the 75th Regiment, my thanks are most especially due. The 1st Europeans supported the attack, and on the second brigade coming up and threatening their right, and Brigadier-General Grant showing the head of his column and guns, the enemy abandoned the position entirely, leaving his guns on the ground."*

There, too, lay many of the wretches who had perpetrated the late massacres, terribly torn by shot or shell, and left to die like dogs in the summer heat, without aid or water, as the troops pushed on, for the work of the day was not yet over. This encounter took place five miles from Delhi, and Sir Henry Barnard, afraid to delay lest the enemy might form fresh works for him to storm, resolved, weary though his troops were, to push on at once. He formed his force in two great columns; one was led by Brigadier Wilson, with Shower's brigade in support, while he in person led the other, supported by Grove's brigade. Wilson marched along the Main Trunk Road, where he had to fight his whole way through gardens, high walls, and other obstacles, while the other, diverging to the left, proceeded straight through the cantonments, and came in sight of the magnificent city, with its vast marble palaces, its mosques and temples, its towering Koutab Minar, Houmayoun's tomb, and the vast extent of fortifications where, thick as bees, the armed rebels were clustered with all their cannon. But this point was not attained till the prowess of our troops had been sorely tested again.

The rebels had constructed another line of defence from the Flagstaff Tower to the late Maharajah Hindoo Rao's house, and there—as men who fought with halters round their necks—disputed every inch of the ground. They knew their fate if beaten, and how the column that came on from Umballa had been hanging, flogging, and shooting, or blowing from the guns, every mutineer that hands could be laid on. By nine o'clock the Army of Retribution—as it was justly named—had forced the ground, driven the rebels from their guns and into the city, and finally sweeping the ridge, met upon it at Hindoo Rao's house, which from that time became the key of our position. The whole cantonments and parade-ground were ours again. Of the former, blackened walls alone remained;

* "The Mutiny, to the Recapture of Lucknow."

* Sir H. Barnard's despatch.

the compounds were strewed with broken furniture, tattered books, leaves of music, soiled clothes, and fragments of female attire, all a suggestive scene of desolation that inflamed the minds of our men with a fierce desire for revenge.

On the following day they received a valuable addition by the arrival of the Corps of Guides, which formed the first instalment of troops from the Punjab. This regiment had marched from Peshawur to Delhi, 570 miles, in twenty-two days, in the hottest month of the Indian year, and the cheers in the British camp were long and loud when Captain H. Daly marched in at the head of his three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry. The men of this corps were selected for their courage, sagacity, and hardihood. They were taught to rely upon themselves individually, and thus acquired perfect confidence in their mutual co-operation. It was said that there was scarcely a wild or warlike tribe in Upper India which had not contributed recruits to this corps, and most of them were genuine mountaineers, habituated to warfare from their childhood. Their uniform was of a drab colour, and the pay eight rupees a month for a foot-soldier and twenty-four for a trooper.*

During the subsequent operations before Delhi these famous Punjab irregulars lost the whole of their officers three times over.†

After their long and arduous march—in one day alone, between Hotee Murdan and Attock, they got over thirty miles—they were certainly entitled to repose, but it was neither asked nor could be given, as a cannonade, which was continued all that morning, was followed up in the afternoon by a desperate attack on the right flank of the British.

In repelling it, the Guides displayed a valour that ended in rashness; they pursued the flying rebels close under the walls of Delhi, and exposed themselves to a dreadful fire, under which they suffered severely. Maddened to delirium with bhang, opium, and churries, many of the sepoye here acted, looked, and fought like incarnate fiends. Daly, the gallant Irishman who led the Guides, and Hawes were wounded; and Quentin Battye, a young lieutenant, commander of the cavalry, described as “a joyous, boyish, but noble fellow, whose every thought was honour,” was struck in the stomach by a round shot, and died twenty-four hours after.

This sortie by the rebels was only one of a series in which they persisted for several days in their endeavours to turn our right flank by gaining

possession of Hindoo Rao's house, a large square mansion with a terraced roof, crowning the summit of a slope, where Barnard's heaviest guns were placed in battery. Being foiled in this, they attempted our left flank, and on the 12th attacked it in strength. As it extended no farther along the ridge than the Flagstaff Tower, immediately in rear of which was a deep cut, through which a steep road that led from the city to the cantonments had been carried, near the tower we had some guns in battery, which rendered it impossible for the rebels to advance by it; but north of the tower the ridge sloped steeply down towards the bank of the Jumna. In order to avail themselves of every facility for attacking in this quarter, the rebels, after pillaging the mansion of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, which lay near the river, got some guns into a position there, and made it so strong that there was a fear of not being able to dislodge them.

Early on the morning of the 12th, under their carefully-trained native officers, they brought a formidable array of guns and a strong body of infantry within 400 yards of the Flagstaff Tower, while another stole quickly round the flank of the ridge, to gain the ruined cantonments, and thus place themselves in the British rear. The skill and peril of these movements became apparent the moment day broke; the whole position was endangered; but it was not long before means of resistance were mustered, and they were driven back, firing briskly the while from behind walls and rocks. “The heat was terrific,” wrote an officer; “the thermometer must have been at least 140 degrees, with a hot wind blowing, and a frightful glare.”

The impossibility of wresting Delhi from the vast and organised rebel army within its walls with the weak force which had so boldly broken ground before it was quite apparent now. The magazine, blown up by Lieutenant Willoughby, was chiefly that which contained small arms and made-up ammunition; consequently the rebels, who had come pouring in with all their arms and cannon, had an inexhaustible supply of all manner of the munition of war. On the 15th, encouraged by the junction of the 60th Native Infantry and 4th Bengal Lancers, they sallied forth again. Their attack was so fierce and well sustained, that for a time our out-marched and wearied soldiers were sorely tried; but British pluck prevailed, and once more the enemy was hurled in rout and disorder into the city; yet old soldiers, who had served at Moultan, Goojerat, and elsewhere, averred that the work before Delhi surpassed all they had ever undergone.

* *Allen's Indian Mail*, 1857.

† *United Service Magazine*, 1876.

The question was now mooted whether or not the city might be recaptured by surprise in the dead of the night by an infantry attack while the cavalry held the camp; but Sir Henry Barnard, after actually conceiving the plan, abandoned it as desperate with a force so small. The knowledge that such had been intended, only served to put the

by unfounded rumours, which announced that it had actually fallen. As a regular siege was now inevitable, and would necessarily require months of preparation, every effort was made to strengthen the hands of Sir Henry Barnard, whose force was still so weak in men and guns, that he could do little more than hold the ridge which overlooked



PORTRAIT OF NANA SAHIB.

enemy on their guard against any similar attempt at a more hopeful time; so nothing now remained for the investing troops but to strengthen their position on the ridge, and await reinforcements and the siege-train, meanwhile submitting almost to change conditions with the rebels, and become the besieged instead of the besiegers. This was, indeed, a great disappointment to the Government, who had not only calculated on the early recapture of Delhi, but, in the eagerness of their wishes, allowed themselves to be imposed upon

the city, while for every shot fired from our batteries the sepoys responded fourfold.*

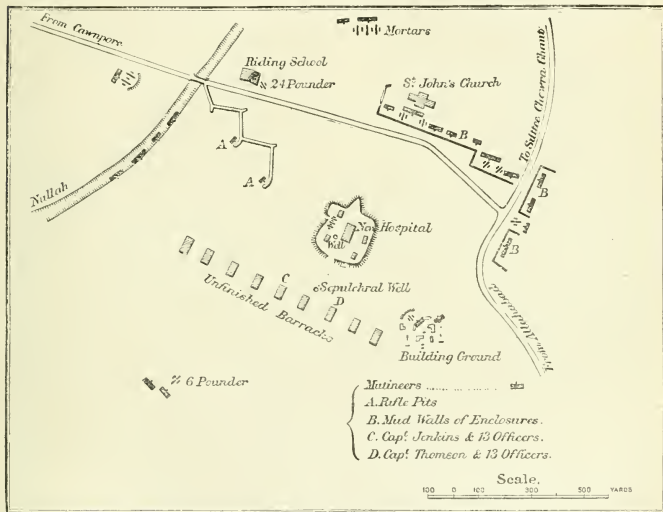
Few days passed without an assault on the cantonments; and on the 17th of June the mutineers commenced a work at Kissengunge with heavy guns in such a position as to render Hindoo Rao's house untenable by enfilading the position. To withdraw attention from the locality and their operations there, they commenced a cannonade early in the day; but the advance of a force made

* Marshman.

them aware that they must either fall back from Kissengunge, or fight desperately to hold their ground.

The attacking force came on in two columns; one under Major Tombs consisted of two companies of the 60th Rifles, four companies of the 1st Fusiliers, thirty cavalry of the Guides, twenty sappers, and four guns; the other, led by Major Reid, consisted of his own Sirmoor battalion of

19th they were seen defiling, in British uniform and in great numbers, from the Lahore Gate and through Kissengunge, when they disappeared among the ruined houses and abandoned gardens which lay beyond that suburb. It was found that while our troops had been under arms, in expectation of an attack at Hindoo Rao's house, the rebels had made a détour, and were within a mile and a half of Barnard's rear in the evening.



PLAN OF THE ENTRENCHMENT AT CAWNPORE, JUNE, 1857.

Ghoorkas, four other companies of the Royal Rifles, and four of the 1st Fusiliers. The rebels, who expected an attack directly in front, were disconcerted when the columns, by two sudden flank movements, placed them between a cross fire. Their resistance, though by no means obstinate, cost them dear; the battery was captured, the magazine near it blown up, and forty-one sepoys, who were hemmed into a corner, were all shot down, for our troops were now in the mood to exterminate all who fell into their hands.

That memorable day in our military annals, the 18th of June, passed over quietly, as the foe were engaged in extensive preparations; and on the

On this Brigadier James H. Grant, commanding the cavalry, turned out with all he could muster—only 250 troopers, with 12 guns—a force most inadequate, as the enemy was 3,000 strong. Against such odds little could be effected in the fast-closing dusk; and our cavalry were retiring in some confusion, when the arrival of 300 Rifles and Fusiliers gave the enemy an unexpected check, while recapturing two of Grant's guns and compelling them to retreat. In the *mêlée* his lieutenant-colonel, Abercrombie Yule, of the 9th Lancers, who had served nobly in the campaigns of Afghanistan, the Sutlej, and Punjaub, was unhorsed and killed. His body was found next morning. Both thighs were

broken by musket-balls, another had passed through his head, his throat was cut, and his hands much gashed, as if held up to protect his head. Four lancers lay dead by his side.

The 23rd of June being the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, the first day of the new moon, and therefore auspicious to the Mohammedans; and also the *Ruth Futra*, and consequently favourable to the Hindoos; and being more than all, the day fixed for the end of the Company's *raj*, was marked by a furious attack on our outposts; but the sepoys were again driven into Delhi with ignominy. "Thus, while the citizens of London were reading with much complacency the *Times*' article on the centenary of the glorious victory at Plassey, and while flowery orators in Willis's Rooms were dilating on the achievements of Clive, a handful of British troops were struggling for empire and for life under the walls of Delhi."

The loss of the enemy in these encounters—they numbered thirty—was always heavier than that of the British force; but their numbers were continually swelled by the accession of fresh regiments of rebels, which gravitated to Delhi as the common centre of the revolt, and were seen marching in with drums beating and the British colours flying, while, oddly enough, some of their bands were heard to play the National Anthem.

By the end of June we had 6,000 men before Delhi, but more were required ere we could dare to assault it. Our reinforcements from the Punjaub were, for a time, few and far between. In the months of May and June five new regiments had been completed for service, and by the beginning of October the number had been augmented to eighteen battalions. At the same time irregular levies of 14,000 horse and foot had been raised, so that ultimately the total new force amounted to 34,000 men; and but for these exertions, made by Sir John Lawrence and others in the Punjaub, the protracted siege of Delhi must have been relinquished.

When the month of June closed, our forces before Delhi had improved their position by driving the rebels from the important suburb of Subzee Munde, which lies north-west of the city, on the grand trunk road to Kurnaul. But still there was no appearance of an assault being near, to seal at once the city's fate; nor was there any prospect of an effectual blockade, by which its defenders might be starved into a capitulation. Our batteries, at 1,500 yards from the walls, were too distant to achieve anything; and, moreover, commanded only two gates, the Cashmere and Cabul, leaving more than five others open for all the purposes of the

enemy, and all this served to produce despondency, mingled with fierce impatience, in our ranks. Sir Henry Barnard, an officer who had served in the Eastern Campaign of 1855 as a brigadier, and been chief of the staff at the fall of Sebastopol, was unused to Indian warfare, and was not indisposed to follow the advice of those who urged that we should abandon Delhi and move eastward for the security of Agra and the furtherance of concentration. Suddenly the idea of an assault was revived again, and as suddenly abandoned, a fortunate circumstance, as the enemy, who were aware of it, had formed counterplans, which might have accomplished the destruction of our slender force.

On the 4th of July, Colonel Baird Smith arrived to take charge of the engineer staff, and on the following day Sir Henry Barnard was seized with cholera, and died in a few hours. "The event created a feeling of deep and universal regret—a regret rendered all the more poignant by the fact that he had been brought by no choice of his own into a position in which the excellent qualities he undoubtedly possessed were not displayed to advantage." He was succeeded by General Reid, whose state of health compelled him within a fortnight to relinquish the command to Brigadier (afterwards Sir Archdale) Wilson, G.C.B., a native of Norwich, whose future services won him a great name in this memorable war. In the same month we were exposed to a new danger. There were two Hindoo regiments in the investing force; some suspicions were excited, a plot was detected, and a Brahmin hanged for attempting to induce the soldiers to shoot their officers; and it having been seen that many Hindoos joined the enemy when skirmishing, the rest were paid up and turned out of camp, whence every man of them went to swell the ranks of the foe in Delhi.

One of the first measures of General Wilson was to discover the number and quality of the garrison there, and he reported it thus:—Bengal Native Infantry: 3rd, 9th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 20th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 36th, 38th, 44th, 45th, 54th, 57th, 60th, 61st, 67th, 68th, 72nd, 74th, and 78th; the 5th and 7th Gwalior Contingent, the Kotah Contingent, and Hurriana Battalion, with 2,600 other miscellaneous infantry. Native Cavalry: portions of five or six regiments, besides others of the Gwalior and Malwa Contingents. There arrived in the city mutinous regiments from sixteen different stations, all more or less stained with the crimes of murder and outrage, and estimated at 15,000 bayonets, 12,000 of whom were veteran sepoys, with 4,000 cavalry, well horsed and disciplined. The artillery were numerous in proportion.

When General Wilson took the command, he and Brigadier Showers were the only generals in perfect health, while 101 officers had died in action, of wounds, and sunstroke, or were then on the list of sick or wounded. He found our total strength to consist of—all ranks—4,023 infantry, 1,293 cavalry, 1,602 artillery and engineers; making a total of 6,918 effectives, exclusive of 765 sick and 351 wounded.

Early in July an addition was made to his force by the arrival of 450 men of H.M. 51st; but on the very same day the Bareilly brigade, consisting of three regiments and some cavalry, after mutinying as recorded, appeared with colours flying on the Meerut side of the Jumna. No attempt could be made to dispute their passage by the long bridge of boats, and they marched into the city, where the cordiality of their reception was enhanced by the known fact of their having a great quantity of treasure.

Strengthened thus, the rebels resolved to inflict summary vengeance on the village of Alipore, which formed the first station westward on the Kurnaul road, and was known to have furnished large supplies to the British camp. Marching out by the Lahore Gate in considerable force, they proceeded westward, reached Alipore before their destination was known, and spent their fury upon the unfortunate inhabitants. It was most desirable that this sortie should not be allowed to fall back with impunity, and also to prevent them from gaining a footing in that quarter, as the village lay in the direct line of communication between the camp and the Punjab; and only the day before its destruction a large detachment of our sick had passed through it; and, but for a little delay after their slaughter, much valuable property and treasure would have fallen into the enemy's hands. Our troops overtook them, and handled them so roughly that all who were there had reason to remember their expedition to Alipore.

"What a sight our camp would be, even to those who visited Sebastopol," wrote an officer; "the long lines of tents, the thatched hovels of the native servants, the rows of horses, the parks of artillery, the British soldier in his grey linen coat and trousers; the Sikhs, in their red and blue turbans; the Afghans, with their wild air and gay head-dresses; and the little Ghoorkas, dressed up like demons of ugliness, in black Kilmarnock caps and woollen coats. . . . If we go to the summit of the ridge which separates us from the city, we see the river winding along to the left, the bridge of boats, the towers of the palace, the high roof and minarets of the great mosque, the roofs

and gardens of the doomed city, and the elegant walls, with batteries here and there, the white smoke of which rises slowly among the green foliage that clusters round the ramparts."

There was an old Khalsa prophecy that the Sikhs should one day enjoy the plunder of the city of the Moguls; and believing the day was at hand, they hailed with passionate ardour the prospect of its realisation, and enlisted under our banner in thousands, and, as the movable column under Brigadier Nicholson was no longer wanted in the Punjab, he pushed on with it to Delhi.

On the 16th of July, the Jhansi mutineers, stained with the blood of their atrocious massacre, arrived at Delhi, and, after a day's halt, were, according to what had become an established custom, sent forth to signalise their zeal against "the infidels," but were repulsed. On several occasions our men, after defeating the enemy, in the ardour of pursuit exposed themselves to a whole line of fire from the walls of the city, till a standing order was issued that in future they were to content themselves with repelling the enemy, and not risking further loss of life. This changed the tactics of the sepoys, who, on finding they could no longer lure our men within the range of the walls, allowed days to pass without any attack. And now, with July, came the heavy rains, which, though causing much discomfort in camp, failed to damp the ardour of the troops. This respite was partly employed in the completion of a breastwork along the ridge, from right to left, enabling the men to move from point to point in safety, as if under a regular covered way.

The movable column, under Nicholson, came into camp 4,200 strong, on the 14th of August; the brigadier had preceded it by a week, and was welcomed with emotions of homage, "as if he had been the very god of war." The force thus added to the camp was as follows:—H.M. 52nd Light Infantry; H.M. 61st, one wing; No. 17 Field Battery; 2nd Punjab Infantry; one wing 7th Punjab Police; 4th Sikh Infantry; 250 Moul-tanee Horse, with guns, stores, and treasure. The 52nd, which Colonel Campbell had clothed in *karkee-rung*, native grey cloth, mustered 680 bayonets, but by the 14th of September, fever and cholera reduced the number to 240 of all ranks.*

The siege-train was moving but slowly on its way, as its line of guns and limbers, with carts and tumbrils, extended over thirteen miles of the road from Ferozepore.

Meanwhile the rebels were beginning to lose alike

* "Hist. Rec. 52nd Foot," p. 370.

their insolence and confidence; the dissensions between Mussulmans and Hindoos often ended in bloodshed, and wholesale desertions began to take place, till even the Delhi princes—the same wretches who had ordered and witnessed the barbarous treatment and massacre of the ladies and children in the palace—had the effrontery to send letters to General Wilson, by which they sought to avert the dire retribution that awaited them, by whining that “they had all along been fondly attached to us, and only wanted to know what they could do for us.”

In Delhi the *kotwal*, or mayor, was changed every second day. The sepoy, masters of all, were incessantly plundering, and neglected, when they chose, orders, parades, and bugle-calls; while the very incapacity of the Delhi princes to lead them excited their scorn, and even the laughter of the old trained officers of the Company's service; and the alarm of the old king when our shells burst over his palace became a by-word among them, and though desperation existed in the ranks of his army, discipline was on the wane.

As the whole hope of reducing Delhi depended on the safe arrival of the siege-train, it was necessary, for its protection, to keep the Ferozepore road clear of all hostile parties; and it was known that its safety was endangered by a predatory and warlike horde, named the Raughurs, who were located in the districts of Paniput and Rohtuk, and taking advantage of the revolt, had withheld their revenue, and threatened war on being joined by a body of rebels from Delhi. To keep them in check, and ensure the safety of the train, Hodson—the brilliant and chivalric leader of a body of irregulars known to fame as “Hodson's Horse”—at the head of a small force, set out on the 16th of August, and pushed on for Rohtuk, to take the Raughurs to task. As his party consisted entirely of cavalry, he could hope to achieve but little against a reckless force shut up in a walled town, so meanwhile he bivouacked in its vicinity.

There, in the evening, he was visited by a deputation from Rohtuk, “having grass-tufts in their mouths,” in token of submission; but this was merely a snare to throw him off his guard, as he was suddenly attacked next morning. He drove the assailants back, but finding himself exposed to a galling fire from behind trees and walls around the town, he feigned a retreat.

On this the rebels came rushing forward with discordant and exultant yells, to ensure their victory, when suddenly Hodson's Horse, at a word from him, went “threes about,” and rushed to the

charge. The fancied pursuit was suddenly converted into a headlong flight, and next morning Rohtuk was found to be abandoned.

The way was thus cleared in the direction of Rohtuk, while another column, having the same object, moved from camp in a separate direction. Mohammed Bukht Khan—an old artillery *soubahdar*, who had become the rebel commander-in-chief—swearing that he would either capture the siege-train or die in the attempt, sent out on the 24th a force consisting of 6,000 men of all arms, with sixteen guns. It was the revolted Neemuch brigade, deemed the very flower of the Delhi army.

An early hour of the following day saw Brigadier Nicholson depart with a column of 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 natives, to check this movement. Among the former were H.M. 61st, the 1st Fusiliers, and a squadron of Grant's Lancers, under Captain Sarcel. Torrents of rain had so flooded the roads and paddy fields, that in seven hours only ten miles had been accomplished. A halt became necessary, and, that time might not be lost, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who served with the column as a volunteer, and knew the country well, rode on with two officers in search of the enemy, whom they found encamped beyond a nullah, about five miles distant, at a point where the water crossed the road, and ran both deep and strong. Another two hours' plodding brought the column to a rising ground, from whence the foe could be seen, well posted alike for defence or retreat, near the village of Nujufghur, fifteen miles distant from Delhi. The rebels fronted the nullah, their right rested on a village where nine guns were placed, their left was on rising ground, and in the centre was old Serai, the key of their position, armed with four guns.

It was now half-past five p.m. Ere the line advanced, Nicholson harangued the Europeans, and bade them remember how at Balaclava the “thin red line” of the 93rd Highlanders had achieved such brilliant success by the reservation of their fire, and exhorted them to emulate that example. The nullah was forded, Nicholson's object being to force the enemy's left centre, and then changing front to the left, to hurl down their line of guns towards the bridge. But little resistance was offered, and every gun was taken; the affair seemed over, when suddenly it was reported that a village some little distance in the rear was still occupied. There the rebels fought with desperation, and were overpowered with difficulty; but the affair was not over till about two next morning. So many of our cavalry were employed in protecting the baggage, our own guns, and

those we had captured, that pursuit was impossible. The enemy's loss was 800, and to preclude any advance in that direction again, the bridge, which had been undermined by Captain Geneste, was blown into the air. Our loss was estimated at 120 killed and wounded. Great stores of the enemy's ammunition were destroyed; some ten or twelve wagons were blown up; bags of money were found, and one private got as much as 900 rupees. The column came into camp at six p.m.

next day, the men very weary, but in high spirits with their success; and on the 3rd of September, before the rebels had recovered from the consternation produced by their defeat at Nujufghur, the siege-train came safely into head-quarters, escorted by a wing of the 8th, or King's, two companies of our 61st, detachments of the 9th Lancers, 60th Rifles, Cashmerian Dogras, and other troops; and then the erection of the breaching batteries was commenced forthwith.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE BATTERIES OPEN.—THE ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF DELHI.—THE PRINCES SHOT BY CAPTAIN HODSON, ETC.

THE siege-train consisted of forty heavy guns, mortars, and howitzers, with a vast supply of ammunition, and before a week elapsed the batteries were armed against the city in the following order:—The first, which was ready on the 6th of September, was planted on the plateau in front of Hindoo Rao's house, and consisted of six nine-pounders and two twenty-four-pounders, under Captain Remington, and near it, fortunately, lay a dry nullah that formed a natural parallel. Advancing through it untouched, on the night of the 7th, our troops erected another battery of ten guns, within 700 yards of the walls, under Major Brind; and they were both opposed to the place where the rebels expected an assault; the erection of the third took them by surprise.

A post called Ludlow Castle, where they had a picket, was wrested from them, and there battery No. 3 was erected, mounting on its right flank seven eight-inch howitzers, with two eighteen-pounders; and on its left nine twenty-four-pounders, under Majors Kaye and Campbell. The character of this work indicated to all that the real attack would be from the left, when two other batteries were at once thrown up and armed, one with ten mortars, under Major Tombs, at the Koodsee Bagh (or garden), near the bank of the river, and the other at the old custom-house in front of it; and before the end of the week mentioned, the whole of these batteries were in full operation against Delhi, and the effect of their fire soon became apparent.

The Moree Bastion was soon silenced; the Cashmere Bastion, on its proper left, adjoining the Main Guard (within which stood St. James's Church), though recently strengthened by the British Government, soon began to crumble beneath

the iron tempest that shook it to the base; while Remington's battery did excellent service against the Shah Bastion in the north-west angle of the walls adjoining the Cabul Gate. But most heavy and destructive was our fire against the Water, or North-east Bastion, where, by the close proximity of the guns, every shot told with terrible effect, and soon a great breach yawned in the walls. In the meantime the besieged were most active. From every battery not silenced, and from every point within range of grape and musketry, they kept up a ceaseless fire, and succeeded in placing two batteries, one at Kissengunge, which enfiladed those in the ridge by a fire due north, and another on the opposite side of Jumna, which raked those of the Koodsee Garden and custom-house by a fire that went directly westward across the river; and these cost us the lives of many brave men.

On the 13th of September the breaches were reported practicable, and at three on the following morning the work of retribution was to be more fully inaugurated by an assault delivered on four points.

In the first column, led by Brigadier Nicholson, were 1,000 men, H.M. 75th Foot leading; in the second, led by Brigadier Jones, 850 men, H.M. 8th Foot leading; in the third, Colonel Campbell, were 950 men, H.M. 52nd Foot leading; in the fourth, Major Reid, 850 men, the Sirmoor Ghoorkas leading. The reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, consisted of 1,300 men, H.M. 61st Foot leading; and the order of advance was as follows:—

The first column was to attack the main breach, and carry by escalade the face of the Cashmere Bastion, while covered by a detachment of the 60th Rifles. The second to enter the breach at the Water Bastion, covered by another detachment of

the same corps. The third to attack the Cashmere Gate, preceded by a party of engineers, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, to blow it open with petards and powder, while also covered by a rifle party. The fourth, similarly covered, to force an entrance by the Cabul Gate, while the cavalry, under Brigadier J. H. Grant, were disposed so as to guard the lines, sick and wounded.

the four columns that hurled their strength on Delhi now; and no danger daunted, no obstacle remained unsurmounted by them; and if daring can win glory, then glory was won there.

The breaches were entered, over stones, guns, corpses, and every ghastly *débris*, by both columns simultaneously, Nicholson leading. Wheeling to the right, our troops, with terrible impetuosity,



THE IRON COLUMN OF THE KING DHAVA, KOUTUB, DELHI.

By three in the morning all men were under arms, and in the hushed ranks every eye was lit up, and every heart and hand tingled with the fierce longing to grapple with the enemy, and in an hour after the assault began. In extended order, the Rifles opened a skirmishing fire, while the columns dashed on at the double quick, which speedily became a wild rush, Nicholson's first; but all suffered equally from the well-directed artillery and steady file-firing of the mutineers as they broke like a red blaze over tower and curtain wall. Seldom or never had assaulting troops such terrible impulses to inspire them as those of

hurled the yelling mutineers along the ramparts, and captured in quick succession the batteries, the Cashmere and Moree Bastions, with a tower midway between them, and then the Cabul Gate, in a few minutes scouring half a mile of the walls on the northern face of the city; but the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate on the western face defied any assault, for there the mutineers met us with coolness and resolution, mowing down the stormers. Along a narrow lane that led from Trevelgh Gunge, Nicholson led his men against the Lahore Gate, which leads straight to the great thoroughfare of Chandnee Chowk, or

Silver Street; but that narrow lane was swept by concentrated grape and musketry—a veritable rain of death—and there the noble and enthusiastic young general fell desperately wounded, adding grief to the fury that now filled his soldiers. “Their efforts were fierce; but the lane was swept by bullets, as a tunnel by a fierce wind or a penetrating torrent.”

The command now devolved upon Brigadier Jones, who finding the enemy in great force, pru-

and Salkeld, with Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and sappers carrying the powder-bags, which they laid against the gate. How they reached it alive seemed miraculous, as they had to clamber across a broken bridge in the clear light of a fine morning, under the eyes and rifles of the mutineers, who had long since lost all scruple about handling greased cartridges. As soon as the bags were laid, the party slid down into the ditch, to make way for the firing-party, led by the gallant Salkeld.



CAPTAIN HODSON ARRESTING THE KING OF DELHI.

dently resolved on retaining the Cabul Gate, which the troops had already won.* Three sand-bags were thrown up for shelter, and the guns of the vanquished turned against the city, with such effect that their shot reached the Selinghur Fort and the Calcutta Gate, close by the palace, whose cowering inmates now felt that Nemesis was at hand.

Elsewhere the attack was in progress against the Cashmere Gate. It was a portal of vast strength, and a party of picked marksmen, stationed at a wicket, rendered all approach to it a matter of nearly certain death. This was the barrier to be forced by the Engineers, led by Lieutenants Home

* General Wilson's Official Report.

The latter, according to the Engineers' Report, “while endeavouring to fire the charge, was shot through the arm and leg, but handed over the slow-match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had accomplished the onerous duty. Havildar Tilluk Sing, of the Sikhs, and Ramloll, sepoy of the same corps, were killed during this part of the operation. The demolition being most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily not wounded, caused the bugler (Hawthorn) to sound the regimental call, as a signal for the advancing columns. Fearing that amidst the noise of the assault the sound might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops

advanced and carried the gateway with complete success." *

It was probably this circumstance of the bugler sounding thrice amid the frightful din of the time, that led a recent historian of the Sepoy War to indulge in a sneer at the 52nd Regiment—one second to none in the annals of glory—which has incurred the indignation of all who were present.†

Sergeant Smith, who feared that the match had failed in effect as it lay in the hand of the dying Burgess, rushed forward, but saw it burning, and had barely time to fling himself into the ditch when the mighty masses of wood and stone were upheaved, to fall in crushing fragments. Then rang out young Robert Hawthorn's bugle-call, and his comrades of the 52nd rushed to the attack, though Captain Bayley, who led them, fell, and the whole column, led by Colonel Campbell, with Sir Theophilus Metcalfe as a guide, burst with a bayonet charge into the vast extent of the Chandnee Chowk, in hope of gaining the Jumna Musjid.‡

The column was assailed with the most desperate bravery, and was actually driven back by the sepoy for nearly an English mile, close to the gate by which it had entered, and might have been driven out of the city but for the supports which came up; while the attack of the fourth column, under Major Reid, on the western suburbs, failed, through the inefficiency of the Cashmere Contingent and the contempt which the sepoys had for foes of their own colour; but it was not till after a dreadful conflict for the possession of the Eedgah, that the Cashmerians, Sirmoor Ghoorkas, Guide infantry, and European pickets gave way, and the attack on the western suburbs was abandoned, and the column fell back on the camp.

Within the town we held all the captured posts, and when night closed over the sanguinary scene we had to enumerate (according to Marshman) a loss in killed and wounded of sixty-six officers and 1,104 men. The first and second columns held all the line of walls from the vicinity of the Cashmere Gate to the Cabul Gate; the third column and the reserve held the Cashmere Gate, St. James's Church, Skinner's House, the Water Bastion, Ali Khan's House, the College Gardens, the Moora and Nusseer Bastions, the Killa Ghaut Gate, and many open spots in that part of Delhi. Next morning the bank and its extensive grounds were captured, and this enabled General Wilson to get his guns turned on the king's magnificent palace—a stately and royal castle indeed, but since June the scene

of manifold crimes and cruelties. On the same day the Jumna Musjid, a splendid and enormous edifice built of red and white marble by Shah Jehan, was stormed, and the adjutant-general reported to Government the capture of 205 guns, with vast quantities of warlike stores.

On the 17th, dawn came in upon both armies, eager still for battle and conquest, and a series of combats ensued which left all the northern defences almost entirely in our hands. On the 18th, Wilson hurled columns of attack against the southern portion of the city, capturing all the great buildings in succession; while the magazine supplied us with great mortars wherewith to shell the palace, and then the women and children began to fly, and with them the wounded were permitted to depart. On the 19th, the Burn Bastion was taken, and Hodson captured the cavalry camp. The palace was now attacked, and its gates were blown open, but save by the wounded and some Mohammedan fanatics, who died like tigers, fighting to the last, it was found deserted.

Delhi was now ours, but with the loss of 3,537 killed, wounded, and missing, nearly a half of the whole engaged; and in the palace of the Great Mogul, General Wilson (who here won a baronetcy) and the officers of his staff drained goblets of wine to the health of her Majesty as Empress of India, while a thousand triumphant voices shouted with fervour, "God save the Queen!"

The sepoys in despair cut the throats of their wives and children, and then shot themselves. The helpless, of course, were spared; but the male inhabitants were slain whenever encountered. "The sights which met the gaze of the British, when the enemy being completely vanquished they had time to look around them, were horrible. Christian women had been crucified nude against the houses, and native women and children, butchered by the sepoys to avert the same fate at the hands of the British, lay scattered in the streets and houses. Shattered ruins, mangled limbs, dead bodies, slain and wounded horses (600 of these perished) lay in every direction." Large sums of money were found on the dead and wounded; "the English soldiers, breaking the spirit depôts, drank to excess, and in this state bayoneted numbers of the inhabitants who had found temporary security in hiding-places."

Of the rebels 5,000 effected their escape in safety into the Doab, the remainder fled down the bank of the Jumna, to join minuteers elsewhere.

On the 21st Captain Hodson, ascertaining that the king had fled to that wonderful pile, the tomb of Houmayoun, a few miles southward of the city, galloped thither at the head of fifty horse, and

* Despatches. Col. Baird Smith.

† Sir J. Kaye's *Hist. of the Sepoy War*, vol. iii.

‡ Col. G. Campbell's Despatch.

dragged him, together with his favourite wife, Zeenat Mahal, who had been a chief instrument in the revolt, back to the palace, in which they were lodged as prisoners. Next day this fiery and indefatigable officer went in search of the two sons and grandsons of the king—the chief inciters of the Delhi atrocities—who were concealed in the tomb, and surrounded by a multitude of armed scoundrels from the city. The time was not one for hesitation or delay, so the fearless Hodson with his own pistols shot the princes dead on the spot, and had their bodies conveyed to the city and hanged up in the Kotwallee, or Mayor's Court, being literally, as in the Hebrew story of old, exposed at the gates of the city. There they remained in view of the people, till sanitary reasons required their interment. Several months after, the king was tried by a military court in the imperial palace, and found guilty of the massacre of the British in Delhi and levy of war upon the Government. Lord Canning spared his forfeited life, but sentenced him to be transported to Burmah; and thus ended the royal line of Baber, three hundred and thirty-two years after he had ascended the Mogul throne.

During the closing events of the siege, General

John Nicholson, whose sufferings neither skill nor friendship could alleviate, died in the camp on the 23rd of September, of his wound. The army mourned him truly; he was only in his thirty-fifth year, when he passed away in the midst of his fame. He was succeeded in the command by Brigadier Penny, C.B., a brave and experienced veteran. To his widowed mother the East India Company granted a pension of £500 yearly. Lieutenant Philip Salkeld—son of a Dorsetshire clergyman—died of his wound on the 10th of October; but his brother-officer, Lieutenant Home, won the Victoria Cross, but did not live to wear it long, as on the first of the same month, he died of a mortal wound, when in pursuit of the Delhi fugitives.

The Victoria Cross was awarded to Lance-Corporal Smith, of the 52nd, for conspicuous gallantry in the storm; nor was the bugle-boy, Robert Hawthorn, forgotten, as he too obtained it for "not only most bravely performing the dangerous duty on which he was employed, but having previously attached himself to Lieutenant Salkeld of the Engineers, when dangerously wounded, bound up his wounds under a heavy musketry fire, and had him removed without further injury."*

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE MARCH OF HAVELOCK.—VICTORY AT FUTTEHPORE.—COMBAT AT AHERWA.—THE THIRD MASSACRE.
AT CAWNPORE.—BITHOOR DESTROYED.—SIR COLIN CAMPBELL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, ETC.

WE have now to bring the gallant Havelock on the scene, and return to Oude, where we have already adverted to the position of the few British at Lucknow, after the disastrous combat at Chin-hutt, and the subsequent death of Sir Henry Lawrence, an event which made a deep impression on all. Had his constitution been less shattered, he might have survived the shell wound—could he have undergone amputation; but in his enfeebled state the utmost that could be done was to apply the tourniquet to stop the bleeding, which procured him a respite of two days of agony. During these he remained quite collected, dictated his final instructions, appointed Major Banks Chief Commissioner, and Lieutenant-Colonel Inglis, of the 32nd, to the command of the garrison, and alternately his dying thoughts wavered between the great change he was to undergo and the helpless charge he was leaving.

"Save the ladies," he often said, and then urged that the modest epitaph, which his tomb now bears, should be inscribed upon it: "Here lies Sir Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy on him;" and he often spoke of the mutability of human life, adding "What is it worth *now*?" His spirit was one of a noble order; he was tender and affectionate by nature, and, as the soldiers said, was simple-hearted as a child. "His services, particularly in the Punjab, of which he was one of the earliest and most successful administrators, entitle him to a foremost place among Indian statesmen; but even could these be forgotten, the noble institution which bears his name as its founder, and by which the children of European soldiers serving in India, instead of being left to grow up as outcasts, are duly cared for, would suffice to keep his memory

* Field Force Orders, Delhi, 21st Sept., 1857.

in perpetual and honoured remembrance. The siege of the garrison at Lucknow, and its gallant defence, furnish perhaps the most interesting episode in the history of the Mutiny.*

"No military honours," says one who was present, "marked our last acts to his corpse. The times were too stern for idle demonstrations of respect. A hurried prayer, amid the booming of the enemy's artillery, and the rattle of their musketry, was read over his remains, and he was lowered into a pit with several other, though lower, companions-in-arms; and so closed the 4th of July over Lucknow."*

The Residency was a fine building, three storeys in height, but little adapted for defence, while its many lofty windows gave free entrance to the enemy's shot, and its flat roof, which was only enclosed by a cornice and balustrade, was completely exposed. Hence the upper floor, during the siege, was abandoned; the entrance floor was occupied by the soldiers, while the women and children were placed in the *tykhanas*, or rooms that are formed underground for coolness in the hot season. The banqueting-hall, a two-storeyed edifice, eastward of the Residency, was converted into a hospital, but, like the latter, it was too much open, though the doors and windows on the exposed faces were completely barricaded. Beyond this, farther eastward, stood the arched Bailey Guard gate, opposite to which was the house of Dr. Fayer, a large and flat-roofed building. Being used for defence, it was familiarly known as "Fayer's garrison." A breastwork of sand-bags surrounded its roof, and when firing became heavy, all the female inmates could take shelter in its *tykhanas*.

South of this were successively the Financial garrison, Sagos, and the Judicial, overlooked on the west by Anderson's and Duprat's, with the Post-Office garrison. On the west, with the Cawnpore battery at its extremity (facing the road that led thereto), was Gubbins' garrison, a post to which the judicial commissioner of Oude, by his gallant services during the siege, and his book thereon, has given some celebrity.† But all these defences were formidable only in name; the real and strongest works were the Redan and Cawnpore Battery, armed with only three guns each; and in many places the defences of the Residency, with its buildings and grounds, were so feeble that nothing was wanting, amid the vast masses of the besiegers, to have enabled them to hew a passage into the heart of the place.

Among the many disadvantages our people had to contend with, were the number and proximity of the native houses; and though in the vicinity of the Redan and Mr. Gubbins' garrison some demolitions had been made, elsewhere the ground remained covered with houses, of which the enemy's marksmen made an incessant and destructive use, while Havelock's little band was struggling on to succour the isolated garrison.

We have narrated the narrow escape of Sir Henry Havelock and others off the coast of Ceylon, after his return from Persia. On the voyage he had mapped out a plan of operations against the rebels, and recommended the formation of a movable column, to proceed upwards from the lower provinces to the scenes of revolt, and this arrangement was at once made on his arrival at Calcutta, with Sir Patrick Grant, who became, provisionally, successor to General Anson. This column was placed under his command, as Brigadier-General, with orders, after suppressing disturbances at Allahabad, to lose no time in proceeding to support Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore, and then Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow—a mission peculiarly acceptable to a man of his character, who, to the high spirit of an enthusiastic soldier, added much of the stern Puritan. Among the troops in his column were the 64th (or Staffordshire), and 78th Ross-shire Highlanders, both of which had been with him in Persia, and it was with emotions of mutual gratification that they undertook the errand of mercy, to conquer and to save, while the orders were that "he should take prompt measures for dispersing and utterly destroying all mutineers and insurgents."

Havelock was of opinion that if he had "1,000 Europeans, 1,000 Sikhs, and 1,000 Ghorkas, he could thrash everything; but now, in this dire emergency, he could only gather some 2,000 men of all arms."

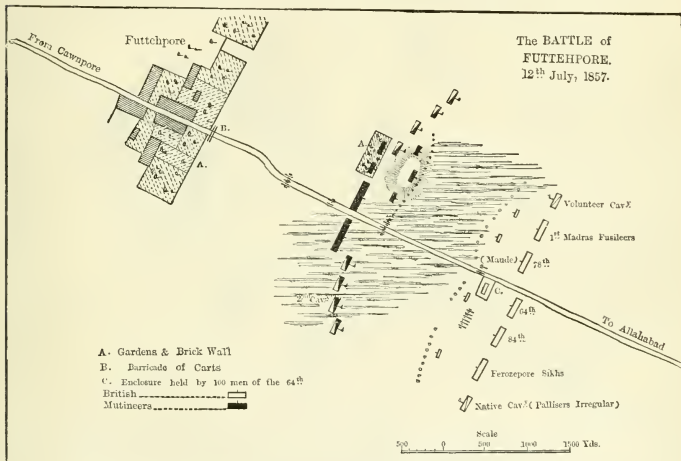
His first object was to obviate delay by want of carriage. He knew that during the mutiny at Allahabad 1,600 bullocks collected by the commissariat there had vanished, and he therefore proposed that the carts and bullocks on the Grand Trunk Road should be utilised for the transport of ammunition and stores, while the troops, with their camp equipage, should proceed by river conveyance; and having obtained the sanction necessary for these arrangements, and also a liberal supply of secret service money, for the purpose of making his intelligence department as perfect as possible, he started from Calcutta on the 25th of June, and three days after saw him in the great city of Benares.

* Rees' "Siege of Lucknow."

† "Mutinies in Oude," R. Gubbins (Bentley, 1853).

By this time one of the primary objects which he had in view had been frustrated by the perpetration of the first Cawnpore massacre, which was not made known to him and his already infuriated troops till the 3rd of July, three days after he reached Allahabad, where another disappointment awaited him. The European column was to have included four regiments; but, from circumstances beyond all control, when, on the 7th of July, he marched for the recapture of Cawnpore, he had with him only 1,400 European bayonets. The day before he

numbers, even if every man of his detachment had been faithful to him. Should it have proved otherwise—and he strongly suspected some of the natives—destruction would have been inevitable; and, instinctively aware of all this, Havelock pushed on to join him by forced marches. On the other hand, the rebels were equally active and well-informed; thus they hurried on to Futtehpore, near the right bank of the Ganges, and about forty-five miles below Cawnpore, in the hope of cutting off the detachment of Renaud, whose suc-



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF FUTTEHPORE.

entered Allahabad, the first Cawnpore massacre being unknown, Colonel Neill had detached for its relief Major Renaud, of the Madras Fusiliers, with 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, 100 irregular cavalry, and two nine-pounder guns, with ample orders to inflict summary vengeance on all who were in any way suspected of disloyalty; and for three days the major marched on, leaving behind him traces of retributive justice in desolated villages and ghastly corpses dangling from the branches of trees.*

Renaud's movements had to be made with intense caution, for had the enemy borne down upon him he must have been overwhelmed by mere

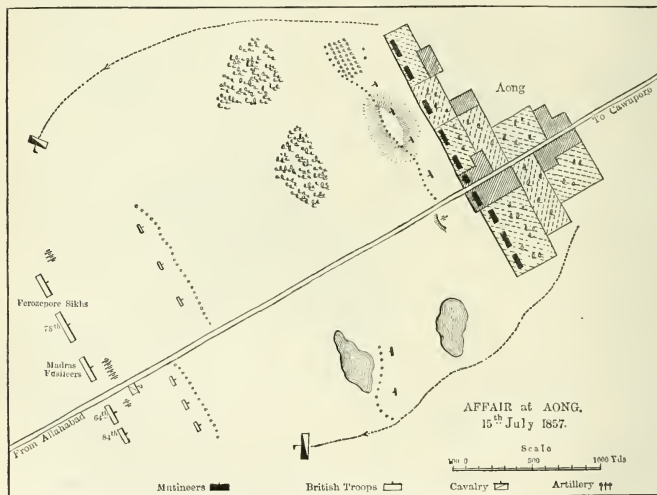
* Marshman, &c.

successful junction with Havelock was effected on the 12th of July.

Their united forces consisted of 600 men of the 64th, 600 of the 78th, 500 of the 1st Madras European Fusiliers, a company of Royal Artillery, under Captain Maude, from Ceylon, Brazier's Sikhs, and some twenty mounted gentlemen volunteers. Wearied by a long march, about eight o'clock the whole halted near Futtehpore, but the tents were scarcely pitched when Colonel Tytler, who had been reconnoitring, came galloping in with intelligence that the enemy were coming on. The latter, believing that the troops before them were only Renaud's force, in the hope of another easy massacre, came confidently on, but soon discovered

their mistake, as Havelock thus records:—"Futtehpoore constitutes a position of no small strength. The hard and dry trunk road subdivides it, and is the only convenient access, for the plains on both sides at this season are flooded by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden enclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good solid masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks,

that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was entirely subdued. The rifle-fire reaching them at an unexpected distance filled them with dismay; and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through the flanking swamps to point-blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence. In a moment three guns were abandoned to us on the chaussée, and the force advanced steadily, driving the enemy before it at every point." *



PLAN OF THE AFFAIR AT AONG.

villages, and mango groves, which the enemy already occupied in force. I estimate his number at 3,500, with twelve brass and iron guns. I made my dispositions. The guns, now eight in number, were formed on, and close to the chaussée, under Captain Maude, R.A., protected and aided by 100 Enfield riflemen of the 64th. The detachments of infantry were at the same moment thrown into line of quarter-distance columns at deploying distance, and thus advanced in support, covered at discretion by Enfield skirmishers. The small force of volunteer cavalry and irregular cavalry moved forward on the flanks on harder ground. I might say that in ten minutes the action was decided, for in

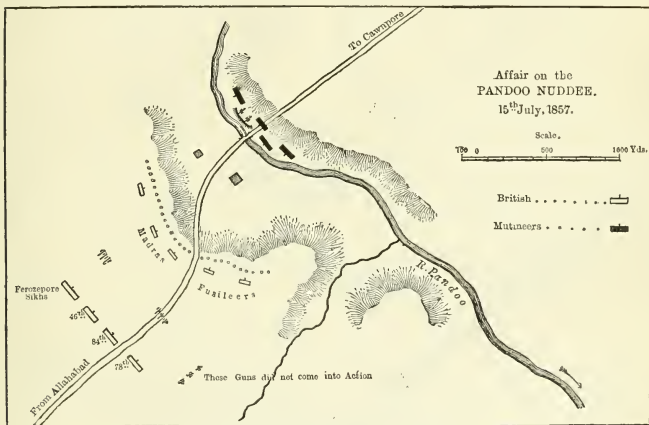
Out of the inclosures and into the streets, out of the latter into the open country beyond, they were driven into headlong flight; but the excessive heat, and the exhaustion of the previous marching, rendered pursuit impossible, and the irregular cavalry conducted themselves in so shameful a manner that two days after they were disbanded. This was the first check the mutineers had received below Delhi, and it produced a most salutary impression.

On the 14th Havelock resumed his march, and on reaching the village of Aong, midway between Futtehpoore and Cawnpore, found the enemy posted a little beyond it, and in rear of an entrenchment

* Despatches.

which they had thrown across the road. Colonel Fraser-Tytler advanced with about a third of the force, and found the enemy strongly lining garden walls and other enclosures. As a little delay ensued during the formation of the British, the enemy mistook it for hesitation, and confidently advancing, occupied the village which lay 200 yards in their original front. The Madras Fusiliers gallantly dashed forward to dislodge them, and did so effectually, but with the loss of their brave Major Renaud, who was struck in the left leg, and had part of his scabbard driven into the wound, but

Cawnpore under a blazing sun, but one thought inspiring every man in the ranks, a thirsty eagerness to save and free the unfortunates who were then in the power of the merciless Nana; though the primary cause of this unwonted exertion was to obtain possession of the bridge which spans the Pandoo Nuddee before the enemy could blow it up. "The stream, though usually fordable, was now flooded, and might have proved a serious obstacle to the advance if the bridge had been removed. Fortunately the enemy were surprised in the very act of mining, and after a short but



PLAN OF THE AFFAIR AT PANDOO NUDDEE.

after a successful amputation he suddenly expired. One of his officers lingered near to assist, but the last words of the fine old soldier, who thought only of duty, were, "Go—go on with your men."

After clearing the village, Fraser-Tytler gave the foe not a moment of respite, and compelled them to fly with precipitation, leaving their baggage and guns behind them. While his detachment was occupied thus, the main body, under Havelock, was assailed repeatedly by cavalry in heavy squadrons, who made attempts upon his baggage, and were completely foiled; but the perilous work of the day was not yet over.

The moment the troops had breakfasted, bugle and bagpipe sounded the advance, and for two hours the troops pushed along the main road to

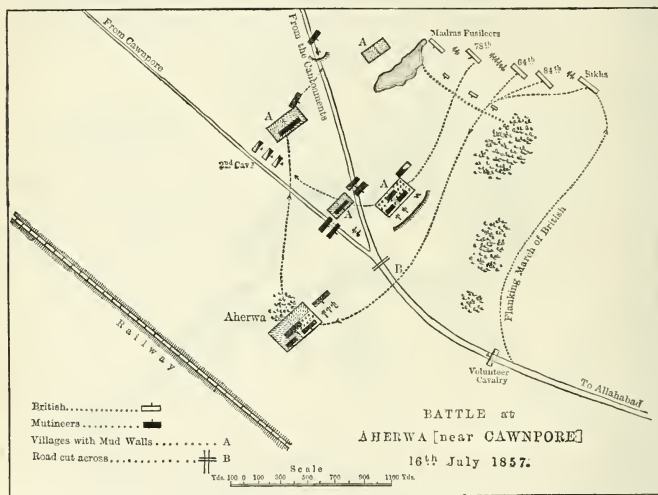
sharp contest were compelled to retreat on Cawnpore. That place was now only twenty-three miles distant, and every man was anxious to push on for it without the loss of a single hour. Above 200 European children (a number vaguely stated), reserved by Nana Sahib when he perpetrated his two previous massacres, were reported to be still alive. What a glorious enterprise to rescue them, and at the same time take summary vengeance on their inhuman gaoler!"

The Nana's brother, who was in the field, galloped back to Cawnpore, with the alarming intelligence that we had forced the passage of the bridge, and were in full march on the town.

According to generally received opinion, it was after Havelock's successful passage of the flooded

river that the fatal order of the Nana was given; but, notwithstanding the intense eagerness of the troops to push on, delay was unavoidable. Night had fallen before the commissariat cattle came up, and most of the men, before animal food could be cooked, contented themselves with some mouthfuls of porter and biscuit, and then sank on the ground exhausted; but morning had hardly dawned ere the eager soldiers were again on the line of march, and, pushing on at a pace far beyond the ordinary quick-

to force a passage in front would be but to court destruction; he therefore resolved on a flank movement, commencing upon the enemy's left. Leaving the baggage in his rear, at Maharajahpore, he advanced along the trunk road, in columns of subdivisions (or half companies), his little band of volunteer cavalry taking the lead. A three miles' march brought them to the point where the two roads diverged. His infantry then wheeled to the right, and under cover of a border of thick trees he



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF AHERWA.

step, after traversing sixteen miles, reached the village of Maharajahpore.

Only seven miles now lay between them and Cawnpore!

With eight guns and 5,000 men, Nana Sahib had taken post at the village of Aherwa, at a place where the road from the old cantonments diverges from the road to the town. Five fortified villages, with entrenched approaches, supporting each other, skilfully defended his position; and if ever anything on earth could have given this indescribable miscreant any confidence in the battle, it must have been the strength of the ground he occupied.

On reconnoitring it, Havelock saw that to attempt

achieved the coveted flank movement unobserved, and marched on quite unseen for 1,000 yards, the enemy supposing that the volunteer cavalry, whom they saw leisurely pursuing the direct road, were followed by the main body.

At length, some openings in the trees enabled them to see the red coats of the brigade, and the green tartans of "the petticoated devils," as they termed the 78th, and they found their flank was turned. Every available gun was now fired on the flank of the marching column, while an attempt was made, when too late, to change front and meet it. While they were yet in surprise and consternation, the column emerged from the grove, the subdivisions deployed

into line, and that line advanced with terrible celerity, under an effective artillery fire.

So skilful were the arrangements of Havelock, that the rebels were unable to use the artillery of the centre and right without mowing down their own left; still, the twenty-four-pounders of the latter made such havoc in our ranks, that the true old British resort—the bayonet—became necessary. Then it was, as Havelock tells us, he appealed, not to the senior regiment, but to the Ross-shire Buffs. "The opportunity had arrived for which I have long anxiously waited of developing the powers of the 78th Highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet, well intrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I beheld conduct more admirable! They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surprising steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they cheered and charged with the bayonet, their pipes sounding a pibroch. Need I say that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns were captured?" *

When the enemy's left had been thus annihilated, their infantry were seen rushing in consternation to the rear, when they broke into two columns, one falling back some hundred yards on the cantonment road, and the other halting near a howitzer which was posted in their centre.

To the 78th Havelock again turned, crying, "Now, Highlanders, another charge like that wins the day!" With a cheer and a rush, in which the 64th joined them, the howitzer was taken, and the dusky masses around it scattered like chaff before a gale. The enemy's entire right had also given way, but the fighting was not yet over. From one of the five villages, wherein some of the fugitives rallied, there came a sharp and incessant fire, till the general, to excite emulation, called aloud, "Come, who'll take that village—the Highlanders, or the 64th?" The appeal was instantly responded to, and once more the Highlanders, led by Colonel Hamilton, and the 64th, dashed on, and the village was cleared.

Still, the fighting was not yet over, and another effort was necessary; for at a time when the enemy seemed in undoubted retreat, a deadly fire was suddenly opened from a twenty-four-pounder and two field-pieces, which had been placed in reserve on the roadway. The troops which covered these were fresh (while our men were exhausted), having been just brought from Cawnpore. Our guns were then a mile in the rear, so, till they could come up, our infantry lay down for shelter from the fire, which swept over them. This gave fresh courage to

the enemy, among whom Nana Sahib was seen riding to and fro, while the mingled din of drums and trumpets seemed to indicate that a grand attack was about to be made.

Extending in the form of a crescent, their cavalry threatened to envelop and cut off the advanced force of the British, which was only 800 strong, at a time when the artillery cattle, from exhaustion, were unable to bring on the cannon, so there remained nothing to be done but to form the detachments of the Fusiliers, 64th, and 78th, in line; "So," says Havelock, "calling on my men, who were lying down, to leap to their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and by my aide-de-camp" (his son, afterwards Sir Henry Havelock, M.P.), "who placed himself in their front, were not to be denied. Their rear showed the ground strewn with wounded; but on they steadily and silently came, then, with a cheer, charged and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour. The enemy lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry, gave way in total rout. Four of my guns came up and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade; and as it grew dark, the roofless barracks of our artillery were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession." *

Here Havelock had only six men killed and about 100 wounded, including some of the bravest of his officers. All fought well, but the most successful competitors for glory were Major Stirling of the 64th, and Lieutenant Henry Marshman Havelock, of H.M. 10th, referred to in his father's despatch. In eight days, Havelock's force had marched 126 miles, fought four actions against overwhelming odds, had taken twenty-four pieces of cannon, field and battery guns, and in the hottest and most sultry month of an Indian summer. By the most superhuman exertions, and with hearts full of pity, ardour, and anxiety, they had reached Cawnpore only to find, to their bitter disappointment and grief, that those they had come to save were now beyond all help!

As it would have been hazardous to enter the town in the dark, the troops bivouacked for the night on the bare ground, and ere they could start next morning, spies arrived with the dreadful intelligence that in revenge for his successive defeats, the fiendish Nana Sahib had massacred the 200 women and children, whom fate or misfortune

* Despatches.

* Despatches.

had placed in his power. The manner of their death has been so often told that it need not be repeated, while the frightful spectacle in the prison house that met the gaze of our soldiers fresh from victories is too appalling to describe. "The pavement was swimming in blood, and fragments of ladies and children's dresses were floating on it. They entered the apartments, and found them empty and silent; but there, also, the blood lay deep on the floor, covered with bonnets, collars, combs, and children's frocks and frills. The walls were dotted with the marks of bullets, and on the wooden pillars were deep sword-cuts, from some of which hung tresses of hair. But neither the sabre-cuts nor the bullets were sufficiently high above the floor to indicate that the weapons had been aimed at men defending their lives; they appear rather to have been hurled at crouching women and little children begging for mercy.

"The soldiers proceeded in their search, and when crossing the court-yard they perceived human limbs bristling from a well, and on further examination found it to be choked up with the bodies of the victims, which appeared to have been thrown in promiscuously, the dead with the wounded, till it was full to the brim. The feelings of those who witnessed the spectacle it is easy to conceive, but difficult to describe. Men of iron nerve, who had during the march from Allahabad rushed to the cannon's mouth, and, unappalled, had seen their comrades mowed down around them, now lifted up their voices and wept." *

Amid the blood there was found, with many other relics, a prayer book, on the fly-leaf of which was written, "For dearest mamma; from her affectionate Tom, June, 1845." It lay open at the Litany. Amid the clothing was found a scrap of paper, containing some entries in pencil by a female hand, afterwards ascertained to be that of a Miss Caroline Lindsay, who, ere she perished herself, had witnessed the destruction of her family:—"Mamma died, July 12th; Alice died, July 9th; George died, June 27th. Entered the barracks, May 21st. Cavalry left, June 5th. First shot fired, June 6th. Uncle Willy died, June 18th; Aunt Lilly, June 17th. Left barracks, June 27th. Made prisoners as soon as we were at the river." Lieutenant John Saunders, of H.M. 84th, when brought before Nana Sahib, pulled out his revolver and shot down five of the guards. With his sixth round he missed the Nana, when he was seized, and underwent systematic mutilation and torture till death next day released him from unutterable agony.†

* Marshman.

† "Indian Mutiny to the Recapture of Lucknow."

Of the effect these stories had at home we find Macaulay writing thus:—"The cruelties of the sepoy's have inflamed the nation to a degree unprecedented within my memory. Peace Societies, Aborigine Protection Societies, and Societies for the Reformation of Criminals, are silenced. There is one terrible cry for revenge! The account of that dreadful military execution at Peshawur—forty men blown at once from the mouths of cannon, their heads, legs, and arms flying in all directions—was read with delight by people who three months ago were against all capital punishment." *

A certain despondency now fell upon Havelock's force; their ranks had been thinned not only in combat but by cholera, which every day carried off some valuable life, and as their strength grew weaker, the magnitude of the task before them—to clear the way of rebels, and march to Lucknow—became more and more apparent. General Neill, when urged for reinforcements, could bring only 227 men with him, and more than these were necessary to garrison the town of which he took command, and where he instituted measures of such stern and inexorable justice as struck terror into the hearts of all evil-doers. The collector who had managed the massacre was caught on the 19th, and hanged from a tree.

"Whenever a rebel is caught," wrote General Neill, "he is immediately tried, and unless he can prove a defence, he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chief rebels or ringleaders I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of the women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think by doing so they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a soubahdar, or native officer, a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed; but I made the provost-marshal do his duty, and a few lashes compelled the miscreant to accomplish his task. When done he was taken out, immediately hanged, and after death buried in a ditch at the roadside. No one who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre can ever listen to the word 'mercy,' as applied to these fiends." †

In this spirit he continued daily to hang, flog, or blow from the guns all culprits, while Havelock prepared to advance into Oude, and was heard to

* "Lord Macaulay's Life," vol. ii.

† "Mutiny, to the Recapture of Lucknow."

exclaim, while thinking of the difficulties that lay before his slender force, "If the worst comes to the worst, we can but die with our swords in our hands." One of his first measures was to fortify a spot which would secure the passage of the Ganges, and the safety of the garrison he left behind. It was situated on the bank of the stream, and measured 200 yards in length by 100 in breadth. He made this field-work capable of defence by 300 men, and upon it he employed 4,000 labourers, who were encouraged to punctuality by daily payment; and it made such progress that it would evidently be in fighting order by the time the passage of the Ganges was achieved—a task of some difficulty, as it was now a swollen and impetuous torrent a mile in breadth. The bridge of boats had been cut by the mutineers, and there were neither craft nor boatmen to supply its place.

He procured a small steamer, in which, on the 21st of July, amid blinding torrents of rain, a detachment of Highlanders crossed, and landed in a swamp, where, had the enemy been on the alert, they might have been destroyed. A second detachment followed in the evening, and by the end of a week his whole force was over. It consisted of only 1,200 British and 300 native soldiers with ten guns, with which he began his eventful march into Oude by first advancing against the enemy at Onao, some eight miles from the Ganges, a small town flanked by an extensive swamp, the only approach to which was defended by fifteen guns, and where an advanced force of the mutineers was strongly posted within a village, the enclosure of which was in the form of a bastion, and all the houses of which were loopholed.

The attack was begun by the 78th Highlanders, who, with the Madras Fusiliers, flung themselves against the bastion and carried it, but met with such a biting fire from the houses that they were unable to capture the village till supported by the 64th, after which the guns were taken, and the whole force debouched between the village and the town of Onao, towards which the enemy were seen hastening in such strength, and with so many guns, that it was evident if they once established themselves there, all further advance would be barred, and the hope of succouring those now struggling in Lucknow might be destroyed.

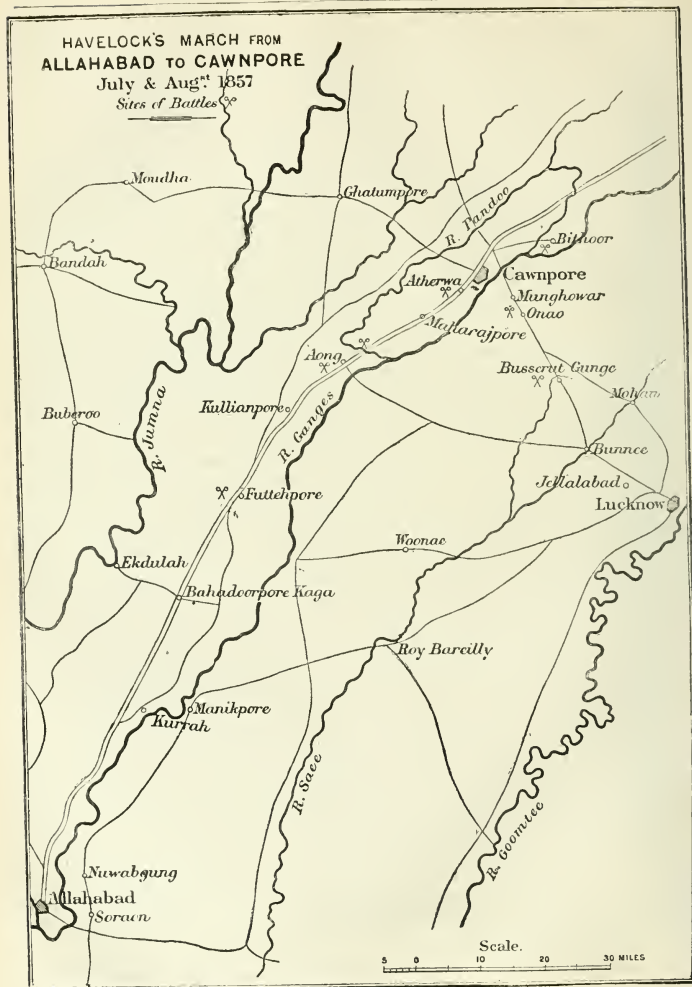
Havelock had thus no alternative but to outstrip them. His column pushed on, and took post on the Lucknow side, where it commanded the high road, along which the enemy, still hoping to gain the race, were hurrying. Havelock allowed them to come on unmolested till

they were in front of his line, when he suddenly opened with guns and musketry, and put them to flight, with the loss of 300 men and several pieces of cannon. During these manœuvres Jupah Sing, a lieutenant of the Nana, hung upon the British flank with cavalry, watching for the least symptoms of disorder to fall upon it.

During the fierce noontide heat Havelock halted for four hours at Onao, and then pushed on to Bussaret Gunge, a walled town, intersected by the Lucknow Road, which had been there trenched. Water protected the flanks of the town; four guns were above its gate, which was strongly barricaded; while the walls and turrets on each side were closely loopholed. But there was another gate on the left, to which the road was continued by a causeway across a sheet of water, about 150 yards wide and six feet deep. By this way the 64th were ordered to advance, while the Madras Fusiliers and 78th Highlanders were to storm the front gate, after a brief cannonade. A severe struggle ensued, yet the combined movements so alarmed the enemy that they abandoned the town, but not until we had eighty-eight officers and men killed or wounded.

Sickness now greatly impeded the triumphant march of the slender force, and though two victories had been won in one day, the prospect was a gloomy one, especially as fresh mutinies at Dinapore and elsewhere were adding to the strength and confidence of the rebels. Sickness and battle thinned the ranks so fast, that the whole ambulance available for those on the doctors' lists was already required. Havelock was, however, promised reinforcements—the 5th, from the Mauritius, and the 90th Perthshire Light Infantry, whose original destination had been China; but the pressure of affairs delayed the advance of these corps; and now a retrograde movement became imperative to deposit all convalescents safely in Cawnpore hospital. The order, equally repugnant to Havelock and his troops, was issued, and the column retired to Mungulwar, where they were within an easy distance of Cawnpore, and could encamp on a ridge which formed a strong position. There they were joined by 257 men, with five guns of Captain Olphert's battery, sent by General Neill; and even with this addition the force was no stronger than when it first crossed the Ganges; but it was now the month of August, and Havelock felt that another advance to Lucknow was imperative, or the massacres of Cawnpore and Delhi might be repeated there.

Quitting Mungulwar, the morning of the 5th saw him again before Bussaret Gunge and before the



PLAN OF HAVELOCK'S MARCH.

enemy, with only 1,400 men, but nearly all Europeans. His plan of attack was carried out more successfully than before. He formed his little force of volunteer cavalry in front, in such a manner as to make their numbers seem more than double what they really were, while under a furious cannonade the 64th and 84th pushed straight forward, and the 78th, Madras Fusiliers, the Sikhs, and

Contingent had just mutinied in what was now the usual fashion, and he was informed that the Dinapore mutineers were marching into Oude from the east, and those of the contingent—in itself an army—well disciplined and perfect, had reached Calpee on the Jumna, only forty-five miles distant from Cawnpore. If he fell back, what would be the fate of the helpless garrison he was longing to



PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY HAVELOCK.

Madras Battery, made a flank movement to the right, by which it had been discovered that access was easier than by the causeway on the left. As before, the enemy rushed out of the gate in that quarter, and made for the causeway, but Maude's Battery swept it by a dreadful storm of grape and shells, amid which they had literally to "run the gauntlet;" and so complete were their rout and panic, that they never halted till they reached Nawabgunge, five miles distant; but again Havelock was compelled to pause, for to reach Lucknow seemed more than ever impossible. The Gwalior

succour? If he advanced, what might be his own? Hence, a prey to many corroding anxieties, he once more gave the bitter order to retreat on Mungulwar, whence he telegraphed to Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-chief, informing him of the precise condition of affairs.

On the morning of the 11th of August, his force numbered precisely 1,000 fighting men, so heavily had sickness, sunstroke, and the late combat reduced its strength. Neill had only 250 men at Cawnpore fit for duty, and death had reduced the invalids to about the same number. About

Mungulwar and Lucknow the enemy were 30,000 strong, and three strongly-fortified positions lay between. At Bithoor a great force was collecting, and there the Nana had been joined by all the zemindars and villagers.

By means of rafts and boats, and taking advantage of three islands, a complete communication had been established between the Mungulwar and Cawnpore sides of the river, and the value of this was soon put to the proof, when Havelock was suddenly informed by General Neill that 4,000 men, with five guns, threatened his post. "I cannot stand this," he wrote; "they will enter the town, and our communications are gone; if I am not supported I can only hold out here; I can do nothing beyond our entrenchments. All the country between this and Allahabad will be up, and our powder and ammunition on the way, if the steamer, as I feel assured, does not start, will fall into the hands of the enemy, and we shall be in a bad way."

He was on the point of crossing to succour Neill when he learned that another 4,000 men, with some guns, had arrived at Busseret Gunge, and to do so then would have a fatal effect in Oude, so he resolved to try his strength with them ere leaving it. After sending over all his sick, wounded, and heavy baggage, on marching to Boorkiya, a mile and a half from Busseret Gunge (and on the way, seeing the peasantry flocking in arms to the enemy's post in such numbers as to double their strength), he found the mutineers strongly entrenched, with their right resting on the village and the main road, and their left on a ridge 400 yards distant, both flanks being defended by artillery. Along their front lay what seemed a dry grassy level, but which proved in reality to be a treacherous morass, when the right wing of his advancing force reached the margin of it. The pause was a very brief one. The 78th Highlanders, now, like the others, reduced to a mere skeleton corps, finding themselves cut up by the fire of two nine-pounders, suddenly uttered a yell of rage, and rushing on with charged bayonets, captured both pieces, and wheeling them round, captured fire with them on the enemy, who turned and fled.

"Well done, my brave Highlanders!" cried Havelock, as he galloped up to them; "you have this day saved yourselves and your comrades!" After this feat, the column returned to Mungulwar, without further molestation, and crossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, on the night of the 13th of August. But there was no repose for Havelock and his men. Only some ten miles distant were 4,000 rebels in position, under the Nana, at Bithoor, but Havelock

and Neill concocted a plan for their dispersion, and on the 16th they marched for the purpose, at the head of 1,300 men, under a cloudless and vertical sun, the fierce glare of which was almost unbearable, and they found the enemy in one of the strongest situations they had yet occupied.

In front spread a plain dotted with villages and dense plantations of the sugar-cane and castor-oil plant, through which wound a stream on its way to the Ganges, and at that time too deep to be forded. Hence, the only access to the town, where stood the magnificent palace of the Nana, was by a narrow stone bridge, defended by a breastwork on its flank, and commanded by high ground and some massive edifices. In their ignorance, or, perhaps, from over-confidence, the enemy failed to make the most of this position, and by scattering themselves among the villages and plantations, left themselves no escape in case of defeat, save by the narrow bridge, which was in their rear, instead of being in front.

Advancing in echelon from the right, the 78th, the Madras Fusiliers, and Madras Battery, formed the right wing, the 64th, 84th, the Sikhs, and Olphert's Battery, formed the left. When the superiority of our artillery is considered, an easy victory might have been expected; but entrenched among the thickets and villages, the enemy stood well to their guns, till they were carried at the point of the bayonet; and when flight again became general, the want of cavalry was, as usual, felt, and Havelock asserted, that had he possessed some, not a rebel would have escaped. Moreover, we might have captured the infamous Nana, who fled with all his females across the Ganges into Oude, while our troops pillaged his palace, and gave it to the flames.

Neill was now compelled to urge that his handful of men, who had been marching and fighting for six weeks without intermission, should have some rest, or they must sink from sheer exhaustion. Havelock yielded to his opinion, but impatiently waited reinforcements. Aid from Allahabad was hopeless, for there, as at Benares, the British were in hourly alarm of attack or extended insurrection; so daily the situation of Havelock became one of greater peril; and after being full of hope to reach Lucknow, he was compelled to telegraph to the incompetent Government at Calcutta that he must abandon Cawnpore, as he had now only 700 men fit for duty, while 37,000 mutineers menaced him on every side. He had only eight ill-horsed guns, while the enemy had thirty, with all the necessary material. He declared his willingness to "fight anything and against all odds," but reminded the Calcutta

authorities that "the loss of a single battle would be the ruin of everything in that part of India."

On the 23rd of August he heard from Lucknow

the Ganges, a little above Patna, containing about 5,000 thatched huts, and only eight brick houses, irrespective of the European residences and public



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BITHOOR.

that the garrison was in sore extremity; that there were 100 sick and wounded; and 350 women and children to protect from cruelty and massacre.

The progress of those reinforcements he had at one time looked for with confidence, was arrested by a mutiny at Dinapore, a zilla, or collectorate, on

buildings. It had long been known that the native brigade there, consisting of the 7th, 8th, and 40th Regiments, had only been kept in check by the presence of H.M. 10th, a wing of H.M. 37th, and a six-gun field-battery. General Lloyd, who commanded there, was an aged officer, of the old

Indian school, who believing in the faith of his beloved sepoy, turned a deaf ear to every suggestion for disarming them. Even when it was no longer possible to doubt their disaffection, he adopted temporising measures, and finally permitted them to march off with their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements; and before the Queen's troops could get under arms, the mutineers were in full flight, while the general was at lunch on board a steamer in the Ganges.

They crossed the Soane at a point about sixteen miles from Dinapore, and next morning marched into Arrah, a populous town of Behar, where they made a gaol delivery, and were joined by a rajah named Baboo Koer Sing, at the head of 3,000 armed men. Mr. Wake, the magistrate, had, with fortunate prescience, fortified a two-storeyed brick house, by building up the tall pointed windows of the upper and lower floors, and loopholing the latter, and there the resident Europeans—only sixteen civilians in all, one of whom was Mr. Boyle, a railway engineer—with fifty of Rattray's Sikh Police, took shelter, and defended themselves with desperation. Meanwhile, two days elapsed before General Lloyd could be induced to send a force in pursuit. It consisted of 230 men of the 37th, 150 of the 10th, fifty Sikhs, and twelve volunteers, officers and civilians; and the whole, under Captain Charles Dunbar, of the 10th, an officer who had seen much service in the East, left Dinapore by steamer, to rescue Mr. Wake's little garrison. At ten p.m. he made a brief halt near Arrah, and then pushed on, unluckily without reconnaissance, and severely was this omission punished.

In passing a thick grove of trees, through which the light of the waning moon was shining, there came upon them three successive volleys of musketry. Dunbar fell mortally wounded, while his soldiers strove to return the fire upon an unseen foe, but were compelled to make their way back to the steamer, leaving half their number killed and wounded behind them. The fate of Wake's little band at Arrah seemed to be sealed now. Still, their hearts never failed them; and being excellent rifle-shots, they struck terror into the besieging horde by the accuracy with which they aimed. On the 28th, two pieces of cannon were brought to bear upon the house, and the rebels were proceeding to undermine it, when the gallant Vincent Eyre came to relieve the little garrison, which must inevitably have been overpowered. He was on the march with his field-battery to Allahabad, and entered Dinapore on the very day of the mutiny. As Buxar and Ghazipore were reported to be in danger, he steamed to both, but finding no cause

for alarm, resolved to relieve Arrah with all the Queen's troops he could pick up. Luckily, 160 of the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers had just arrived, and formed the nucleus of a field force, with which, and three guns, he started on the morning of the 2nd of August, and on advancing a little way beyond Gujragunge, found the rebels in force posted in a wood, and moving in two columns round his flanks.

As their intention was evidently to surround him, he opened fire with his guns at once. Screened behind broken ground, the enemy replied by musketry, notwithstanding which the skilful Eyre forced a clear passage for his guns and baggage beyond the woods, after which his advance became easy, as the road was formed by a causeway, with inundated rice-fields on either side, and these kept the enemy at such a distance that their musketry fire was quite innocuous. The major then made a flank movement towards the line of railway, along which was a direct road to Arrah. This change of direction he concealed for some time by a fire of artillery; but the moment it was discovered, the enemy hastened to arrest his progress; the horde of Baboo Koer Sing pressed upon his rear, while the disciplined Dinapore brigade moved parallel with him on his flank, and eventually took post in a wood that abutted on the railway; but, after a sharp combat, they were driven off, and early on the morning of the 3rd, the gallant fellows at Arrah were relieved, after a defence which Eyre records as "one of the most remarkable feats in Indian history." He then followed up his success by capturing the fort of Jugdespore, the stronghold of Koer Sing, who, undeterred by all this, assumed the title of King of Shahabad, and though in his 80th year, gave proof of considerable military talents.

As soon as the death of General Anson became known in London, Sir Colin Campbell was appointed to succeed him. When asked by the Premier when he would be able to start for India, he promptly, yet simply, replied, "To-morrow," and in twenty-four hours after he was on the sea. No appointment could have been more judicious. His long career of distinguished service since the field of Corunna—particularly during the later battles in the Crimea, when at the head of the Highland Brigade—pointed him out as the man in whom, amid an emergency so terrible as the sepoy revolt, Britain might repose confidence; and having spent many years of his active life in India, he knew the country well. By taking the overland route he outstripped nearly all the reinforcements of which "the Army of Deliverance" was to be composed; "but there was no reason to fear that the means placed at his disposal would prove inadequate, since the national

spirit, completely roused, was no longer to be satisfied with desultory efforts, and troops to the number of 30,000 had already left, or were preparing to leave, the British shores for India."

On the 13th of August, Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, an event which had been preceded by that of another officer of the same stamp, Major-General Sir James Outram, who, after the conclusion of the Persian war, was without any fixed appointment, till he received the office of Chief Commissioner in Oude, with the local command of the Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions, now both vacant, one by the incompetency of General Lloyd, and the other by the murder of Sir Hugh Wheeler. He was thus placed over both Havelock and Neill, and lost no time in organising a movable column for the relief of Lucknow. On the first of September he arrived at Allahabad with the 5th Fusiliers, the Perthshire Light Infantry, and a company of artillery—in all only 1,500 men; but Captain Peel had formed a naval brigade of 500 seamen from his own frigate, the *Shannon*, and vessels in Calcutta, so, for the first time, the blue-jackets were sent into the interior of India.

The appointment given to Outram had an effect which was overlooked at the time. "It placed a superior officer in the district in which Havelock had achieved his glorious victories, and thus by reducing him to a subordinate position, really superseded him. The same thing took place in respect of General Neill when Havelock himself was appointed; and if regret was then felt, it is impossible not to feel it still more when, returning with Havelock from his victory at Bithoor, we see him take up the *Calcutta Gazette*, and receive from it his first intelligence of the fact that the command

which had already given, and still promised to give him so many laurels, had passed into other hands." But with his characteristic magnanimity, Sir James—the Bayard of India—determined to leave to Havelock the honour of relieving Lucknow, and intimated his intention of accompanying him in his civil capacity alone, as Commissioner of Oude, and, with genuine chivalry, tendering his military services as a simple volunteer, and as such, he actually assumed the command of the Volunteer Horse, announcing that on the relief of Lucknow he would then resume his position at the head of the field-force.*

No time was now lost in resuming the advance upon Lucknow. On the 19th the relieving army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats, and the rebels fell back on Mungulwar, where, on the 21st, they were attacked by Havelock at the head of 3,179 men with seventeen guns, and the slender Volunteer Horse. He completely routed them, and captured four guns. The soldier whose personal valour on this day was most conspicuous was Sir James Outram, who charged the battery sword in hand, at the head of the mounted volunteers, and captured the regimental colour of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry. As Havelock advanced the rebels rapidly retreated, abandoning four more guns, and throwing others into wells.

On the 22nd Sir James Outram reported to the Government the joyful intelligence, that firing at Lucknow was distinctly heard, and that a royal salute had been fired to announce the approach of the army of Deliverance. And here it will be proper to return to the beleaguered force in that place, and show the condition to which a siege of more than two months of danger, toil, and anxiety had reduced it.

CHAPTER XLIX.

STATE OF LUCKNOW.—RELIEVED BY HAVELOCK AND OUTRAM.

THE Mohurrum was near at hand, so that at Lucknow, as elsewhere, there was every fear that the stimulus of fanaticism would probably add to the courage and rancour of the enemy. From the Residency the incessant tom-tomming of their processions, and the shrill notes of their buffalo-horn bugles, were distinctly heard in the adjacent city. This Mohammedan festival is held on the

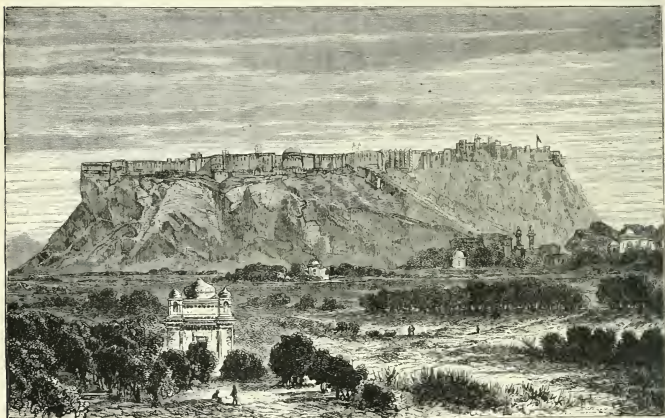
anniversary of the deaths of Hossein and Hassan, whom the Shiah's view as martyrs to their faith, and reckon in the number of their twelve holy imams. Nine days after the first of the forty days of the Mohurrum is the *Kutl ka Ruth*, or Night of Butchery, when the Shiah's sacrifice a goat to heaven; and in Lucknow it was never

* Division Order, Cawnpore, 15th Sept., 1857, &c.

doubted but that a holocaust of Feringhees would be a more acceptable offering ; but some days before this, on the 23rd of August, Havelock received a letter from Colonel Inglis, of the 32nd, the brigadier commanding, in which he wrote thus, describing the situation of affairs :—

“If you hope to save this force, no time must be lost in pushing forward. We are daily being attacked by the enemy, who are within a few yards of our defences. Their mines have already weakened our post, and I have every reason to believe they are carrying on others. Their eighteen-

and many unfortunate creatures had to lie on cloaks or coats for want of bed and bedding. Though the windows were barricaded, shot and shell frequently forced their way in, and ended the miseries of many. Most arduous were the duties, and heroic the endurance of the slender medical staff ; for the hospital was crammed as much with the sick as the wounded, owing to the pestilential atmosphere, the result of crowding in the Residency, the graves, and heaps of putrid matter accumulated everywhere ; while among other annoyances were the flies, that came in clouds, blackening every-



VIEW OF GWALIOR.

pounders are within 150 yards of some of our batteries, and from their position, and our inability to form working parties, we cannot reply to them, and consequently the damage done hourly is very great. My strength now in Europeans is 350, and about 300 natives, and the men are dreadfully harassed, and owing to part of the Residency having been brought down by round shot, many are without shelter. Our native force having been assured, on Colonel Tytler's authority, of your near approach some twenty-four days ago, are naturally losing confidence ; and if they leave us, I do not see how the defences are to be manned.”

To detail the perils, dangers, and events of such a defence as that of Lucknow would require a history for itself. The hospital was always full,

thing, and, as one correspondent has it, “obstinately disputing every mouthful of food.” These flies were a source of great disgust and horror ; they were large, cold, and clammy, and came from the corpses that were festering everywhere in the vicinity.

On the 28th of July the enemy adopted some new missiles, and threw in “a number of stink-pots, which were a very curious composition of large pieces of our exploded shells, sewn up in canvas, and surrounded by flax and resin, with dry powder in the centre. These had been thrown in daily from a howitzer ; they made a fearful hissing noise, a great stench, and finally exploded. They were not very dangerous, unless they exploded close to a person.”

By the successful explosion of a mine nearly eighty of the rebels were slain. Immediately afterwards two sallies were made, one led by Captain Fulton, who attacked some adjacent buildings, drove the enemy out, and then blew them up; the other, under the gallant Lieutenant Bernard M'Cabe, of the 32nd, an officer who had served in eight pitched battles, and was the first man who planted the British standard on the ramparts of Moultan. He was not less successful, and returned with the loss of only one man, a soldier of the 32nd.*

But in describing this siege we cannot do better than quote the words of Brigadier Inglis. After detailing that the enemy had kept up an incessant fire of guns and musketry till the 20th of July, when at ten a.m. on that day they exploded a great mine within his outer line of defences for the purpose of destroying the Redan Battery—a measure which failed:—"But, as soon as the smoke cleared away," he continues, "the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan; but they were received with such a heavy fire, that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes' post, and came on within ten yards of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughman, 13th Native Infantry, who commanded the position, and his brave garrison, composed of gentlemen of the uncovenanted service, a few of H.M. 32nd Foot, and of the 13th Native Infantry, an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost; but were invariably defeated, and at two p.m. they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th of August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the house occupied by Mr. Schillig's garrison. On the dust clearing away a breach appeared, through which a regiment might have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination; but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the brigade mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their number lying in the breach. While this operation

was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore Battery, and succeeded in locating themselves in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand-grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling-ladders; but here, as elsewhere, they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up for the rest of the day an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th of August the enemy sprang another mine in front of the Sikh lines, with very fatal effect. Captain Orr (unattached), Lieutenants Micham and Sopitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air; but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a violent shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty; but they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses of our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of H.M. 32nd and 84th Foot. On the 5th of September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine within a few feet of the bastion of the eighteen-pounder gun in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large and heavy scaling-ladders, which they planted against the wall and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand-grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade mess, but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post, bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges in the direction of the cantonments."*

* Rees' "Journal."

* Brigadier Inglis' Despatch.

So passed day after day, and week after week, till the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting shelter for the women and children, so many houses had been destroyed by the round shot from the enemy's guns; and the effluvia from the churchyard became so dreadful that the chaplain, the Rev. J. P. Harris, though fearless in the discharge of his duty, was compelled to read the funeral service over the dead in the hospital porch, instead of accompanying them to the grave. Night after night the solemn service was read over the lifeless bodies of brave men and heroic women, and over little babes, and very piteous were some of the scenes that took place beside the death-beds of young children, while the din of cannon and musketry loaded the air round Lucknow.

On the 29th of August news came from Cawnpore in a letter brought by a boy. Relief was promised in three weeks, and the besieged learned the gallant efforts made by Havelock's little band before it had been compelled to fall back upon Cawnpore. On the 22nd of September, Rees has the following entry in his journal:—

"Spies came in last night. Generals Outram and Havelock are actually coming to our relief. This is true! How can I describe my joy even at the bare thought of our being relieved!"

The day of deliverance was indeed approaching. We have said that Havelock's army mustered 3,179 men. Of these 2,388 were British infantry, 109 British volunteer horse, 282 British artillery, 341 Sikh infantry, and 59 irregular cavalry. They were formed in two brigades; the 1st under General Neill, and the 2nd under Colonel Henry Hamilton, of the 78th Highlanders. On the 21st, after clearing the way at Mungulwar, they bivouacked under torrents of rain, and next morning an advance was made to Bunna, on the Sye, where it was never doubted the passage of that river would be hotly disputed by the rebels; but the latter, filled with genuine alarm by the events of the previous day, continued their retreat, without even attempting to secure it by the destruction of the bridge, and they were not again seen till the 23rd, on the morning of which they were found in force in the vicinity of the Alumbagh, a princely palace belonging to the kings of Oude, about four miles from Lucknow—"the garden of the Lady Alum, or the Beauty of the World." Within a park of great extent it was enclosed by a lofty quadrangular wall with turrets at the angles; and, in addition to the main building, had an extensive range of offices to accommodate the vast number of servants necessary for a great Indian household.

It was evident that at this point they were determined to risk a battle and cover the siege of Lucknow, as they were formed in a line that extended nearly two miles with their right and centre posted on some mounds, and their left resting on the Alumbagh. Their strength here was about 1,500 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, with six guns. Havelock's plan of attack was to turn the flank of their right wing, but an intervening morass rendered it necessary to make a considerable détour; and while this movement was being executed the troops were exposed to a sharp cannonade, till the guns were silenced by Vincent Eyre's brigade of twenty-four-pounders. At the same time the enemy's cavalry on the right were hurled back in confusion, and the whole line of infantry fell into disorder and dismay.

The greatest resistance was met with at the Alumbagh, in the front wall of which two port-holes had been formed after the conflict commenced, and guns run through them, the fire of which had a serious effect; till the field-guns and the 5th Fusiliers with their bayonets cleared the whole edifice, and ended all opposition. Leaving five guns behind them, the enemy fled to Lucknow, and just as the troops were about to bivouac for the night, tidings came in of the capture of Delhi by Wilson's conquering column.

As there had been no communication from the besieged for some time, their fate was more than doubtful; but on this day all anxiety was ended, for the guns of the Residency were heard in the distance answering that salute which announced the approach of the relieving force. Still the hope of the others was chequered with fear. Brigadier Inglis knew that Havelock's force was small, under 4,000 men at most, while the rebels, said to be 50,000 strong, were prepared to dispute their passage into Lucknow.

During the halt in the Alumbagh, on the 24th, Havelock, Outram, and Neill consulted as to the direction in which the relief was to be made. Advanced pickets were already posted at the Charbagh (or Four Gardens) Bridge, which crossed a canal about a mile and a half beyond the country palace, and from thence the Cawnpore Road, passing to the left of the Topkulla, led directly into the city of Lucknow. Aware that this was the shortest and most direct way to the Residency, the enemy had thrown up barricades, and cut deep trenches across it, while loopholing all the houses on both sides of the street, and filling them with men. The idea of fighting a passage in by this route was therefore abandoned, and the generals resolved, after crossing the Charbagh Bridge, to proceed eastward

along a lane, and passing the corner of the Kaiserbagh, a royal garden on the left, thus reach the Residency.

Under a guard of 300 men, the strongest force that could be spared for the purpose, the sick, the wounded, and the baggage were left in the Alum-bagh, and at eight a.m. on the 25th, the force moved off for Lucknow, Sir James Outram leading with the first brigade, and Havelock following with the second; but the colours were barely uncased when the struggle began, and men were falling killed and wounded, ere they could reach the Charbagh Bridge, near which three guns, covered by the rebel marksmen, raked the way. At the bridge itself there was a desperate struggle, for there were planted six guns, one of them a twenty-four-pounder, while all the adjacent houses were loopholed and filled with musketry. So severe was the fire, that the men were ordered to lie down under such cover as they could find, and let it pass over them, while Captain Maude brought up two guns with which to encounter the enemy's six.

Our men stood in the open road, without shelter, while the enemy fired from a breast-high barricade; hence, to end this destructive work, the Madras Fusiliers were ordered to clear the way at the point of the bayonet, and bravely they did so. The moment the order was issued, Lieutenant Arnold, at the head of a section, rushed on without waiting for the rest, and received a shower of grape, which broke both his legs, and swept away ten men. Two staff-officers joined in this headlong rush. One, Colonel Fraser-Tyler, had his horse shot under him; while the other, Lieutenant Henry M. Havelock, spurred his horse to the bridge, where he kept brandishing his sword till the Fusiliers came up and cleared the way. Then Lucknow rose before them, with all its gilded minarets, its rich domes, its splendid mosques and many palaces, its regular and thickly-crowded streets of houses, but all relieved by beautiful gardens, stately parks, and foliated trees. By this time, in the Residency, while their hearts beat high with hope and gladness, the besieged could see the smoke and hear the rattle of the musketry as the street-fighting went on, and the stream of fire approached their intrenchments; for, leaving the bridge in their rear, the relieving force proceeded in a northerly direction as far as the Secunder Bagh, where they made an abrupt wheel westward to the left, and passing Shah Nujjeef on the right, came within a short distance of the Motee Mahal, close by the Goomtee, and there the most desperate part of the work began.

At this point, nearly a mile eastward from the Residency, the whole strength of the enemy was

concentrated for a final struggle. From the Kaiserbagh a heavy battery opened upon our troops, which, in unison with the musketry, poured a fire so terrible as to render all further advance next to an impossibility. Vincent Eyre, with two of his heavy guns, succeeded in twice silencing the battery for a time; but the opposition might not have been overcome at all if relief had not arrived from an unexpected quarter.

A detachment of the 78th Highlanders, who had been left at the Charbagh Bridge for a time, had been following the main body of the regiment, which, with the Perthshire Light Infantry, was under Havelock, till they came to a point where all trace of the advance was lost, and they knew not which way to turn in the hostile city; but, being most providentially guided by the sound of firing, they wheeled off to the left by a street, which brought them straight to the gate of the Kaiserbagh. This gave them an opportunity of taking the obnoxious battery in reverse, and then their bayonets made wild work among its defenders, after which they effected a junction with the rest of the troops.

Though the Residency now was only 500 yards distant, as night was at hand, and a whole day had been spent in fighting, a halt was proposed, but the whole troops refused to rest till the great end of their purpose had been achieved; so the Highlanders and Sikhs were ordered to lead the way. They pushed on through a literal storm of missiles, supported by the Madras Fusiliers, under the gallant Neill, who was here shot through the head, ere he had added the reputation of a general to his high renown as a soldier. He was the son of Colonel Neill, an Ayrshire proprietor. He had served in the first Burmese War, and commanded the Turkish Contingent in the Crimea. As he fell from his horse, a wilder impulse seemed, if possible, to seize the troops, and dashing on through every obstacle, they found the reward of all their toils and perils, when the gates of the Residency were flung open to receive them.

"Thank God!" exclaims Rees, "we then gazed upon new faces of countrymen. We ran up to them, officers and men without distinction, and shook them by the hand, how cordially who can describe? The shrill tones of the Highlanders' bagpipes now met our ears. Not the most beautiful music ever was more welcome, more joy-bringing. And these brave men themselves, many of them bloody and exhausted, forgot the loss of their comrades, the pain of their wounds, the fatigue of overcoming the fearful obstacles they had combated for our sakes, in the pleasure of having accomplished our relief."*

* "Siege of Lucknow." By Ruutz Rees.

Another eye-witness, an officer of the staff, writes thus of the scene, as the Highlanders and Sikhs, who were the first in, arrived:—"Once seen, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended, and then the garrison's long pent-up feelings of anxiety burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery—from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses—from every post held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer upon cheer: men from the hospital crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten! The delight of the ever-gallant Highlanders, who had fought twelve battles to enjoy that moment of ecstasy, and in the last four days had lost a third of their number, knew no bounds. The general and Sir James Outram had entered Dr. Fayer's, and the ladies in the garrison and their children crowded with intense excitement into the porch to see their deliverers. The Highlanders rushed forward, the rough-bearded warriors, and shook the ladies by the hand with loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another in turn. Then, when the first burst of enthusiasm was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy losses they had sustained, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen in the way."

Under the guidance of Lieutenant William R. Moorsom, of H.M. 52nd, who acted as deputy quartermaster-general, and also as guide to Sir James Outram (being intimately acquainted with Lucknow, of which he had once made a survey),* the remainder of the troops, who were at the Fureid Buksh, 500 yards distant, at the time the Highlanders and Sikhs entered the Residency, were conducted thither without further loss; but the rear-guard, consisting of the 90th Perthshire, under Colonel Robert Campbell (who served in the Kaffir War with the 73rd) were less fortunate. They had been left at the Motce Munzil, to cover the advance of the Highlanders, who were not known at that time to have chanced upon a route that was more direct than that taken by the main body.

The regiment had with it two heavy guns, the tumbrils of spare ammunition, and the lately wounded, and remained halted at its post during the night; but when day broke, Mr. Thornhill, of the Civil Service, volunteered to lead the way for the wounded. Unfortunately, his knowledge of Lucknow proved unequal to the task; and he guided the convoy of litters into a square, where the

enemy opened a sputtering fire from every point. The escort fell back, the dhoolie-bearers fled, and nearly forty of the wounded were instantly butchered by the mutineers.

In achieving the first relief of Lucknow—for eventually it only proved a temporary one—the killed, wounded, and missing of the force (the latter being wounded may be included among the former, as the foe murdered all who fell into their hands) amounted, on the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers, non-commissioned officers, rank and file.

The garrison of Lucknow consisted originally, at the beginning of the siege, of 927 Europeans and 765 natives. The casualties were 350 Europeans and 133 natives killed; of the latter, 230 deserted. Of the original garrison, when relieved on the 25th September, there remained alive, including sick and wounded, 577 Europeans and 402 natives.*

As an instance of the cannonading undergone, in the brigade mess alone, 435 round-shot were found; not less than 10,000 had struck the various buildings, and as for musket-shot, they lay about in myriads. More than 400 of the defenders of the garrison are interred in the churchyard.†

Had Havelock been a little later, nothing short of a miracle could have prevented all that had been done at Delhi and Cawnpore from being re-enacted at Lucknow; unless the garrison did as they once talked of doing—namely, blow up the women, children, and wounded, to save them from worse at the hands of the insurgents, and then to have died themselves fighting among the ruins.‡

Sir James Outram had organised an intelligence department, under Captains Carnegie and Orr, who discovered some curious circumstances in the city. There the mutineers had crowned as King of Oude a child eight years of age (a natural son of the ex-king), named Barges Kadr. He was to be, like his ancestors, a tributary king under the now captive Mogul, and was to govern under a council of state. The army was fully officered; but they were chosen by their men, who elected and degraded, or murdered them at will. The insurgents had in their hands some prisoners, among whom were Sir Mountstuart Jackson and Miss Jackson; Captain Patrick Orr, lately a deputy commissioner in the Mallool district, with his wife and child; Lieutenant Burns, Sergeant-Major Norton, and a Miss Christian, whose parents had been murdered at Seetapore. They had all been manacled and horribly treated, and Sir Mountstuart Jackson was

* Gubbins' "Mutinie: in Oude."

† Rees' "Personal Narrative,"

‡ Ibid., p. 248.

* "Records 52nd Foot."

afterwards murdered, negotiations for the release of the party having failed.

The garrison and the relieving force now found themselves alike unable to quit Lucknow, which at first they had intended to do forthwith. There was found in the Residency, on a new examination being made, food sufficient to feed the whole united force for two months; this discovery on one hand, with a knowledge, on the other, that it was imprac-

vicinity, together with supplies brought under escort from Cawnpore, to be free from all fear of starvation.

The area occupied by the garrison of the Residency being insufficient for its accommodation now, an addition was made to it on the north, by which the mutineers were thrust back fully a thousand yards; the defences were rendered stronger, and points formerly weak were rendered perfectly



THE ATTACK ON THE ALUMBAGH.

ticable to procure the means of conveying sick, wounded, women, children, and stores, caused the generals to determine on an occupation of the Residency till further reinforcements came.

The little force left in the Alumbagh caused them much anxiety, and an attempt was made to open up a communication with it by the Cawnpore road on the 3rd October; but there were difficulties in the way of this, for the enemy had taken heart anew, resumed the offensive, and placed the whole force in a close state of blockade. Fortunately for itself, the isolated detachment was able, by the strength of the Alumbagh, to repel any attempt to surprise the post, and by frequent sallies in its

secure. On the southern and western sides new works were thrown up and damages repaired, and a series of mines were constructed on both sides, which Sir James Outram, in one of his despatches, asserted to have no parallel in modern warfare. There were sunk twenty-one shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, with a gallery of 3,291 feet. Against the palaces and outposts the enemy ran twenty mines; of these three were exploded with a loss of life, three did no injury, and seven were blown in. The enemy were driven out of seven others at the point of the bayonet, and their galleries captured by our miners, thus evincing the skill of the engineer department.

CHAPTER I.

MAUN SING'S PROPOSAL.—THE MARCH OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.—SECOND RELIEF OF LUCKNOW, AND DEATH OF HAVELOCK.

AMONG the most distinguished of the insurgent rajahs, or most powerful landed barons of the provinces, according to Rees, Maun Sing holds one of the first places. During the whole of the siege of Lucknow he would seem to have held aloof, and did not permit his troops to act against us. He had saved the lives of twenty-nine Europeans—gentlemen, ladies, and children, refugees from Fyzabad and Sultanpore, and conducted them to Allahabad in safety; but knowing his power, he resolved to use it for his own aggrandisement and the gratification of his ambition. From among his tenants and retainers he could muster 10,000 armed men, chiefly Rajpoots and high-caste Hindoos of the military class, and he had plenty of cannon, ammunition, and treasure.

To the local government at Allahabad he proposed to use his forces for the restoration of order in the district of Sultanpore, but conditionally, that he should be rewarded with a grant of land. On this proposal not being accepted, he declared for the insurgents, when the attack of the 25th September failed to disperse them. He then endeavoured to treat with Sir James Outram, offering to act as mediator with the rebels, provided his life and estates were secured; but to all this, Sir James replied, that any fidelity he felt must be displayed untrammelled by conditions, and no doubt it would

receive due consideration from the Government at Calcutta.

After this his demands rose higher; he claimed immunity for all, with pensions for every one, including the little king whom the mutineers had crowned in Lucknow; and he next proposed to escort our women, children, and wounded to Cawnpore, under a guard of his 10,000 men. This was treated as ridiculous, and, perhaps, at the time, the kind of escort given by Ackbar Khan to Elphinstone's people was remembered. Then came a threat to murder the prisoners; but that catastrophe was averted for a time, by an assurance that reprisals would be made on the state prisoners in Lucknow, as well as the royal captives at Calcutta.

The mutineers had in their hands a number of native prisoners. These were servants and others who had deserted from the Residency, and been seized as spies. They were all hanged or shot; the kotwal, or mayor, was placed on a donkey, conveyed through the streets, with his head and face shaved and blackened, and was then decapitated. All the native Christians, and those who had been their servants, were murdered.

The siege still proceeded—mining and counter-mining, cannonading, rifle practice, assaults, and sorties; but the time was fast coming when the



RUINS OF THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW.

prisoners of five most arduous months were to be finally relieved. It was now possible to see clearly how well and skilfully the rebels had worked. In front of their batteries they had excavated trenches, some of which were twenty feet deep. Ladders had been placed to enable them to ascertain our mining operations, and intersecting trenches enabled them to creep to the very edges of our works. On the 15th of October, Sir James Outram informed the volunteers of the uncovenanted service that for their valour and efficiency in the defence they were to receive three months' gratuity, and the native soldiers were also handsomely rewarded. Everything of utility brought high prices. An old flannel coat sold for fifty-one rupees; fifteen cheroots went for the same sum. Old shawls sold well, and brandy fetched fifty-four rupees a bottle. Hourly the din of cannon and musketry went on; death and starvation still stared the garrison in the face, and the advent of Sir Colin Campbell was looked for with inexpressible anxiety.

That officer, on learning that the intended retreat of the original garrison at Lucknow had been abandoned as impracticable, now hastened to place himself at the head of a force more adequate than that which had marched under Havelock and Outram, and, fortunately, means were not wanting. From Europe reinforcements had been pouring into India, and in addition to these there was, as we have said, the Naval Brigade, under Captain Peel, son of the late Sir Robert Peel, with a train of very heavy cannon; and to their honour be it said, many of the mercantile mariners at Calcutta volunteered to serve under Captain Peel. The latter with 500 seamen, and Colonel Powell with a detachment of troops, were marching from Allahabad to Cawnpore, when they were attacked by the enemy, 4,000 strong. A conflict ensued that proved one of severity, and Colonel Powell was shot. Peel assumed the command, and fought with all the skill of a general, defeating and dispersing the enemy. He then halted to refresh his force, and next pushed on to Cawnpore, whither many detachments were making their way, as the conquest of Delhi had set free a great portion of the besieging army to join the other reinforcements, where Sir Colin Campbell came to concentrate the whole, early in November.

Throughout the preceding month there had been much severe fighting at Lucknow. Brigadier Inglis commanded in the Residency, and General Havelock in the outer portion of the defence, and his was, without doubt, the post of the greatest danger, labour, and anxiety, but the genius which characterised his advance from Cawnpore was now

displayed in the defence of Lucknow. In order to facilitate the advance of Sir Colin Campbell, he was incessantly engaged in blowing up houses and clearing the streets, to lessen in every way the resistance the latter would receive. At the Alumbagh, four miles distant, Havelock had, as related, left his sick, wounded, and stores, under a guard of 300 men. The enemy got between that point and the city, cutting off the communication, and blocking both.

The detachment in the Alumbagh were enabled, however, to keep open a portion of the Cawnpore road, and the garrison there sent to them both supplies and reinforcements; so, after a time, the rebels left the Alumbagh almost entirely unmolested, and devoted all their energies to the capture of the Residency.

On the 9th of November, 1857, Sir Colin Campbell began his march for Lucknow, at the head of the following forces:—H.M. 8th, or King's, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd Sutherland Highlanders; the 2nd and 4th Punjaub Infantry; H.M. 9th Lancers; detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub Cavalry, of Hodson's Horse, and of the Bengal and Punjaub Sappers and Miners; the Naval Brigade, with eight guns; Bengal Horse Artillery, ten guns; Bengal Field Battery, six guns; and a heavy field battery; in all about 5,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon. The cavalry were 700 strong. The officers by whom he was assisted were General Mansfield, chief of the staff, Brigadier-Generals Sir James Hope Grant (of the 9th Lancers), Greathed, Russell, the Hon. Adrian Hope (93rd Highlanders), and Crawford. Captain (afterwards Sir William) Peel, had, of course, the Naval Brigade, and Lieutenant Lennox commanded the Engineers.

Sir Colin halted for three days at Buntara, to allow some detachments still on the way to come up, and began his advance again. On the 9th of November, when it was known in Lucknow that the army of relief would soon come, Mr. James Kavanagh, of the uncovenanted service, gallantly volunteered to go forth and make his way to Campbell's camp. It was an enterprise replete with perils, as every outlet was closely guarded by the enemy's posts and pickets, and the way he had to pass lay through the very heart of the hostile city. His object was to give Sir Colin information as to the actual state of the garrison, and make himself useful as a guide.

In going on this duty, the brave Irishman knew well that if he fell into the enemy's hands he would suffer a death of the most elaborate cruelty these barbarians could invent. In his own narrative he says, "I was dressed as a budmash, or irregular

soldier of the city, with a sword and shield, native-made shoes, tight trousers, a yellow silk kootah over a tight-fitting white muslin shirt, a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown round my shoulders, a cream-coloured turban, and a white kumurbund. My face down to the shoulders, and my hands to the wrists, were coloured with lampblack, the cork used being dipped in oil to cause the colour to adhere." In this disguise he bade adieu to Outram and his staff, and, provided with a carefully-loaded double-barrelled pistol, set forth under cloud of night, and forded the Goomtee, where the water was nearly five feet deep and 100 yards wide.

After perils worthy of any romance, he got close to Campbell's outposts, and heard the English challenge, "Who comes there?" but with a native accent. "My eyes filled with joyful tears, and I shook the Sikh officer in charge of the picket heartily by the hand," he continues. "The old soldier was as pleased as myself when he heard from whence I had come, and he was good enough to send two of his men to conduct me to the camp of the advanced guard. An officer of H.M. 9th Lancers met me on the way and took me to his tent, where I got dry stockings and trousers, and what I much needed, a glass of brandy, a liquor I had not tasted for two months."

A flag, displayed by Campbell on the summit of the Alumbagh, announced to all in the Residency, but chiefly for the information of his wife, that the gallant Kavanagh was safe, and had achieved his enterprise, for which he was rewarded by Government with £2,000, admission into the regular Civil Service, and obtained that which he prized more than all—the Victoria Cross.

On the 14th of November, Sir Colin Campbell began his advance on the city after receiving a reinforcement of 700 men of H.M. 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, 82nd Foot, and Royal Artillery, with two guns. He came in contact with the enemy at the Dilkhoosa, or "Heart's Delight," a hunting castle of the ancient Kings of Oude. There his advanced guard was met by a long line of musketry fire. The supports came up, and after a running fight of nearly two hours, the rebels were driven across the grounds by Colonel Hamilton of the 78th Highlanders. He drove them across the canal which intersects the park, and pursued them past the Martinière College, which he also compelled them to abandon. On the 15th, the general left his baggage of every description at the Dilkhoosa, in charge of the 8th Regiment, and early on the 16th began to advance direct on the Secunderbagh, which he describes as "a high-walled enclosure of strong masonry, of 120 yards square, carefully loop-

holed all round. Opposite to it was a village, at a distance of 100 yards, which was also loopholed and filled with men. On the head of the column advancing up the lane to the left of the Secunderbagh, fire was opened on us. The infantry of the advanced guard was quickly thrown in skirmishing order to line a bank to the right. The guns were pushed rapidly onwards—viz., Captain Blunt's troop, Bengal Horse Artillery, and Captain Travers' Royal Artillery heavy field-battery. These troops passed at a gallop through a cross-fire from the village and Secunderbagh, and opened fire within easy musketry range in a most daring manner. As soon as they could be pitched up a steep bank, two eighteen-pounder guns, under Captain Travers, were also brought to bear on the building. While this was being effected, the leading brigade of infantry, under Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, coming rapidly into action, caused the loopholed village to be abandoned, the whole fire of the brigade being concentrated on the Secunderbagh. After a time, a large body of the enemy, who were holding ground to the left of our advance, were driven in by parties of the 53rd and 93rd, two of Captain Blunt's guns aiding the movement."*

Pursuing the advantage won, the Highlanders now seized the barracks, which they converted into a military post, while the 53rd Shropshire threw a long line of skirmishers into the open plain beyond, and drove the enemy before them. The attack on the Secunderbagh had now been proceeding for an hour and a half, when the place was stormed by the remainder of the 93rd Highlanders, the 53rd, and 4th Punjaub Infantry. Tearing out the iron bars of the windows, the stormers leaped headlong in on the now dismayed defenders. Resistance was vain; the slaughter was dreadful, and mercy was neither given nor asked for. "The lightning flash of the bayonet was followed by the thunder of the word *Cawnpore!* into the heart and ear of the wretch meeting his well-earned doom, and not less than 2,000 of the rebels met death in the Secunderbagh." Sir Colin says that more than that number of corpses were carried out, and that "there never was a bolder feat of arms."

The next capture was the Shah Nujjeef, which lay between the Secunderbagh and the river—a mosque, loopholed from basement to the summit of dome and minaret. It was surrounded by a garden, the wall of which was also loopholed. The entrance to it had been covered by a regular work in masonry, and from every point an unceasing fire of musketry was flashing out after the commencement of the attack. For three hours this great mosque

* Despatches.

was defended with the greatest resolution against a heavy cannonade. "It was then stormed in the boldest manner by the 93rd Highlanders, under Brigadier Hope, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston, who was severely wounded, Captain Peel leading up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry within a few yards of the building to batter the massive walls. The withering fire of the Highlanders," continues Sir Colin Campbell's despatch, "covered the Naval Brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war; Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate."

Among the supports under Barnston was a company of the 90th Perthshire, under Captain Garnet Wolseley, of future fame.

During the attack on the Secunderbagh and mosque, the garrison had not been idle. A battery had been erected in a garden within a few hundred yards of the Shah Nujjeef. Fortunately, at first, it was hidden from the enemy on two sides by a lofty wall, which was to be blown away by a mine when the guns were in readiness to open; but this failed, as the powder with which the mine was charged had become damp by being three days in the ground. Thus, as the guns had to batter down the obstruction, some time was lost, but ere long they opened with terrible effect on two strong buildings that were full of sepoys, the steam-engine house and the Hureen Khana, which adjoined the king's palace. Both were fully breached, and then stormed by parties from the garrison, and once more night closed over the dead and dying in Lucknow.

On the morning of the 17th, the conflict was renewed betimes, and so stubborn was the resistance, that it took our troops six consecutive hours to capture the mess-house, though cannonaded by Peel's sixty-eight-pounders. Surrounded by a deep ditch, with a loopholed wall on an eminence, it consisted of a large, two-storeyed, flat-roofed mansion, flanked by two square turrets. After being well battered and shelled, it was stormed by Major Barnston of the 90th, with his companies, and the Sikhs, under Lieutenant Powlett, who carried the place with loud shouts and a rush.

The observatory, in rear of the mess-house, was next attacked and taken. On that day and the following, Sir Colin, pressing on from one side, and Havelock from the Residency, occupied all the houses between the extended intrenchments, the mess-house, and the Motee Mahal, and to accomplish this, much street-fighting and strategy were required, while the enemy's battery still thundered from the Kaiserbagh. To keep up a continued

line of communication with the Dilkhoosa, then held by the 8th, or King's, was the next object; and after some tedious and perilous operations, a long line of posts was successfully established. In effecting this, Brigadier Russell was severely wounded, and his successor, Colonel Biddulph, killed.

It was scarcely achieved, when the rallying enemy made a furious attack upon our pickets at the mess-house, and a portion of the Sutherland Highlanders, under Colonel John A. Ewart, a Crimean officer, in the barracks taken on the 16th. At the head of the Welsh Fusiliers and the 53rd, Sir Colin advanced in person to succour Ewart, and, supported by Remington's troop of horse artillery, routed the enemy.

The second relief of Lucknow was fully effected now; but the street-firing was still heavy, when, on the afternoon of the 17th, old Sir Colin was met by his countryman, Outram, and Sir Henry Havelock. A loud and long cheer greeted the generals and their staff as they shook hands; and proud indeed must the former have felt at the complete success which had crowned all his measures, and stamped him as one of the first generals of the age.

"Sir Colin," says Rees, "received the hearty thanks and congratulations of Sir James Outram with evident satisfaction; and General Havelock, not less delighted and proud, harangued the troops who had so gallantly carried out all the Commander-in-chief's brilliant manoeuvres, in that concise and yet soul-stirring language for which he was so well known by his soldiers. While yet speaking, his attention was drawn to the place where his only son had just fallen, wounded by a musket-ball from the enemy. Though his father's heart must have been then bleeding with anguish and curiosity to know the nature of the wound, the general, with wonderful self-command, continued his discourse without interruption, and then only, amidst the cheers of the men, who were unacquainted with the sad event which had just happened, left to visit his wounded son. Fortunately, it was only a slight wound, and he soon recovered from the effects of it." *

By the time the operations, which consisted of a series of isolated sieges, and bombardment of palaces, mosques, and other public buildings, were over, we had ten officers killed and thirty-three wounded, among whom were Sir Colin and Captain Peel. Of the rank and file, there were 122 killed and 345 wounded. Above 4,000 of the enemy were found slain; but many of the dead had been borne away, doubtless for the purpose of cremation.

Sir Colin resolved to abandon Lucknow as

* "The Siege of Lucknow."

untenable, and convey the war-worn garrison to Cawnpore; but this was far from an easy task in the face of an enemy whose numbers, notwithstanding all losses, were still reckoned at 50,000 men;* for after every defeat numbers still flocked to the standard of revolt. The orders given for the departure were, that the wounded should first be removed to the Dilkhoosa, and the women, children, and treasure afterwards. If an example to the others were wanted—which was not—Lady Inglis, wife of the gallant brigadier, refused the accommodation of a dhooly, urging that she was better able to walk than many others; and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th the general exodus began.† The conveyance of the sick, wounded, women, and children, took place in carriages of every description, pressed into the service, and closely packed. "Many were seated in native carts," says Mr. Gubbin, "and not a few walked. They were conducted through the Bailey Guard Gate, the Fhnred Buksh and Chuttur Munzil Palaces, and emerging near an advanced battery, crossed the line of fire from the Kaiserbagh to Martin's house. Then they entered and passed through the court of the Motee Munzil, on the farther side of which they gained the high road to the Secunderbagh. Here, and near Martin's house, they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns on the farther side of the river. Screens, formed of the canvas walls of tents, or doors placed on each side of the way they traversed as far as the Motee Munzil, concealed the march of the fugitives from the enemy; and on one side of this a ditch had been dug, along which, dismounting from their carriages, they walked past all the exposed places. All, fortunately, reached the Secunderbagh in safety,"‡ together with the state prisoners (among whom were two of the Delhi princes, and other suspected persons). With this convoy went also the grain and ordnance stores.

The garrison had still to be withdrawn; and, to deceive the enemy, Peel's sixty-eight-pounders opened on the Kaiserbagh, and, breaching it in three places, led the rebels to expect an assault at the very time the whole of the garrison was silently defiling through the line of pickets. All guns not wanted were burst; the retreat was covered by Adrian Hope; and so completely were the enemy deceived, that they began to fire on the old positions some hours after our troops had left them. It ought to be mentioned that it was the hand of Lieutenant Moorsom, 52nd Foot (acting as quarter-

master-general), that drew out the details of the plan by which the people in Lucknow were thus withdrawn. An able young officer, he was killed at Lucknow in the following year, as a monument to his memory in Rochester Cathedral records.*

At four o'clock on the morning of the 23rd, the whole force reached the Dilkhoosa, save one man, Captain Waterman, who, owing to some mistake, remained at his post in the dark, after all the others had departed, but who eventually reached the common rendezvous in a state of utter exhaustion. When the sepoys found that the garrison had flown, with their women, children, wounded, and treasure, they were filled with transports of fury, and blew from the guns four wretched Britons, who had been prisoners in the city. One other event threw a gloom over the glory of Campbell's achievement—the death of the noble Havelock, who was fated to find his last home far away in the Alumbagh. On the 20th he had been seized with diarrhoea, and his constitution, so shattered by past exertions and anxieties, was unable to contend with a disease so formidable. Thus he sank under it on the 24th. "I die happy and contented," were among his last words. "I have, for forty years, so ruled my life, that when death came I might face it without fear."

Immediately after he had breathed his last at the Dilkhoosa, the troops selected to remain as a movable column in Oude began their march for the Alumbagh, bearing with them the remains of that beloved general whose name will be for ever indelibly stamped on the annals of British India. Born near Sunderland, in 1795, he was in his sixty-second year. His diploma of K.C.B. reached him but a few days before his death. Havelock has ever been considered a hero of the true national type. "His simple character, his religious enthusiasm, and the rare fortune which crowned with merited glory a long life of undistinguished devotion to duty, all appealed to the deepest sympathies of the people; and, although no soldier could fall at a happier moment, there was a natural feeling of disappointment that he should have died before he knew how fully he was appreciated by his countrymen. Even foreigners of English descent recognised in Havelock the favourite characteristics of the race; and when his death was reported at New York, the vessels in the harbour lowered their flags in token of mourning for the gallant old foreign general."†

His son was created a baronet of Great Britain, and, together with the widowed Lady Havelock, received a pension of £1,000 a year.

* General Order, 23rd Nov., 1857.

† Lady Inglis's "Journal."

‡ "Mutinies in Oude."

* "Records 52nd Foot;" *Bombay Standard*, &c.

† *Times*, 1858.

CHAPTER LI.

MUTINIES AT MHOW AND INDORE.—MURDER OF SIR NORMAN LESLIE.—BATTLE OF CAWNPORE, WON BY SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, GENERAL FRANKS, ETC.

IN order to avoid as much as possible interruptions to the consecutive details of the second relief of Lucknow, we can only refer now, and briefly, to the

escaping, with the ladies, whom they placed on some ammunition-wagons, which happened to be in the grounds. The post-office and telegraph clerks



PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN PEELE.

events that were occurring elsewhere in India at that calamitous time, without attending to their precise chronological order.

On the 1st of July in this fatal year, mutinies took place at Indore and Mhow. At the former city, in the province of Malwa, the capital of the Holkar States, pleasantly situated on the Seepra, Holkar's Contingent mutinied in the afternoon, and proceeded with their artillery to attack the Residency there, after a gallant, but futile attempt on the part of Colonel Travers, with a few horsemen, to capture the guns. All the European officers and residents who took shelter in the Residency succeeded in

being less fortunate, were murdered with great cruelty. To do him justice, it is admitted that Holkar personally did all in his power to restore order and discipline; and when urged to make common cause with his rebellious subjects, who reminded him of his ancestor, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and asked him to march with them to Delhi, he replied nobly:—"The strength of my forefathers has departed, and I do not consider rapine and the murder of innocent beings as part of any religion."

Then, as a further proof of his faith, the young prince placed the greatest portion of his treasure in the hands of our officers at Mhow, a town ten



SCENE AT THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

miles distant from Indore, and where a mutiny took place but a few hours after that at the latter city. To Colonel Platt, commanding, the unsettled spirit of the men had been duly reported; but unluckily he could not be persuaded that danger was imminent, and it was even with difficulty that Captain Hungerford of the artillery, and Lieutenant Martin, could prevail upon him to give orders for the occupation of the fort, into which all the ladies were at once sent, while the officers, as yet, ran the horrid peril of sleeping in their lines.

On the 6th of July the officers were sitting at dinner, when rifle-shots were fired in the cavalry lines, and an alarm was given of being attacked in the rear by Bheels. All hurried towards the muster-places of their companies, only to find themselves fired upon in the dark, and that the guards and sentries had quitted their posts. All ran a great risk, as the moon was shining brightly, and they were clad in their white uniforms. Colonel Platt was still infatuated, and called on Lieutenant Pigot to follow him to the lines. Thither they rode, and were never seen again. The other officers reached the fort, disarmed and turned out the native guard, mounted sentries themselves, and prepared for the worst. Several, however, were patrolling for miles on the Indore road; the escapes of some of them were wonderful, and one, Major Harris, was murdered by his own escort. The bungalows were pillaged, and the mess-house given to the flames. The ladies, without servants or attendants, were all huddled together in the fort. "They have to do everything for themselves," wrote an officer, "and employ all their time in sewing powder-bags for the guns, well knowing the awful fate that awaits them if the place is taken. There has not been a sign of fear; they bring us tea or any little thing, and would even keep watch on the bastions if we would let them." In that wretched little fort this handful of brave men, with their helpless companions, defended themselves for an entire month, till they were relieved, early in August, by a column from Bombay.

Some peculiar circumstances attended the mutiny at Saugor. The brigade there consisted of the 31st and 42nd Bengal Native Infantry, with the 3rd Irregular Cavalry. Having delayed to the last moment any display of suspicion, Brigadier Sage found himself compelled to order the Christians of every rank and age into the fort, and take every precaution against its capture by surprise. A singular quarrel—doubtless a religious one—ensued between the two battalions of infantry, and in it the cavalry took part. The 42nd were put to rout, and, with the greater portion of the cavalry, were

driven out of the station; and it was fortunate for the Christians that matters took this remarkable turn, as the fort was not relieved till the middle of September, and during all that time its little garrison, consisting of sixty-three gunners and the same number of officers, clerks, and Indo-Britons, had to suffice for the defence of 190 women and children, and an important arsenal filled with the munition of war.

At Jhelum, in the Punjab, the next regiment to mutiny was the 14th Native Infantry. As the military authorities at Lahore resolved to disarm that corps, a wing of H.M. 24th (or Warwickshire), under Lieut.-Colonel Charles Ellice, was ordered up for that purpose; and it chanced that the 14th were on parade when the Europeans suddenly marched upon the ground. Seized with a panic, they rushed away to their lines, and fought desperately under cover of their huts. Captain Francis Spring and twenty-four of the 24th were killed; Colonel Ellice, three other officers, and fifty men were wounded. The 14th then fled; 100 who took shelter in the territories of Gholab Sing were seized and sent back; others were cut to pieces by the Punjab police; and very few survived to reach the plains of Hindostan.

At Rohnee, in the Santhal district, an infamous outrage was perpetrated on some officers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry. Lieutenant Sir Norman Leslie was seated in the verandah of his bungalow, conversing with Dr. Grant and Major Macdonald of the same corps, when three of their troopers attacked them from behind with drawn swords. Leslie was run through the back, and fell forward on his face, his assailant at the same time slashing him across the head. He survived about an hour, and expired while murmuring, "What will become of my poor wife and children?" He was Sir Norman Leslie, Bart., of Findrassie, in Ross-shire. Dr. Grant received a sabre-wound in the arm and another in the hip, while Macdonald was nearly scalped by three rapid sword-cuts. Snatching up a chair, the Highlander, though almost blinded with his own blood, defended himself with all the courage and strength of despair, till his assailants lost heart and fled. Two days after he discovered the three troopers, and put them in irons, held a drum-head court-martial, and by his own voice sentenced them to be hanged, without the ceremony of asking any one's leave. To him it was a day of awful suspense, as one of the culprits was a high-caste Brahmin of great influence in the corps, and Macdonald was determined to degrade him by getting the lowest caste men to execute him.

"The regiment was drawn out," wrote the major.

"Wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and had them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralysed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming I would dare to hang them without an order from Government. The third said he would not be hanged, and called on the Prophet and his countrymen to rescue him. This was an awful moment! An instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen balls through me. I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's head, and said, with a look there was no mistake about, 'Another word, and your brains will be scattered on the ground!' He trembled, and held his tongue. The elephant came up; he was put on its back; the elephant moved away, and he was left dangling. I then had the others up and off in the same way; and after some time, when I had dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders, I could scarcely believe it."

The mode of blowing the captured rebels from the guns is thus described in a periodical of the time by an eye-witness (Colonel Hamley), as it was done at Peshawur after the 55th broke out into open mutiny:—

"All the troops, European and native, armed and disarmed, loyal and disaffected, were drawn up on parade, forming three sides of a square; and drawn up very carefully, you may be sure, so that any attempt on the part of the disaffected to rescue the doomed prisoners would have been easily checked. Forming the fourth side of the square were drawn up the guns (nine-pounders), ten in number, which were to be used for the execution. The prisoners, under a strong European guard, were then marched into the square, their crimes and sentences read aloud to them, and at the head of each regiment; they were then marched round the square, and up to the guns. The first ten were picked out; their eyes were bandaged, and they were bound to the guns, their backs leaning against the muzzles, and their arms fastened to the wheels. The port-fires were lighted, and at a signal from the artillery major the guns were fired. It was a horrid sight that then met the eye: a regular shower of human fragments—of heads, of arms, of legs—appeared in the air through the smoke; and when that cleared away, these fragments lying on the ground—fragments of Hindoos and fragments of Mussulmans, all mixed together—were all that remained of those ten mutineers. Three times more was this repeated; but so great is the disgust we all feel for the atrocities committed by the rebels, that we had no room in our hearts for any

feeling of pity; perfect callousness was depicted on every European's face; a look of grim satisfaction could even be seen in the countenance of the gunners serving the guns. But far different was the effect on the native portion of the spectators; their black faces grew ghastly pale as they gazed breathlessly at the awful spectacle. You must know that this is nearly the only form in which death has any terrors for a native. If he is hanged, or shot by musketry, he knows that his friends or relatives will be allowed to claim his body, and will give him the funeral rites required by his religion; if a Hindoo, that his body will be burned with all due ceremonies; and if a Mussulman, that his remains will be decently interred, as directed in the Koran. But if sentenced to death in this form, he knows that his body will be blown into a thousand pieces, and that it will be altogether impossible for his relatives, however devoted to him, to be sure of picking up all the fragments of his own particular body; and the thought that perhaps a limb of some one of a different religion to himself, might possibly be burned or buried with the remainder of his own body, is agony to him."

Lucknow was left in the hands of the rebels while Sir Colin Campbell continued his way towards Cawnpore, and Sir James Outram remained at the Alumbagh with 4,000 men, for the double purpose of keeping open our communication across the Ganges and holding the enemy in check should they attempt any hostile movement. On arriving at Buneo, with his column seriously encumbered by an immense train of wagons and carriages of every description, carrying stores, baggage, and fully 2,000 helpless women, children, sick and wounded, Sir Colin was startled by hearing the boom of heavy guns in the direction of the point he was marching to—Cawnpore. There could be no doubt as to the reason of these alarming though now familiar sounds. General Windham, who had been left there with 2,000 men, after being long menaced by the rebels, had now been attacked by them. Up to that time Sir Colin knew nothing of the event, for although General Windham had sent him several urgent messages, not one of them had been delivered.

The mutineers of the Gwalior Contingent had for some time established their head-quarters forty miles from Cawnpore, at the town of Calpee, where there is a strong fort commanding the Jumna, and where they thus had complete power over all the adjacent country. The ever-infamous Nana was also hovering in the neighbourhood at the head of a considerable force. A junction was formed, and the morning of the 26th November saw the united

revolters in full march for Cawnpore. General Windham, "the hero of the Redan," an officer who had served with distinction as assistant quartermaster-general in the Crimea, and was promoted for special bravery on the 8th of September, 1855, on becoming aware of their approach in strength, sent to Sir Colin for instructions; but the miscarriage of his letter left him no resource save to act on his own responsibility. Had he acted simply on the defensive, he might have done so with success; but his high military spirit led him to adopt a bolder course, and leaving a part of his slender force to guard the intrenchment, he marched out with the remainder, only 1,200 bayonets, of the 64th, 82nd, and 88th Regiments, with 100 troopers, and eight pieces of cannon, to meet the enemy. His object was to strike such a blow at the enemy's vanguard as might cause the whole to fall back. He found them strongly posted on their own side of the Pandoo Nuddee, from whence they opened a heavy fire of both siege and field guns; but such was the revengeful eagerness of our troops, and so high the courage of their officers, that they carried the position at a rush, all cheering vehemently as they went on. The village and ground to more than a mile and a half beyond it were cleared of the enemy, who fled, abandoning three pieces of cannon.* He believed that the main body was still so far distant that he would have time to withdraw before he could be overwhelmed by numbers, and hence the disaster that ensued.

On perceiving suddenly that their whole strength was close at hand, he resolved to fall back at once, for the protection of Cawnpore and the bridge over the Ganges; but this retrograde movement of a force so petty in the face of 20,000 men, with forty guns, was a matter of no small difficulty. The sowars charged, and were received by a little detachment of our 34th Foot in square, whose fire was so murderous that scarcely a man of them escaped untouched. During this affair, Captain Henry H. Day, of the Connaught Rangers, who had escaped at Inkerman and the Redan, was here struck by a ball, and fell into a well, where he perished miserably. Towards dusk, the British troops fell back, and encamped on the Jewee Plain, with a thick cover of trees and brushwood between them and the enemy.

The latter, at an early hour on the following morning, opened an unexpected cannonade from behind the copsewood, and its severity threw our camp into confusion, and many blunders ensued, for which it is impossible to say now who was to

blame. In a brief time the British were surrounded on every side, save that next the river. On the left and centre, a terrific fire from guns of every calibre drove in the outposts to within 100 yards of their own batteries, and then the assembly-rooms, with all their contents, including the mess-plate of four regiments, 11,000 rounds of rifle-cartridge, and an immense quantity of private property, fell into the hands of the insurgents, who confidently exulted in the hope of another Cawnpore massacre on the same ground. At one point—the Baptist Chapel—Captain Wright, with only thirty men of the 64th, kept them in check.

While thus employed, he saw a little column of 250 men of the 64th, under Colonel Wilson, K.H., marching to capture four guns, the fire of which was most severe; and with his party, Wright sallied forth to take the place of an advanced guard; and now the enemy turned all the fury of their fire upon the 64th. With a ringing cheer the latter rushed on the cannon, spiked them, and bayoneted the gunners; but the enemy were more than ten to one. Colonel Wilson and Major Stirling were shot dead; Captains McCrea and Murphy were cut down at the guns, while Captain McKinnon and Lieutenant Gordon were wounded, taken, and murdered in cold blood. Of the rank and file of the gallant 64th the slaughter was proportionately great. So passed the day; and just as the evening of the 28th was closing, the Commander-in-chief, old Sir Colin Campbell, "calm, self-possessed, and stern," was seen with his staff crossing the bridge of boats, and he soon made himself master of the situation.

To secure the bridge from the enemy became necessary; to do so required caution, and Sir Colin thus describes the mode of procedure:—"All the heavy guns attached to General Grant's division, under Captain Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire, and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge. This was done very effectually, while Brigadier Hope's brigade, with some field-artillery and cavalry, was ordered to cross and take position near the old dragoon lines. A cross-fire was, at the same time, kept up from the intrenchment to cover the march of the troops. When darkness began to draw on, the artillery-parks, the wounded, and the families, were ordered to file over the bridge, and it was not till six p.m. of the 30th that the last cart had cleared the bridge."*

As soon as the passage, which occupied thirty hours, was accomplished, the troops felt the keenest desire to punish the foe for their temporary

* Despatches.

* Ibid.

success. By none was this felt more than by Sir Colin himself; but he was compelled to attend to that which he deemed his first duty—to have all the helpless ones in his hands transmitted carefully to Allahabad; and this was not entirely achieved until the 5th of December, after which they were conveyed gratuitously by river-steamers to Calcutta, while the work of death went on in the terrible scenes they had left.

On the 6th, Sir Colin drew the sword again. The enemy's left occupied the old cantonments; their centre was in Cawnpore, lining the houses and bazaars that overhung the canal, separating it from Brigadier Greathed's position; and the principal streets were afterwards found to be barricaded. Their right stretched away beyond the Grand Trunk Road and the canal, two miles in rear of which the Gwalior Contingent had pitched their camp to cover the Calpee road. The main feature of the whole position was the canal, which was held by the right and centre in the latter direction (Calpee), by two bridges. "It appeared to me," reported Sir Colin, "if his right were vigorously attacked, that it would be driven from its position without assistance coming from other parts of the line, the wall of the town which gave cover to our attacking columns on our right being an effectual obstacle to the movement of any portion of his troops from his left to right."

To Sir Colin, it seemed feasible to cut up in detail the enemy, on this day mustering 25,000 men, with thirty-six guns. He ordered General Windham, at nine a.m., to open a heavy bombardment from the intrenchment, so as to induce the enemy to believe that the attack was coming from that point. The tents were struck betimes; and to avoid all risk of accident, the baggage was sent to the river-side, under a guard. On being reinforced by the shattered 64th, Brigadier Greathed was ordered to retain the ground he had held for some days past; and by eleven in the forenoon the rest of the forces were drawn up in contiguous battalions, in rear of the old dragoon lines, which concealed them from the enemy.

A slackening of Windham's cannonade announced that the time for attack had now come. Grant's cavalry and the horse artillery made a sweeping *détour* on the left, and crossed the canal by a bridge, a mile and a half farther up, to menace the enemy's rear, while the infantry columns deployed into lines fronting the canal. Brigadier Adrian Hope's brigade formed the first; Brigadier Inglis's brigade the second; at the same time, Brigadier Walpole, aided by Captain Smith's battery of the Royal Artillery, was ordered to cross the bridge on Greathed's left,

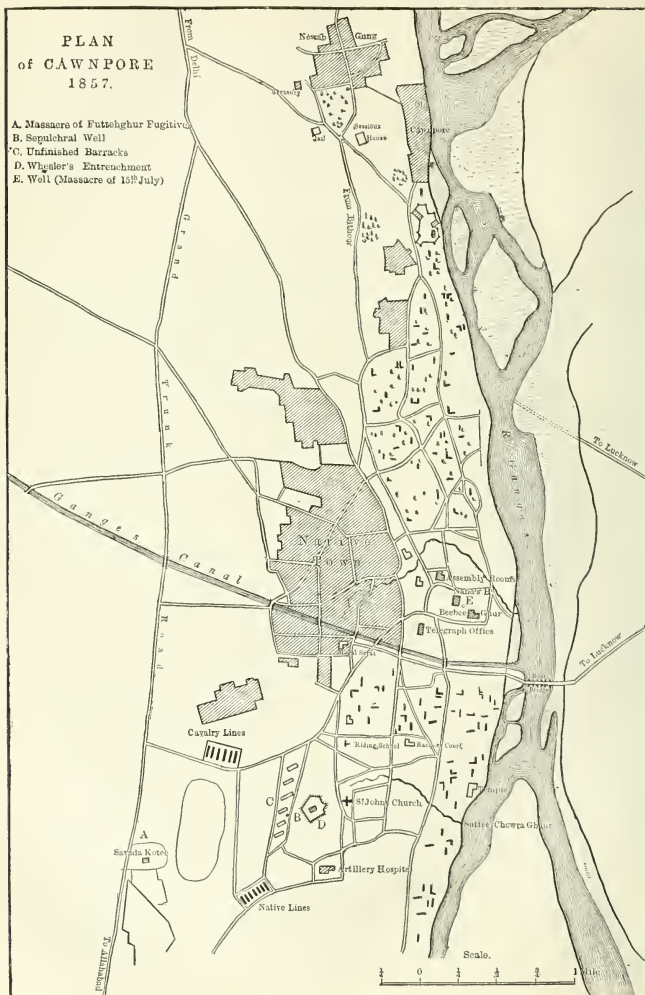
and driving the enemy from some brick-kilns, to keep the city wall for his guide.*

The whole lines advanced with splendid rapidity, Walpole making equal progress on the right. "The canal bridge was quickly crossed," wrote Campbell, "Captain Peel leading over it with a heavy gun, accompanied by a soldier of the 53rd named Hannaford. The troops which had gathered together resumed their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed, and continued to drive the enemy at all points, his camp being reached and taken at one p.m., and his rout being complete along the Calpee road. I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy twenty-four-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy with which the latter have worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow till now, as if they were light field-pieces; and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was beheld the sight of twenty-four-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers."

Before nightfall the rebels were in rapid retreat along the Calpee road, hotly pursued by the Commander-in-chief, at the head of horse, foot, and flying artillery. To the fourteenth milestone along that road the pursuit and slaughter went on; sixteen guns were captured, with twenty-six wagons and a vast quantity of stores and plunder. During these operations General Mansfield was equally successful in outflanking and routing Nana Sahib. Early on the 7th the pursuit began again. Sir James Hope Grant, with the cavalry, flying artillery, and a lightly-accoutred brigade of infantry, started for Bithoor, where he discovered a large quantity of treasure in a well. He then pushed on to the Serai Ghaut, where he overtook the fugitives as they were crossing into Oude, and cut them up without mercy, capturing fifteen more guns. Our whole loss in this important battle of Cawnpore was only ninety-nine in killed and wounded; but that of the enemy was never known.

The fight was won, but the troops were compelled to remain idle in camp, awaiting the return of the means of conveyance from Allahabad; but when the tents were struck on the 24th of December, Campbell had fully matured his plan for the campaign. To sweep rebellion from the Doab, and keep open a line of communication by the Great Trunk Road from Allahabad to Delhi, were to be the first objects of his operations. The northern

* Despatches.



PLAN OF CAWNPORE.

portion of this line had been already secured by Colonel (afterwards Major-General Sir Thomas) Seaton, who had been wounded at the siege of Delhi. He had set out with his own regiment, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, Hodson's Horse, the 6th Carbineers, and a Sikh battalion, from that city, and marched southward with a vast convoy of tents, elephants, camels, carts, ammunition, and everything which he knew to be necessary and much wanted at head-quarters. His entire force only mustered 1,900 men. He was marching towards Mynpoorie, and to that place, for the purpose of co-operation, Brigadier Walpole was dispatched, with 2,000 men of all arms, including H.M. 60th Rifles, to clear the Lower Doab, and then wheel north, so as to be able, after forming a junction with Seaton's column, to reach Ferruckabad, on the Ganges (about eighty miles from Cawnpore), where, when the whole British army encamped, it was found to be little under 10,000 strong on the 3rd of January.

While Sir Colin Campbell had now the joy of finding himself at the head of a body of troops more equal to the work he had yet to do, an important diversion in our favour was made on the eastern borders of Oude, where 10,000 of the fierce little Ghoorkas, who were animated by an intense hatred of the sepoy, descended from the mountains of Nepal, under Jung Bahadoor, who, though only prime minister, was virtually monarch of the country. On the 21st of December he was at Segowlie, and then moved into Oude from the east, to cut off the rebels in that direction, and join in the final capture of Lucknow.

Meanwhile Sir Colin Campbell remained for some time encamped at Futtehgur, which he occupied without striking a blow. So rapid had been the flight of the rebels that they forgot to complete the destruction of Government property in the gun and clothing agencies. Several guns, found loaded, were taken. The Nawab had set fire to his palace and fled; but another rebel of rank, less fortunate, was caught by the troops, and hanged over the gate of the place. Leaving Brigadiers Walpole and Grant to tranquillise the district by the lash and the musket, and, at the appointed time, to co-operate in the grand combined attack on Lucknow, Sir Colin Campbell returned to Cawnpore on

the 4th of February. On the 8th he had a hurried interview with the Governor-General at Allahabad; and, hastening back, was at his own head-quarters the same evening.

Meanwhile, early in January, our supremacy had been restored in Rajpootana by a slender force under Major Raines, who, on the 6th of that month, attacked and stormed the village of Rewah. It was strongly fortified by a hedge, a deep ditch, and earthen breastwork. After a close and daring reconnaissance, the major, with his guns in the centre, the 10th Bengal Native Infantry on the left, and H.M. 95th on the right, assailed the place; but owing to the quantity of jungle and surrounding wood, it was impossible to ascertain the exact position of those houses which were full of men.

After much firing and cannonading, "there came the order to storm, and the 10th, advancing in admirable order, cleared the hedge, headed by the brave McGowan. This impetuous onset was too much for the enemy, who, though fighting desperately, gradually retreated."

Rewah was laid in ashes, and its inhabitants were mowed down in sections by the artillery as they were entering a cover on the side of a rock in rear of the village.

In other parts of India the British arms were equally successful. Ratghur and Saugor were reduced by Sir Hugh Rose;

General Whitlock's column destroyed the mutineers of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, and swept the district of Jubbulpore; Colonel Durand cleared that of Indore; while General Roberts poured his forces through Rajpootana, driving the rebels before him down to Kotah, the inhabitants of which had murdered the political Resident and his sons. On all hands the British officers acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of their country; while the rebels of all kinds, defeated and dispirited, fled towards Lucknow, as to their last asylum and common centre, intending there to make their final and desperate stand.

Although most anxious for immediate action, Sir Colin Campbell remained for some time encamped at Futtehgur. "The plan of the campaign which he preferred was to cross the Ganges into Rohilcund, which was almost entirely in the hands of the rebels, and re-establish the authority of the Government, so as to make it impossible for the insurgents to find an asylum in it after they



JUNG BAHADOOR.
(From a Portrait by a Native.)

should be driven out of Lucknow. The Governor-General's plan was different. He thought that the time which would necessarily be occupied in the subjugation of Rohilcund might be still more advantageously occupied in Oude, where the rebellion still counted the largest number of adherents, and possessed its most important stronghold. This was the plan ultimately adopted; and Sir Colin Campbell, leaving a sufficient garrison in the fort of Futtehghur, broke up his camp on the 1st of February, and set out for Cawnpore."

Elsewhere his able plans were fully carried out. The brigadiers on the frontiers of Oude, and the Ghoorkas of Jung Bahadoor, were closing in and making narrower the circle within which the rebellion was enclosed; and the hour was coming now when the might of Britain would be fearfully evinced at Lucknow.

Campbell's whole force at this time amounted to 18,277 men of all arms—infantry, 12,498; cavalry, 3,169; artillery, 1,745; engineers, 865; but these numbers included the column of Outram, who, in addition to holding his post desperately and gallantly at the Alumbagh, had on two different occasions put to total rout two large bodies of the enemy who had attacked him. Though confronted by at least 50,000 trained sepoys, he never experienced the slightest check, but kept open his communications throughout with Campbell's camp at Cawnpore.

Another British force had been organised in Benares under General Franks, an able and resolute officer, who, after defeating a body of rebels estimated at 25,000, moved on to take part in the operations at Lucknow. On the 19th of February he contrived to prevent a junction of the rebel force under Bunda Hassein with that under Mehn-dee Hassein, by attacking the former at Chanda. The enemy consisted of 2,500 sepoys and 6,000

armed budmashes, who occupied the fort and adjacent intrenchments, the villages and clumps of coppice along the line of march, from all of which they were driven headlong, and, with the loss of 300 killed and six guns, were hotly pursued for three miles. Franks was now about to encamp, when a volley of grape and eighteen-pound shot came crashing through his lines; and it was found that Mehn-dee Hassein, ignorant of Bunda's defeat, had now come up with fully 10,000 men and eight heavy guns.

The conflict that ensued was fiercely contested; but before sunset the rebels were in full retreat.

Far from being discouraged by this result, the Nazim Mehn-dee Hassein made a detour to get into Franks' rear; but the latter was not to be so entrapped, and, by a masterly manoeuvre, got his whole force completely into the rear of Hassein, with whom a decisive action came off on the 23rd. Then 2,500 Europeans, supported by 3,000 mountaineers from Nepal, were opposed to 25,000 desperate men, of whom 5,000 were trained sepoys, 1,100 cavalry of all corps, and with twenty-five guns.

The result was the rout and utter disorganisation of this great army; 1,800 rebels, including a rajah of high rank, were left dead upon the field; twenty pieces of cannon were captured, together with a standing camp, stores, and baggage, while Franks' loss was most trivial. At a little distance from the road a party of 500 rebels had taken possession of a petty fort, from whence they had the hardihood to menace Franks' advance. He detailed a detachment against it to dislodge them, but sustained a repulse; and as the orders of Sir Colin Campbell were to push on without delay, Franks was compelled to submit to the affront, and march for the grand rendezvous at Lucknow.

CHAPTER LII.

OUDE ENTERED.—LUCKNOW ATTACKED AND TAKEN.—THE SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGN.

DURING Sir Colin's halt at Futtehghur the rebels in Lucknow had not been idle. They were animated by the presence of the Begum of Oude, a woman of indomitable energy, who had been the soul of the insurrection, and had prevailed upon the chiefs and sepoys to recognise her son as King of Oude.

They were also incited by a moulvie, or Mussulman fanatic, who perpetually stirred up the followers of the Prophet, and was supposed to aim at the throne himself. The defenders were very numerous, comprising the whole population, stated by some authorities at 300,000 persons; the well-trained

soldiery of Oude and of various chiefs to the extent of 50,000; with sepoy and sowars, all deserters from the Bengal army, to the number of 30,000. They had left nothing undone to strengthen the city; and the extraordinary industry displayed by them had seldom been equalled, and never surpassed, in India. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and strong barricades and loopholed parapets had been constructed in every direction. The various buildings formed a range of most massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, and they had been fortified with the greatest skill.* Guns swept the long streets and narrow lanes, and others were mounted even on the domes of mosques and royal palaces; but our troops knew the perils of the task before them, and these served but to increase their noble ardour.

The first portion of our army crossed the Ganges on the 4th of February, 1858, but the whole were not over until the 28th, when the head-quarters were established at Buntara; but operations did not actually commence till the 2nd of March, when Sir Colin, starting in the grey dawn with the second division of infantry, a strong force of artillery and cavalry, marched eastward of the Alumbagh, and menaced the Dilkhoosa palace, which the enemy abandoned on the following morning when our guns opened on it, and it was seized and occupied by the 42nd Royal Highlanders; and then a battery was erected to play upon the Secunderbagh. On the 5th, Brigadier Franks came in with his conquering column, and scouts announced that the Ghoorkas of Jung Bahadoor were now near at hand.

On the preceding day the last guns of the siege-train came up, when the right of our position rested on the Goomtee and Bibrapore, situated within an angle formed by the river, while the left stretched away in the direction of the Alumbagh, about two miles distant. The communication between these two extreme points was kept open by Hodson's Horse; and now the plan of the attack developed itself rapidly. Two floating bridges had been constructed across the Goomtee by means of porter casks lashed to cross-pieces of wood, and covered with planking. By means of these, 6,000 men, with thirty guns, under Sir James Outram, passed over to the other side on the 6th, and took up a position on the Fyzabad road, to close some of the great avenues of supply for the besieged, though it was impossible for Sir Colin to invest completely a city of twenty miles in circumference.

The orders to Sir James Outram were to proceed northward in a line nearly parallel to the river's

course, and then endeavour to penetrate westward and secure the command of two bridges, one of iron and the other of stone, which gave access to the city from the north, the latter being opposite a street that lies between the Muchee Bhawn and the Great Inambara; and hence he was to turn the works thus referred to by Sir Colin:—"The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiserbagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtee, of which the line of the canal was the outer one. The second line circled round the large building called the Mess House and the Motee Mahal; and the first, or interior one, was the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh, the rear of the enclosures of the latter being closed in by the city, through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Goomtee, and the other on the great buildings of the street called the Huzratgunge, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the streets in every direction. Extraordinary care had been expended on the defence of the houses and bastions to enfilade the streets."*

Sir James Outram was barely in position when the enemy were seen pouring out of the city in great strength to cut off his column, the appearance of which barred all hope of escape in that quarter by the bridges. A few crashing rounds from the horse artillery, and one dashing charge made by the Queen's Bays, sent them to the right-about with great celerity; but in the charge Major Percy Smith, an officer who had served under Keane in Afghanistan, was killed by a matchlock-ball. During the next two days the operations were almost entirely monopolised by the artillery; for as soon as it became apparent that Sir James Outram had turned the first line of defence by pushing boldly forward to the Chukkur Walla Kotee, every gun at the Dilkhoosa opened on the Martinière, and with such splendid effect that it was breached at one of the angles, and was successfully stormed by the Black Watch, the 53rd, and Perthshire Light Infantry, led by Brigadiers Sir Edward Lugard, C.B. (of the 29th Foot), an officer of great experience, and by Adrian Hope. This achievement was immediately followed by a greater, when the Black Watch and 4th Punjab Rifles rushed over the intrenchment that abutted on the Goomtee, and, strewing the whole ground with dead and dying, swept like a whirlwind the whole line of works forming the outer line of defence, so far as a building known as Banks's House, which was

* Marshman.

* Despatches.

stormed next day at dawn, and converted into a strong military post.

Early on the morning of the 9th, Sir James Outram had marched along the Fyzabad road, and overcoming all resistance, found himself by mid-day in possession of the Badshahbagh, or King's Garden, a great oblong enclosure, between which and the city and river lay an open plain. From thence he enfiladed the formidable intrenchments formed by the rebels at the canal, and, in fact, completely turned their position.

Sir Colin now ordered the Naval Brigade with their ponderous guns to open fire on the garrisoned buildings within the college enclosure, in order to drive out the enemy's riflemen; and it was here that, while encouraging his blue-jackets, the gallant Sir William Peel was shot through the thigh, and borne to the rear; he died at Cawnpore. "No seaman of his time appeared to inherit in so large a proportion the calculated daring and the felicitous enthusiasm which gave Nelson the instinct of victory. If his contempt of danger was excessive, he never overlooked the minutest detail which could tend to the safety or success of his undertakings." *

As the rebels, who now found they were fighting with the gallows before them, withstood alike the musketry fire and that from six mortars and ten heavy guns, Sir Colin determined to try the bayonet; and then "as the stern and unbending line of Highlanders and Sikhs came on in grim silence, the sepoy's fired a few hurried shots and fled from the works. In a few minutes later the Martinière was won, and with it fell the Secunderbagh and the Residency."

During the night of the 12th Sir James Outram, who was reinforced by a number of heavy guns and mortars, directed his fire on the Kaiserbagh, while at the same time mortars in position at the Begum's house never ceased to play upon the lofty Imambara, the next large palace which it was necessary to storm between the Begum Kotee, and the spacious Kaiserbagh. Eventually the Begum's palace was stormed by the Sutherland Highlanders, who made terrible use of their bayonets, and by the Ghoorkas and Punjaub Rifles; while at the same time Sir James Outram captured the iron bridge of the Goomtee, and made a dreadful slaughter of the flying enemy.

It was about this time that, after long delays, Jung Bahadoor arrived in person with 9,000 men and twenty-four field-guns, and took up a position close to the canal, after being received with much ceremony by the Commander-in-chief. The con-

versation did not seem to have been very animated, as the latter's mind was pre-occupied by detailing the attack of the Begum-ke-Mahal. Suddenly a commotion was observable among the staff, when there hurried forward a tall and stately officer, his face flushed, and, like his figure, begrimed with dust. He was Captain Hope Johnstone, the assistant adjutant-general, announcing that the British troops were then in the palace. Formalities were now at an end, and Jung Bahadoor, riding forward, shook Sir Colin's hand. Among the slain was the gallant Hodson, the captor of the King of Delhi, and young Moorsom, of the 52nd, one of the most promising officers in the service.*

On the 19th the Moosabagh, which was occupied by 7,000 of the rebels, and was their last stronghold, fell to the British. It was a large palace, with gardens and enclosures situated at some distance to the westward, near the right bank of the river. It was under the immediate care of the ex-queen of Oude, Begum Hazarat-Mahal. She had her son with her, the same boy whom in absence of her husband (then a prisoner at Calcutta) she had made a puppet king, and also her notorious paramour, Mumoo Khan, who had been so long permitted to occupy her husband's place, and make the real paternity of Brijais Kudr more doubtful. Another, but lesser body of rebels held a post in the city under the fanatical Moulvie of Fyzabad, whose religious character made him one of the most dangerous and influential of the insurgent leaders.

Marching on the Moosabagh, Sir James Outram attacked it direct by the right bank of the river, while Brigadier Hope Grant cannonaded it from the left, and Brigadier Campbell took post westward from the Alumbagh to cut off all fugitives. Most complete was the rout, and ample the slaughter of the enemy.

Two days subsequently the Moulvie, after a desperate resistance, was driven out of his post by Sir Edward Lugard, and his followers were pursued by Brigadier Campbell's cavalry, who cut and slashed them down on every hand for six miles along the highway. Resistance everywhere was at an end in Lucknow.

Savage and desperate though the fighting had been, so much care had Sir Colin taken of his troops, that the final capture was effected with comparatively small loss. The number of killed and wounded throughout the siege did not exceed 900; but we had to regret the fall of two distinguished officers among many—Hodson and Peel. The former fell mortally wounded during the

* *Times*, 1858.

* "Records 52nd Foot."

assault; the other died, as we have said, at Cawnpore. It was unfortunate that, by some mismanagement on the part of one of our commanders, Sir Colin was deprived of the full fruit of his victory by the escape of the greater part of the mutineers with their leaders.* He invited the return of the fugitive inhabitants; but it was impossible to restrain the victorious and justly infuriated soldiers from the rich plunder of the great city, of which the largest share fell to the active Ghoorkas, who took back with them to the mountains of Nepal several thousand cart-loads of every kind of spoil.

Though with the fall of Lucknow it must have been apparent to the well-trained desperadoes who had defended it that all hope of successful resistance elsewhere was at an end, the struggle in Oude continued still. Save the capital and the road to Cawnpore, the whole kingdom was still in the possession of the rebels and of those who adhered to them; while they were strong in Behar under the banner of Koer Sing; in Rohilcund, on the north-west, where, on being reinforced by fugitive mutineers from every point, Khan Bahadoor was in such strength as to make it doubtful whether a campaign against him should prelude the reduction of Lucknow; and in the south and south-west, where, throughout the most of Central India, the authority of the Governor-General and of Scindia and Holkar, native princes who had been faithful to us, was quite extinguished.

Severe fighting was still in prospect before our troops, and as there was but a slender prospect of achieving much before the setting in of the rainy season, all that the Commander-in-chief could do was to provide for the security of shattered and half-desolate Lucknow by entrusting it to the care of Sir Hope Grant, with a force sufficient to garrison it and to overcome the adjacent country; and then prepare for the final crushing of the revolt by marching into Rohilcund, forming a junction with Sir Hugh Rose, who had been moving victoriously through Central India, and lastly to return once more into Oude, and from thence sweep the rebels before him to the miasmatic marshes of the pestilential Terai of Nepal.

Immediately on hearing of the capture of Lucknow, Lord Canning, on the 31st of March, directed Sir James Outram, as Chief Commissioner in Oude, to issue a proclamation, confiscating the right of proprietary to every estate in that kingdom, with the exception of six zemindaries. The generous mind of Outram led him earnestly to remonstrate against the impolicy and injustice of a wholesale

* Marshman.

measure which punished innocent and guilty alike, and which could not fail to retard a peaceful settlement of that stormy and warlike kingdom. "The proclamation was repudiated in Britain by a spiteful and sarcastic despatch from Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control; but Lord Canning was, in the meanwhile, induced to mitigate the severity of the order, and to entrust large discretionary powers to Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Montgomery, the successor of Sir James Outram, who had been raised to the Council. He concluded a fresh settlement with the Talookdars, the proudest aristocracy in India, upon a moderate rental, and gave them the advantage of a new and Parliamentary title to their estates, and, moreover, endeavoured to attach them to the Government by appointing them honorary magistrates."*

Prior to all this, the Ghoorkas of Jung Bahadoor, impatient to return homeward with the plunder of Lucknow, had quitted its vicinity and marched eastward, by the way of Fyzabad. They were followed on the same route by Sir Edward Lugard, whose force consisted of three battalions of infantry, three regiments of Sikh horse, a military train, and a park of artillery, which, starting from Lucknow on the 29th of March, moved south-eastward to the town of Sultanpore. Azimghur, on the left bank of the Tonse, a town famous for its cotton manufactories, was his immediate destination, as for some time it had been besieged by Koer Sing, with the greater number of the Dinapore mutineers and some 3,000 budmashes, with four pieces of cannon. On the 2nd of April, Koer had made an attempt to interrupt a large convoy of provisions and ammunition, which had been sent to the blockaded garrison from Benares, with an escort of 460 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, who successfully repulsed him, and relieved and strengthened those in Azimghur; but all were yet in danger there, so Lugard's column pushed on, though serious obstacles were in the way.

A temporary bridge, which Jung Bahadoor had placed across the Goomtee at Sultanpore, had been destroyed; hence the column had to make a détour, and did not reach Juanpore (the citadel of which stands on high ground, overhanging that river) till the 9th of April. Sir Edward met with another detention, caused by a body of rebels, whom he defeated while attempting to bar his passage; but he came before Azimghur on the 15th, and utterly cut up Koer Sing's force, which broke into three columns. One of these fled north on the Gorruckpore road; a second retired towards Oude; and the third, led by Koer in person, moved towards

* Ibid.

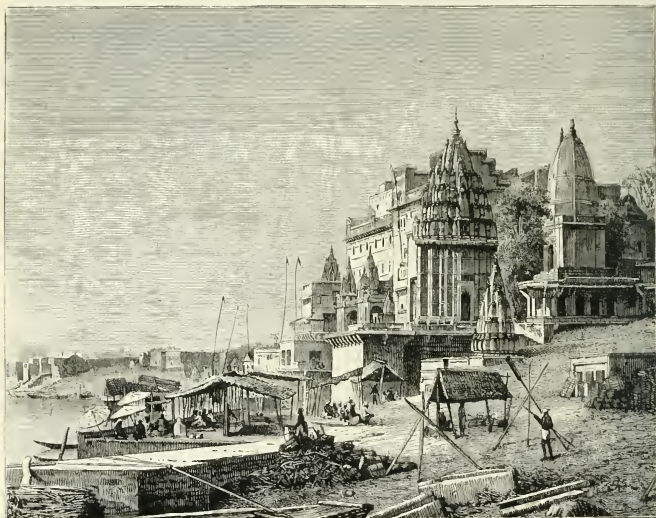
his own territory in the vicinity of Arrah, where he died of wounds received in action.

The 10th of April saw another hostile column departing from Lucknow, under General Walpole. It was 6,000 strong, with an ample brigade of guns, and moved along the left bank of the Ganges towards Rohilcund. Hearing that a body of rebels 400 strong had sought protection in one of the country forts having a high loopholed wall and

of the most gallant and best-beloved soldiers in the army of India.

As an evidence of Walpole's costly blunder, "he brought up his heavy guns to batter a breach, but the enemy stole away in the night, leaving the English general to batter his way in, or take some shorter method if he chose."

Bareilly, the capital of Rohilcund, was still held by old Khan Bahadoor, who, as related in its

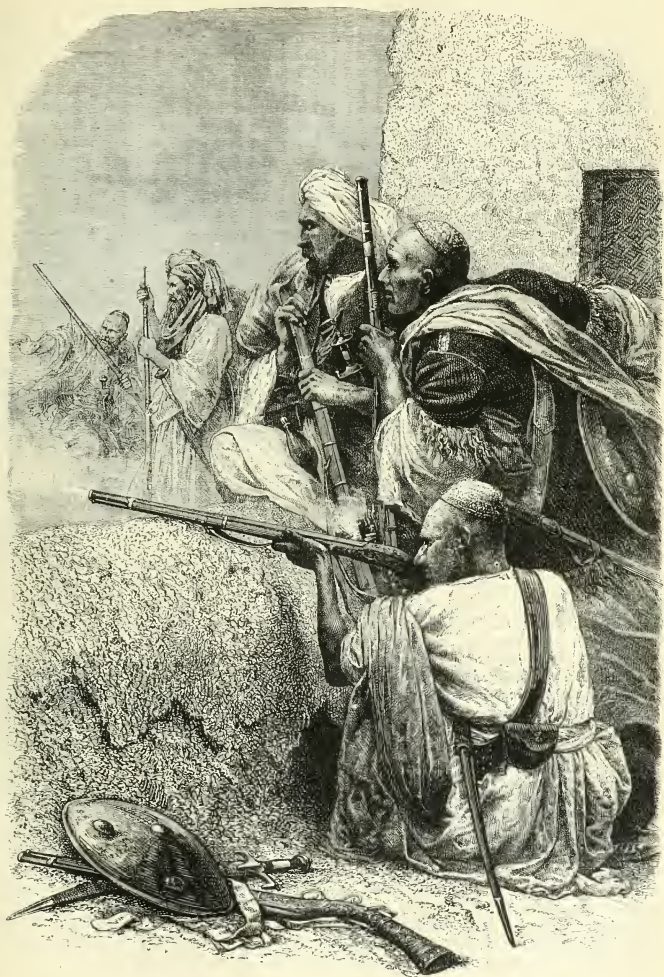


VIEW OF THE GHÂT OF DACSWAMEDH, BENARES.

ditch, named Rhoosha, fifty miles from Lucknow, he resolved, contrary to the express injunctions of Sir Colin Campbell, to attack it; and without making a reconnaissance, or even using his powerful artillery, detailed for this service the 42nd Highlanders, with the 4th Punjaub Rifles in support—a duty in which they utterly failed. Completely sheltered, the mutineers poured forth a murderous fire; the assailants were repulsed, and compelled to retire with the loss of 100 killed and wounded. Among the former were four officers, one of whom was their brigadier, the Hon. Adrian Hope, who was literally adored by his own regiment, the 93rd Highlanders, and who was generally deemed one

place, had proclaimed his independence, and in the earlier stages of the Mutiny had put some of our judges to death, under the mimic forms of European justice. While allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the power he had usurped, on the plea of being a descendant of Hafiz Rahmut, of the days of Hastings, he had carried matters with a hand so high, that the entire Rohillas, who certainly had solid and traditional wrongs to avenge, had rallied round his colours, and the concentration of force provided for his suppression evinced that a stern resistance was expected.

The campaign was opened by Sir Colin Campbell capturing Shahjehanpore, after which, on the



MOUNTAINEERS OF THE NORTH-WEST FIRING ON THE BRITISH.

2nd of May, he began to advance northwards on Bareilly, against which two other columns were moving—one under General Penny, by the way of Budaon, from the south-west; and another under General Jones, by Moradabad, from the north-west; but when the sequel came, it was found that Khan Bahadoor was only formidable while he was unmolested.

On the 3rd, Sir Colin was joined by the column of Penny, who, *en route*, by some carelessness, allowed his troops to be entangled in an ambush, and with difficulty saved them from destruction. By sheer dint of hard fighting they beat the foe, and resumed their march; but in the conflict Penny was slain by a body of fanatics, who made a rush at him, and then the beaten rebels hurried to Bareilly, where they strengthened the garrison. Colonel Richmond Jones, of the 6th Dragoon Guards, brought on the brigade to Sir Colin; while his namesake, Brigadier John Jones, *en route* from Moradabad, met also with resistance in his march; but drove the rebels headlong before him, while Campbell was advancing from an opposite direction.

Reaching Bareilly, Jones carried the bridge, which the rebels were stoutly defending, when the boom of Sir Colin's cannon was heard on the other

side of the city. The rebel cavalry contrived to make a sudden attack upon the head-quarter baggage, and created such confusion in Campbell's column as to make further operations for that day impossible. From fatigue, weakness, and sun-stroke, many, on the march, had sunk by the wayside. On the 7th, the attack was resumed. Khan Bahadoor, after making little more than a show of resistance, took to precipitate flight, and left the British in undisputed possession of Bareilly. But it happened that about the same time the Moulvie of Fyzabad, taking advantage of Campbell's march from Shahjehanpore, made a dash at that town, seized, and pillaged it, driving the slender garrison into the gaol, where they had to defend themselves till succoured by a detachment sent by General Jones from Bareilly. With the capture of the latter, the campaign in Rohilcund was deemed at an end. Some desultory warfare was essayed by the rebels, who were otherwise unable to keep the field, while the approach of the rainy season made further operations on the part of the Europeans impracticable. In consequence, Sir Colin Campbell established his head-quarters at Futtchghur, to await the return of the dry and cold season, when he might once more take the field.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN CENTRAL INDIA.

DURING the time that the events we have narrated had been occurring in Bengal, the Madras army, though chiefly Mohammedans, remained loyal. This came from the peculiar system of that army, and the distance of its scene of service from Delhi and Lucknow, the ancient traditional centres of native power, and also from the circumstance that there was a numerous population of native Christians scattered through Madras, and connected with the army. That there were agitations and arrests among the cavalry and sepoys, when tampered with by secret firebrands from Bengal, is undeniable; but Madras remained loyal, and its troops served well and efficiently during the campaign in Central India.

In Bombay, although the army there excited the most serious apprehensions, it was loyal in the main. In the north-western provinces the irregular

troops were not indisposed to revolt; some even deserted, but were captured and instantly hanged. The 27th Bombay Infantry, when stationed at Kolapore, without the slightest indication of previous discord, suddenly rose on the 1st of August, murdered three of their officers and a native woman, plundered the treasury, performed sundry fantastic acts of devotion, and left the station in a body. In this instance the whole of the native officers remained loyal; but the event agitated and disturbed the whole surrounding country, as no one knew what might happen next; but ere long it was discovered, by the vigilance and circumspection of the British authorities, that a great Mussulman conspiracy existed, having its ramifications throughout all Bombay, its chief centres being Poonah, Dhawar, and Sattara. The rajah of the latter place, being implicated, was

arrested, with the ranee, and placed under surveillance by Mr. Rose, the commissioner at Poonah.

It was then discovered that the Mohammedan chiefs of that city had formed a plan for an entire massacre of all Christians, European and native, at Poonah, Sattara, Belgaum, and elsewhere, and the signal was to have been the explosion of the arsenal at Poonah. The native troops were instantly disarmed, the chief devotees were arrested, and a number of the 27th, who were captured, were blown from the cannon's mouth at Kolapore. One of the chief conspirators was a moonshee, who received 250 rupees monthly for teaching our young officers Hindostanee.

A tumult broke out at Hyderabad among the more fanatical of the Mohammedans, till a few rounds of grape from our horse artillery guns cooled their fervour. But the troops—regular and irregular—of the Bombay army, in more than one instance, refused to obey orders, and openly asserted that the King of Delhi was their lawful monarch; and in this spirit some deserted, though the mass were reduced to obedience.

Leaving Sir Colin Campbell encamped at Futtehghur, we shall, in the meanwhile, turn to another quarter, and notice briefly the progress of events in Central India. To check the revolt in its earlier stages there had been impossible, as the mutineers were, in more than one instance, headed by the native princes; but their temporary triumph, amid cruelty and bloodshed, was not of long duration. When it was found that the troops of Bombay and Madras could be relied on, columns of them were organised to advance into Central India by the south-east and south-west. The former division, under General Whitlock, moving from Nagpore, proceeded north, towards Jubbulpore; the latter, under General Roberts, advancing from Rajpootana, marched in the direction of Kotah; and both were to effect a junction with a third division, when the whole were to assume the name of the Central India Field Force, under General Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B., who had served in the Crimean campaign as Queen's Commissioner with the French army.

In the beginning, the central column was formed in two brigades, mustering together 6,000, of whom 2,500 were British. One of these, commanded by Colonel Charles Stewart, of the 14th Light Dragoons, as brigadier, having on the 2nd of August, 1857, effectually relieved Mhow, which had been in a state of siege since the commencement of the Mutiny, spent the remainder of the wet season in strengthening the fort, forming new

batteries and intrenchments there, as a *point d'appui* for further operations. On the 19th of October Brigadier Stewart was again in motion, and marched westward to the ancient town of Dhar, the capital of a petty principality, surrounded by a mud wall, with a fort, defended by towers, upon a height. There a body of mutineers, from various quarters, had forcibly garrisoned themselves, in defiance, it was said, of the native authorities; but as the actual rajah was a mere boy, it is more probable that, in true Indian fashion, his guardians were playing a double game, and professed a loyalty they did not feel.

As Stewart's brigade approached Dhar, a sharp fire was opened upon him from three brass guns in position upon a height. These were abandoned by the mutineers, who suddenly lost heart, and took refuge in the fort, the walls of which are thirty feet high. On obtaining some heavy guns, Stewart laid siege to the place, and while shelling it without intermission, worked his breaching battery at 300 yards distance from the walls, which are of solid stone. Meanwhile he disposed his force in such a way as he thought would preclude the escape of the garrison, which was 4,000 strong. The curtain was breached by the 29th, and then terms were sought. On being told that they had nothing to hope for but an unconditional surrender, they vowed to hold out to the last cartridge. This was but a ruse, as they fully intended to escape, and did so with such incredible dexterity that their flight remained unknown till the storming party entered the breach.

Brigadier Stewart dismantled the fort, and on being reinforced by the Hyderabad Contingent under Major Orr, he marched again in two columns. The contingent, on the 7th of November, pushed on to Mahidpore, where the Dhar mutineers, now joined by many more, were committing great excesses; and Stewart followed on the 8th. Major Orr came up with them at the village of Rawul, and, by one dashing charge, drove them from their cannon, which he captured, together with all their bullocks, ammunition, and wagons of plunder. No other encounter took place till the 21st, when the force reached Mundisore, where the enemy had fixed their head-quarters, and, having confidence in their superior numbers, without waiting to be attacked, came steadily and boldly on in line, with bayonets fixed and colours flying, menacing at once the British centre and flanks; but they were routed, and driven close to the walls of the town. Intelligence now came that a rebel column, 5,000 strong, which had been blockading Neemuch, had marched to join those

in Mundisore. As this junction would have given the enemy a strength too great to face, Stewart resolved to prevent it at every hazard, and marching in search of them, found them posted on such strong ground in and about the village of Goraria, that he was unable to drive them in, and after a fierce conflict night fell, leaving the foe still unbeaten; and to make matters worse, during the contest in front, a column from Mundisore came on Stewart's rear, and nearly cut off his baggage. On the 24th, Stewart—an officer who had served in the campaign of the Punjaub, and got a sabre-cut at Chillianwallah—attacked them with renewed vigour, and though they fought with bitter obstinacy, he drove them from Goraria at the point of the bayonet, slaying 1,500 of them on the spot. He thus effected the relief of Neemuch, in the fort of which a handful of Europeans had long been making a gallant and almost desperate defence. Mundisore was next evacuated, and leaving Orr, with the contingent to occupy it, the brigadier marched to Indore to join the Central India Force under Sir Hugh Rose, the future Lord Strathnairn.

The orders of the latter were to fight his way northward to Jhansi, and crush the rebel garrison there. His brigades sometimes acted far apart; the actions fought were generally in the open field, in jungles or passes, "and everywhere Sir Hugh rolled away or cut through the living ramparts that obstructed his progress." At one time the brother of Nana Sahib threatened his flanks at the head of a vast horde of looters. Early in January, 1858, he marched in the direction of Sehore, a town of Bhopal, which at this time was ruled by a princess, who remained faithful to Britain, though her contingent had joined in the revolt. Condign punishment was inflicted by Sir Hugh on all who fell into his hands at Sehore, from whence he continued his march to the fort of Rhatghur, one of the largest and strongest in Central India, occupying the spur of a lofty hill, isolated on both sides by sloping precipices, girt by a deep ditch on the north, and defended on the west, where the gateway stood, by many great bastions. There was a numerous garrison, full of confidence in their stronghold, against which Rose's mortars and battery guns opened on the 27th of January at 300 yards, with such effect that next day a great breach was reported practicable. But the garrison, instead of facing the storming party, descended by a precipice, where safe descent seemed impossible, and effected their escape in the night.

Sir Hugh Rose then moved on to Saugor, and relieved a party of Europeans, who for eight weary

and harassing months, with their wives and little ones, had been besieged in the long, low, water-girt fortress of that name; and a few days after, the Madras column came up, under General Whitlock, who had moved by the way of Jubbulpore, pursuing wandering bands of rebels with such activity as to leave them no rest, cutting up and dispersing them in every direction.

After compelling a body of rebels to evacuate the fortress of Gurrukota and leave vast quantities of plunder behind them, Sir Hugh Rose now moved on Jhansi, the little state which Lord Dalhousie had annexed five years before—a deed which the ranees so terribly revenged when the Mutiny took place. She had now assembled 10,000 men for the defence of the town, and was a woman who had given such proof of her talents that they would have excited admiration but for the horror she caused by her dreadful massacre of our people. On the 21st of March, Sir Hugh Rose was before Jhansi, a city of four miles and a half in circuit, surrounded by luxuriant and extensive woods, and girt by a wall of solid masonry, varying from six to twelve feet thick, and from eighteen to thirty feet in height, flanked by strong gun-bastions, and closely loopholed for musketry. "Within the town, and enclosed by it on all sides except the west, where the rock on which it stands terminates in an abrupt and lofty precipice, rises the citadel, completely commanding both the town and the roads leading to it, and strongly fortified by nature and art. Its walls, constructed of solid granite, from sixteen to twenty feet thick, were flanked by elaborate out-works of the same solid construction; while the interior, partly occupied by the massive buildings of the palace, contained several lofty towers mounting heavy ordnance, and in some places pierced with five tiers of loopholes."

The south appearing its weakest side, the concentrated fire of Sir Hugh's guns silenced many of those of the enemy; the great ramparts began to crumble, and all looked forward to the hour of assault with an ardour that was suddenly damped on the 31st of March, when tidings came that a body of 20,000 men, including that portion of the Gwalior Contingent which had escaped the vengeance of Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore, were advancing under the command of Nana Sahib's lieutenant, Tantia Topee, to the relief of the ranees. The odds were fearful now; but on the 1st of April, without slackening his fire against Jhansi, Sir Hugh moved out to meet the enemy with only 1,200 men, of whom 500 were British soldiers.

A battle which took place near the bank of the Betwa proved the utter inability of any native force

to cope with our troops when handled as Rose handled them on that day. After a fire from his field-guns, which made dreadful havoc among the unwieldy masses of the enemy, both their wings were simultaneously charged by a handful of cavalry, then a wild cry arose in front—a shout of rage and vengeance, and through the smoke there flashed before the eyes of the rebels a slender line of white caps, red coats, and a hedge of steel, as our tiny force of infantry rushed, cheering, on with the bayonet, and then—huddled together, rolled into themselves as it were—the rebels were hurled in confusion and dismay across the river, leaving 1,500 dead behind them, and all the guns they had brought from Calpee. From the ramparts the cruel ranee saw the signal defeat of her confederates, and with a heart that began to shrink at last.

On the 3rd of April, the town was assaulted by two columns of attack; one, composed of the 3rd Europeans, the Bombay and Madras Sappers, with the Hyderabad Contingent, entered on the left by escalade; the other, composed of some Royal Engineers, H.M. 86th (County Down), and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, clad in scarlet, faced with pale yellow, stormed the breach direct; and both columns, after hewing a passage through the streets, met at the palace, which was stormed and sacked, but not till every avenue had been fiercely contested, “and no quarter was asked or given.”*

The fighting did not finally cease till the 6th, when the ranee, after making a last desperate stand, escaped; she was seen in full flight mounted on a grey horse, and though attended by only a few followers, could not be overtaken.

While Sir Hugh Rose was achieving these brilliant deeds of arms, about 1,000 faithful Bengal sepoy, with the same number of Madras, who had been placed in Saugor by General Whitlock, kept at bay the rebels who swarmed in the country round there; Scindia cut up the Kotah mutineers who had sought shelter from General Roberts' column within his territory, and captured their ten pieces of cannon. This band was accompanied by a large number of women and children, who were now, in turn, suffering the hardships of peril and flight—but not of terror—which had been in so many cases imposed upon the families of the Europeans.

In Bundelcund, General Whitlock was most successful with his Madras troops. On the 19th of April he defeated 7,000 rebels, led by the Nawab of Banda, whom he captured, with all his guns, slew 500 of his people, and dispersed the rest.

After remaining some time at Jhansi, to prepare

for a movement on Calpee—where the Gwalior Contingent had their head-quarters, whither the ranee had fled, and which had become the rallying-point of all mutineers west of the Jumna, the point where they seemed to have resolved to make a last final stand, where they had collected military stores of every description, and even established foundries to cast cannon, shot, and shell—Sir Hugh Rose, though weakened in force, by having to garrison Jhansi, marched on the 29th of April, and did so frequently at midnight, but even these marches were becoming more difficult in consequence of the oppressive heat.

The first opposition was encountered in the vicinity of Kunch, a town of Agra, sixty miles distant from Gwalior. There, a body of rebels, led by the Ranee of Jhansi, the Rajah of Baunpore, Tania Topee, the Nawab of Banda, and others, and stated to be more than 20,000 strong, had taken up their ground; but the series of heavy disasters that had befallen them of late deterred them from risking a general engagement; thus, after exchanging a fire of artillery, the advance of our troops became the signal for a speedy retreat to Calpee.

Though that place was only forty miles distant, it was approached by slow marches, the intensity of the heat rendering rapidity of action almost impossible, and thinning the ranks as much as the fire of the enemy could have done. The advance to Calpee was resisted perpetually, but without avail; for as a mountain torrent sweeps away the branches that cross its course, so Rose swept away all opposition. Riddell from Etawah, Maxwell from Cawnpore, and Whitlock from the south, were all acting in a combined system of action with Sir Hugh Rose, who had to encounter almost hourly skirmishes as he approached Calpee.

A nephew of the Nana was one of the most active in opposing Sir Hugh. On the 18th, Rose shelled some earthworks which had been constructed to bar his advance; while on the opposite bank of the Jumna, Maxwell's guns suddenly opened fire, at a time when the rebels believed him to be at Cawnpore. On the 20th, they made a sortie with force and skill; but were hopelessly repulsed; yet on the 22nd, after Golowlee, six miles from Calpee, had been reached, they were seen marching along the road in strength and in order of battle. An encounter at once took place, and for some time the conflict was maintained by the enemy with so much resolution, and with numbers so overwhelming, that the issue looked doubtful, till Rose resorted to the bayonet. Then hurled headlong from the field, the enemy's columns of infantry were broken up and scattered in every direction,

* Marshman.

after which Calpee was captured, with all their ammunition, stores, and the accumulated plunder of every station from which they had come.

Sir Hugh Rose, supposing the campaign to be at an end, and as he was about to go on leave with a medical certificate, issued from his camp at Calpee this General Order, on the 1st of June, 1858 :—

“The Central India Field Force being about to be dissolved, the major-general cannot allow the troops to leave his command without expressing to them the gratification he has invariably experienced at their good conduct and discipline, and he requests that the following General Order may be

watchword ; you have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations, and in dangers, you have obeyed your general, and have never left your ranks. You have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless—of foes as well as friends ; I have seen you in the ardour of the combat, preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers ; and this it is that has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes without doubt that you will find no place to equal the glory of your arms.”

This eloquent farewell address was delivered



AN ESCORT ENCAMPED.

read at the head of every corps and detachment of the force : Soldiers ! you have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns ; you have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers ; you have captured the strongest forts, and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him ; you have restored extensive districts to the Government, and peace and order now reign where before, for twelve months, were tyranny and rebellion ; you have done all this, and you have never had a check. I thank you with all my sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you that you—as British soldiers—had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you ; but that courage without discipline was of no avail, and I exhorted you to let discipline be your

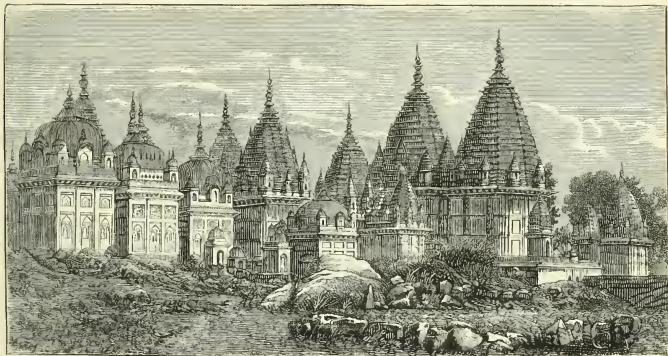
somewhat too soon, as Sir Hugh had more fighting before him ; for on the very day he issued it, the rebels entered Gwalior under Tantia Topee, who drove Scindia from his throne, and within a week was at the head of 18,000 men cantoned beside the capital. Scindia sent to Agra for succour ; but none could be given. He was then compelled to fly there for shelter, after appealing in vain to his troops, of whom 3,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry, with eight guns, went over to Rao Sahib, the infamous Nana's nephew. The body-guard fought till cut to pieces, and a remnant escorted their sovereign to Agra. On this the Nana was proclaimed Peishwa of the Mahrattas, the title he had assumed at Cawnpore. Rao Sahib was declared sovereign of Gwalior ; the vast treasures of Scindia were seized, and the rich citizens were plundered ; the flight from Calpee proved the ruin of Gwalior,

to which the adjacent rajahs flocked with their retainers; thus a large army was organised, with plenty of stores and treasure to supply it.

When he conquered at Calpee, Sir Hugh Rose was in ill-health, and probably it was owing to that circumstance, and the slenderness of his cavalry, that any escaped thence; but when tidings reached him of these events at Gwalior, he at once marched against the rebels, who were now led, less by Tantia Topee and others, than by the warlike Ranee of Jhansi, who, clad in male attire, mounted on a beautiful charger, and accompanied by a select staff, kept moving about where her presence was required, displaying a skill, energy, and enthu-

burned. Tantia Topee assumed the direction of those operations which she had hitherto guided; but Smith was always victorious. His column was joined by the main body under Sir Hugh, who approached Gwalior in flank, and stormed some fortified heights held by the enemy, who became panic-struck and fled. Our cavalry pursued the fugitives, and cut them down in such numbers that the whole adjacent plain was strewn with their dead and shrieking wounded. Fifty pieces of cannon were taken.

All was conquered now, save the stupendous rock-built fortress, into which a few desperadoes had retired, resolved to sell their lives as dearly



NECROPOLIS OF THE RAJAHS OF JHANSI.

siasm worthy of a better cause. On the 16th of June, Rose was near the old cantonments at Gwalior, and reconnoitred the position at a time when the heat was 130° in the shade; and in the morning, though the troops were exhausted after a night march, he attacked instantly, and did so victoriously. The slaughter of the fugitives was frightful, some of the trenches that lay beyond the cantonments being filled to the brim with corpses. Sir Hugh then encamped within the captured lines.

The ranee organised a fresh force to intercept a reinforcement that was coming up under Brigadier Smith from the westward. On the 17th of June, that officer drove the rebels before him, and it was in his last charge that the ranee, who had been in every engagement since she left Jhansi, was killed by one of our hussars, who was ignorant of her sex. Her body was borne away by her attendants to be

as possible; but two young officers, who were left with a party to hold a police-station near the castle, resolved to surprise it. Aided by a blacksmith, they and their soldiers forced a passage in, and won the place, yet not without desperate fighting. The attempt was planned by Lieutenant Rose, who perished in its execution. Lieutenant Waller secured the prize.

A compact body of the enemy, 6,000 strong, with twenty-five splendid field-artillery, retired in good order from Gwalior; but were followed by Brigadier Napier, with only 600 cavalry and six horse-artillery guns. Overtaking them at Jowla Alipore, the gallant brigadier, who was well worthy of his ancient Scottish name, dashed into their ranks, put them to utter rout, and obtained a complete victory, with the capture of all their guns. Tantia Topee, with another body 8,000 strong,

directed his march to Jeypore, the chief state, carrying with him the crown jewels and treasure of Scindia, who now returned to Gwalior, amid the acclamations of his subjects.

The daring and active Tantia Topee kept Central India still in agitation, but Sir Hugh Rose, worn out with toil and long service, retired from

the command, and his force was broken up. He departed for Bombay; but his services in India were not yet at an end. He was created for them a K.C.B., afterwards a G.C.B., and received the thanks of Parliament; and on the institution of the Order called the Star of India, he was one of the first recipients of it.*

CHAPTER LIV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.—A PROPOSED CHANGE.—THE INDIA BILL.—EXTINCTION OF THE COMPANY.—PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN.

THIS dreadful revolt proved the death-warrant of the ancient East India Company. Not only Great Britain, but nearly all Europe was astounded by the announcement of a great military rebellion, which threatened to dissolve our Eastern empire, and of the awful massacres which accompanied it; and the responsibility of the outbreak was at once cast on the Company, though for fully more than seventy years no political measure, or administrative arrangement, had taken place without the full concurrence of the Home Ministry. In consequence of the revolt, India suddenly attracted both from the country and the Legislature an amount of interest and attention it had never gained before, and the conviction in men's minds became general that a complete change in the system of its Government was imperatively required. The argument by which the Court of Directors some fifty years before endeavoured to justify their abrupt dismissal of Lord William Bentinck from office, after the Mutiny at Vellore, in 1806, was now applied with fatal effect to themselves on the Mutiny of the entire Bengal army. "As the misfortunes which happened under your administration placed your fate under the government of public events and opinions which the court could not control, so it is not in their power to alter the effect of them."

In December, 1857, Lord Palmerston informed the Court of Directors that a Bill for placing India under the direct authority of the Crown would shortly be laid before Parliament. In both Houses the subject had been incidentally discussed, and, prior to this communication, the Company had become aware that their existence as the rulers of India was seriously menaced and plainly imperilled. Hence the directors instructed Mr. John Stuart Mill, the historian of India, and examiner of

Indian correspondence in the India House, to draw up a long and elaborate petition, in which, while pleading justly their own merits and past services, they denied that the sepoy revolt was owing to their mismanagement, and deprecated legislation of the kind which they understood to be in contemplation as both pernicious and unseasonable, all the more so while the Mutiny was still raging and still unrepessed—pernicious, too, because it would substitute a new form of government for one which, on the whole, had worked admirably; and at that crisis would have the effect of unsettling still more the minds of the native population, and increasing the confusion. Mr. Mill's production was one of the most able State papers in the language; but, with the horrors of Delhi, Cawnpore, and other massacres fresh in the public mind, nothing could withstand the popular outcry.

On the 11th of February, 1858, this petition was presented to the House of Lords, and next day Lord Palmerston introduced into the House of Commons his "Bill for the better Government of India." While leaving the local arrangements in India without change, it was intended only to apply to Home management, and proposed the abolition of the powers then held by the Courts of Directors and Proprietors; that in their place there should be substituted a President, assisted by a Council for Indian affairs; that the former should be a member of the Government, and the organ of the Cabinet in everything pertaining to India; and

* In addition to works on the Mutiny quoted in the text, "The Sepoy War," by Sir Hope Grant; "Eight Months' Campaign," by Colonel Bouchier; General Outram's "Campaign in India," London, 1860; Greathed's Letters, "A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow," "Russell's Diary," and many others, have been consulted.

that the Council—named, like the President, by the Crown, “but restricted to individuals who had either been Directors of the Company, or had resided in India for a certain period with or without employment—should consist of eight members, elected for eight years, two retiring by rotation every two years; in order that successive administrations might have an opportunity of renewing the Council from time to time by the introduction of persons returning from India with fresh knowledge and ideas.”

In all disputed points the final decision was to rest with the President, because the Cabinet of which he was a member would be henceforth responsible alone for his measures; but, in the event of any great difference of opinion, the members of Council had reserved to them the right of recording that circumstance, and the reasons for it, in the minutes. In the matter of patronage, all the appointments hitherto made in India were left by the proposed Bill to be made there as before; and at home, while the writerships remained open to public competition, the gift of cadetships would be shared by the President and Council, precisely as they had previously been by the President of the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors at Leadenhall Street.

When the motion for leave to bring in this Bill was made, Mr. Thomas Baring (so well-known as a capitalist, and connected with some of the greatest monetary operations of the age), who had presented the Company's petition to the Lower House, moved as an amendment, “That it is not at present expedient to legislate for the Government of India;” but after a keen debate, which was continued for several successive nights, his motion was negatived by 318 to 173, whereas the continuance of the Government of India in the hands of the Company was voted without a division only five years before—a fact which evinces the great and sudden change that had come over the public mind. The supporters of Lord Palmerston's Bill so far outnumbered its opponents that it was considered beyond the reach of all danger; and yet there arose a sudden contingency altogether unconnected with Indian affairs, by which, through a change of Ministry, the Bill was not destined to become law.

An attempt to assassinate the Emperor of

France caused such an outcry concerning foreign refugees in this country, that the Government was constrained to introduce what was called a Conspiracy Bill, on the second reading of which, on the 19th of February, the Palmerston Ministry found themselves in such a minority that they were compelled to resign; and the new Ministry formed by the Earl of Derby could scarcely fail, from its general character, and also from the appointment of Lord Ellenborough to the Presidency of the Board of Control, to have a great effect on Indian affairs. The Conservatives had not only supported Mr. Baring's amendment, but their leaders in the Lords and Commons, when votes of thanks were proposed to the generals commanding in India, and to Civil officials there for the eminent skill

and courage shown by them at a crisis so momentous, took special exception to the name of Lord Canning, “on the ground that the merits of his administration during the crisis were very questionable, and at least ought not to be recognised till they were better ascertained. There were thus two points to which the new Ministry stood committed, as far as previous expressions of opinion could bind them—the one, the impolicy of introducing an India Bill at present; and the other, a determination not to recognise the merits of Lord Canning's administration without further inquiry. The latter point,



TANTIA TOPEE.
(From a Drawing by a Native.)

though insignificant with the other, was felt to be the more pressing, as it was of a party character; and we cannot, therefore, wonder that, in the vigorous hands of Lord Ellenborough, to whose department it officially belonged, it soon gave rise to discussions, which for a time absorbed all the interest which was felt in the other.*

The new Ministry had certainly some difficulties before them, and were somewhat in a false position. The vote in favour of the India Bill was so overwhelming that it could not be supposed that the same identical House would reverse that vote at the mere wish of a new Ministry. Hence, if the latter were to retain office, it could only be by their adopting the opinions of the majority, and by speedily introducing another India Bill which would secure the objects suggested by that of Lord Palmerston, and would, at the same time, be free from certain points in it which were held to be

* Beveridge.

objectionable. Their apparent change of opinion was plausibly accounted for, by implying that as the effect of the vote on the first Bill must have been to weaken the authority of the Company, the transfer of it to the sovereign, though then inexpedient, had become absolutely necessary now.

So Mr. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons, on the 26th of March, 1858, introduced the "India Bill, No. 2," so called to distinguish it from the other, which still retained precedence by not having been quite abandoned. By this quibble, the chief object—the transference of the government of India to the Crown—was the same, but the mode of effecting it was different.

As in Lord Palmerston's Bill, there was to be a President and Council; but that body, instead of being limited to eight members nominated by the Crown, was to consist of eighteen, nine of whom were to be nominated, and nine elected. In the selection of the latter the Royal power would be perfectly excluded; but in regard even to the former, though named by the Crown, the qualifications that were necessary to render them eligible were such as to make them true representatives of Indian interests. "Four representing the Civil Service, must have served in it ten years: one in Upper India, one in Bengal proper, one in the Presidency of Madras, and one in that of Bombay. Of the four representing the military service, one, a Queen's officer, must have served five years in India, and each of the other three ten years in their respective presidencies. The remaining nominee was to be an individual whose employment in India, as resident or political agent at a native court, must have made him well acquainted with native character. Of the elected half of the Council, four were to be eligible only after ten years' employment, or fifteen years' residence without employment, in India."

Those having power of election, supposed to number about 5,000, were to consist of all civil and military officers who had been ten years in India; of all persons still resident there and possessed of shares in any public work to the value of £2,000, and of all proprietors of £1,000 of India stock. It was proposed that the other five elected members must have been ten years resident in India, or must have been engaged for firms, in the trade or exportation of Indian manufactures, and were to be elected by the Parliamentary constituencies of five towns: London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast.

Though slightly opposed, this important Bill was allowed to be introduced without a vote; but

when the various points of it came to be dissected and canvassed during the Easter recess, they excited so much ridicule and opposition, as to threaten the existence of the Ministry that had brought it forward. At this crisis Lord John Russell, who had not been a member of the late Cabinet (having retired from office in 1855, after his unsatisfactory mission to the Vienna Conference, while the Crimean war was in progress), came suddenly to the rescue by a suggestion that the House "should not proceed by Bill, but by a series of resolutions on which a Bill more acceptable than either of those yet proposed might afterwards be founded."

Mr. Disraeli, with evident satisfaction, accepted the proposition, and was even willing that Lord John Russell should bring forward the resolutions in person; but this mode of disposing of Government business being disapproved of by the House, Mr. Disraeli undertook the task, and brought forward fourteen propositions for separate discussion and for selection, to the end that those approved of might form the basis of a third Bill, combining all the best points of its two predecessors. A long debate ensued, but his two first resolutions—one declaring the expediency of an immediate transfer of the government of India to the Crown, the other empowering the Queen to commit the Home administration to one of her responsible Ministers—were adopted without a division.

At this point the discussion was arrested by an act of indiscretion on the part of Lord Ellenborough—his injudicious publication of a document concerning the kingdom of Oude.

At this crisis Lucknow was still in the hands of the rebels, and, in contemplation of its capture by Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Canning had prepared a proclamation to be issued as soon as our colours once more waved over the city. It dealt at length upon the rebellion, and the great crimes of which the people of Oude had been guilty, the just retribution to which they had subjected themselves, that their capital should be held by a force that nothing could withstand, and that the authority of the British Government would be carried into every corner of the province. That those who had been steadfast in their allegiance would be rewarded, and that therefore the Rajahs of Butrampore and Pudnah, Rao Buksh Sing of Kutiaree, the Talookdar of Sissaindie, the Zemindars of Gopul Chair, and of Baiswarah, were "to be henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the land which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be

imposed upon them; and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the Governor-General shall determine."

With the above six exceptions, he announced the entire soil of Oude as confiscated to the British Government, and simply promised that the lives of all other talookdars, chiefs, and zemindars who made due submission would be safe, provided their hands were not stained with European blood, in which case they would be excluded from all mercy.

When this proclamation was prepared, Lord Canning knew nothing of the change of Ministry, and had not received a despatch, sent through the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, in which the views of the Conservative Government as to any amnesty to those who were in rebellion were fully detailed. This despatch, which was dated 24th March, 1858, suggested a lenient line of policy, while admitting that crimes had been committed against us which it would be criminal to forgive, and recommended that we should act to the people, when fully subdued, with the generosity and justice "which are congenial to the British character;" and then, with a natural fear of what might be the temper of our troops at such a time, this remarkable document concluded thus: "In carrying these views into execution you may meet with obstructions from those who, maddened by the scenes they have witnessed, may desire to substitute their own policy for that of the Government; but persevere firmly in doing what you may think right: make those who would counteract you feel that you are resolved to rule, and that you will be served by none who will not obey."

During the short time that the Earl of Ellenborough held the administration of India, he appeared far from being an indulgent ruler, or one disposed to view gently native delinquencies there: nor should we forget his treatment of the Ameers of Scinde and invasion of the district of Gwalior; hence, in the face of the dreadful events which characterised the sepoy revolt, his sudden moderation and leniency seemed somewhat out of place and ill-timed; but only shortly after sending his despatch, he received a copy of Lord Canning's proposed proclamation, together with that of certain instructions issued to Sir James Outram, which showed distinctly that the confiscation of the kingdom of Oude was no idle threat. Considering the features already referred to in the Indian experiences of the Earl of Ellenborough, he might have paused before inditing to Lord

Canning a severe letter in animadversion of his intended proclamation, which—the turn of events might so order it—would perhaps not be issued at all. Nevertheless, in his capacity of President of the Board of Control, he wrote a new despatch, denouncing the Oude proclamation in language so strong "and sarcastic as to be almost insulting, and spoke of the talookdars and other proprietors of Oude as if they were more sinned against than sinning, and were entitled to be treated rather as patriots than as rebels."

The premature publication of this singular despatch by Lord Ellenborough at such a time was every way calculated, from its entire tenor, to weaken the authority of the Governor-General, and to encourage the spread of rebellion by the hope of ultimate impunity. Being transmitted through the Secret Committee—men sworn to secrecy—it was declared to be an outrageous proceeding, alike discourteous and unstatesmanlike, to place it in the hands of the general public weeks before it could be received by the Governor-General.

The friends of the latter expressed so much disapprobation of the whole proceeding that the Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. Cardwell gave notice of their intention to bring the subject before both Houses of Parliament by motions amounting to Ministerial censure; and then Lord Ellenborough, to save his colleagues, retired from the office which he had held but a few weeks, thus bringing his official connection with Indian affairs to an abrupt termination for a second time.

Still the Whig party, being full of anxiety to regain place, refused to be satisfied with the Earl's retirement, and the motions were absurdly persisted in till the affair degenerated into a mere struggle between parties, which ended in a complete Ministerial triumph on the opportune arrival of important despatches from India when the debate was at its height. Before being issued, the proclamation which had caused such disturbance in the Cabinet had been greatly modified in its spirit, by the advice of Sir James Outram, who expressed his firm conviction that if the talookdars of Oude were reduced to desperation they would betake themselves to a guerilla warfare, which would lead to the loss of thousands of our soldiers by battle, disease, and exposure. Lord Shaftesbury's motion had been lost in the Upper House, and that of Mr. Cardwell was still under discussion in the Commons, when it was now withdrawn, and the Ministry were thus left at liberty to proceed with Mr. Disraeli's resolutions, which, after thorough discussion, were embodied in a Bill, which became law on the 2nd of August, 1858, entitled "An Act

for the better Government of India." (21st and 22nd Victoria, chapter 106.)

No less than eighty-five sections are in this important Act, which transferred 150,000,000 of the subjects of the East India Company to its sovereign. It enacts that India shall be governed by, and in the name of, Her Majesty, through one of her principal Secretaries of State, assisted by a Board composed of fifteen members, to be styled the Council of India. Of these fifteen, eight are to be

is to transact, in the United Kingdom, the business relating to India, and in all cases where a difference of opinion may arise, the vote of the Secretary of State shall be final, though each member may require that his opinion and the reasons therefore made be recorded in the minutes. The appointments to the Civil Service, as well as cadetships in the engineers and artillery, shall be thrown open to public competition, and conferred on the successful candidates in the order of proficiency.



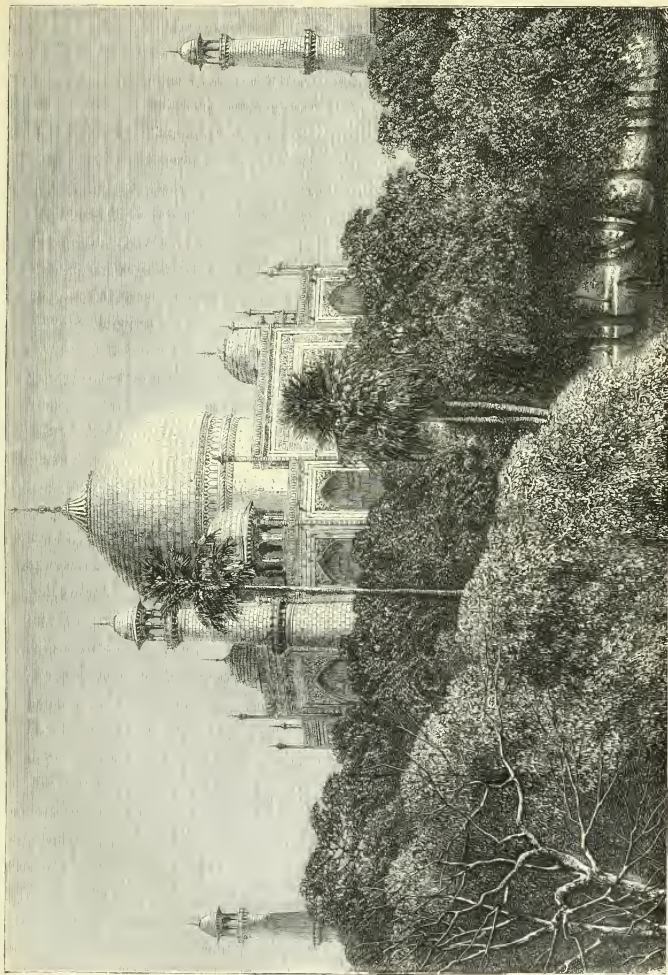
PORTRAIT OF SIR JAMES OUTRAM.

nominated by the Crown, and seven to be elected, on the first election only by the then existing Court of Directors, and in future by the Council, subject to the proviso that the majority, whether nominated or elected, shall always, with the exception of those chosen by the Directors, be persons who have been ten years at least in India previous to appointment.

The Secretary of State for India, should he be a fifth one in addition to the present four, shall have the same salary as they, and each member of Council a salary of £1,200, with a retiring pension of £500, all to be paid by the Indian revenue. Every order sent to India shall be signed by one of the principal Secretaries of State; but the Council

In regard to patronage, all appointments hitherto made by the Directors shall henceforth be made by the majority by warrant under the royal sign manual. Those sections of the Act which relate to the transfer of property, revenue, existing establishments, and so forth, are too voluminous for reference here.

On the 1st of September, 1858, the Court of Directors met for the last time in their Council Chamber at Leadenhall Street, and, as their last Act of administration, gracefully voted an annuity of £2,000 per annum to Sir John Lawrence, one of the chief instruments of saving that vast empire which was now transferred to the Crown.



THE GARDENS OF THE TAJ, AGRA.

So passed away that famous old East India Company, which was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, but the political existence of which is chiefly to be dated from the Battle of Plassey, in 1757, after the lapse of 100 years, by the revolt of that army which had won so many victories. There is no record in history of so brilliant a career, nor is there any instance of power so extensive and so rapidly acquired, with so few causes of regret on the score of political morality. Notwithstanding its errors and its shortcomings (remarks Marshman with justice), it may safely be affirmed that no foreign dependency has ever been administered in a spirit of higher energy, or greater benevolence, or by a longer succession of great men. But its high mission was accomplished, and the anomaly of continuing the government of so vast a dominion with such an agency was daily becoming more obvious, and even without the dark crisis of the Mutiny the termination of its trust could not have been far distant.*

Shortly after the passing of the India Act, Her Majesty in Council caused a proclamation to be issued, to notify the important changes introduced by it, and the line of policy it was her royal desire and intention to pursue, and constituting Viscount Canning her "first Viceroy and Governor-General." Translated into the various languages of India, it was addressed to the princes, chiefs, and people, and was first published by the Governor-General in person, and, amid the thunder of cannon, with great state, at Allahabad, on the 1st of November, 1858. It announced that Her Majesty had at length assumed the Government of India, which had hitherto been conducted by her trustees, the Honourable East India Company; that ancient rights and usages should all be inviolate, that the public service should be open to all her subjects without regard to caste or creed, and that while the Government was a Christian one, no one should be either molested or benefited by his creed. This proclamation was cordially welcomed by the native princes. The *ickbal*, or good fortune of the East India Company, expired with the Mutiny which they thought exposed its weakness. British authority was now nearly restored (though Oude had yet to be cleared of rebels) by the armaments sent forth by the Queen, and it seemed but reasonable and expedient that she should assume the sceptre of India. The introduction of an entirely new policy after such a convulsion was eminently calculated to reassure the public mind. Moreover, the natives of India have from the earliest ages paid profound veneration to the principle of

monarchy, and an emotion of pride and satisfaction was diffused through the country in being considered the subjects of a sovereign and not of an inferior power, in which light the Company was now viewed.*

The royal proclamation included this:—"We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State, and we will that generally in framing and administering the law due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty. . . . Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy. To those who have willingly given an asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to any circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men. To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offence against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next. When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

* * * Hist. of India," vol. iii.

* Ibid.

Admirable though the spirit of this proclamation, some of those leaders whose atrocities had placed them, as they too well knew, beyond the hope of mercy, did all in their power to throw discredit on a document which led them to dread the desertion of their followers. The most formidable attempt of this kind was made by the Begum of Oude, who, acting in the name of her son, the child whom the mutineers had crowned king, replied to it by a formal counter-proclamation, in which that of Her Majesty was analysed in each paragraph seriatim, and its promises treated with derision.

"In the proclamation," says the Mussulman begum, "it is written that the Christian religion is true, but no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of religion? That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and knows no

other. Where there are three gods in a religion, neither Mussulmans nor Hindoos—nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers—can believe it to be true. To eat pigs and drink wine, to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats, to destroy Hindoo and Mussulman temples on pretence of making roads, to build churches, to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion, to institute English schools and pay people a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussulmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with? The rebellion began with religion, and for it millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived; thousands were deprived of their religion in the north-west, and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion."

CHAPTER LV.

THE MOVEMENTS OF LORD CLYDE AND SIR HOPE GRANT IN OUDE.—THE ESCAPES OF BENE MADHOO.
—THE DURBAR AT CAWNPORE.—AMALGAMATION OF THE FORCES.

For his eminent military services, Sir Colin Campbell, the Commander-in-chief in India, had been raised to the peerage of Britain as Baron Clyde of Clydesdale. He was also gazetted a general, with the colonelcy of the 93rd Highlanders. He was also one of the Supreme Council, the other members being Mr. John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, Bart., the Hon. R. Ricketts, and Mr. Barnes Peacock.

After taking part in the grand ceremony of reading the royal proclamation at Allahabad, Lord Clyde crossed the Ganges there on the 2nd of November, 1858, and repaired to his head-quarters, then at Pertabghur, in a part of Oude where the country is fertile, and undulating with extensive fields of poppies and wheat. As the rebels in that kingdom could no longer keep the field, but only maintain a kind of desultory warfare while refractory chiefs could trust to the strength of their forts and the faith of their retainers, his operations partook less of the character of a campaign than a march to enforce the law, as he announced by a proclamation which he issued on the 26th of October.

While insisting that all kind of resistance must

cease on the part of the natives of Oude, this document added, "The most exact discipline will be preserved in the camps and on the march, and when there is no resistance, houses and crops will be spared, and no plundering allowed in the towns and villages. But wherever there is resistance, or even a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they have brought upon themselves. Their houses will be plundered, and their villages burned. This proclamation includes all ranks of the people, from the talookdars to the poorest ryots. The Commander-in-chief invites all the well-disposed to remain in their towns and villages, where they will be sure of his protection against all violence."

Despite his pacific intentions, Lord Clyde found himself compelled to march direct against the Rajah of Amethie, who was lord of a mud-built fort, situated in the midst of a wild jungle, where he was at the head of a force stated to be 20,000 men, with a park of artillery. To have battered his stronghold would have been an easy task for Lord Clyde's artillery, but as he now preferred peaceful measures, he placed himself in communication with

the rajah by letter, and fixed a date on which he was to decide, whether he would capitulate or defend himself.

On the 9th of November, when Clyde's advanced guard was within three miles of Amethie, it was fired on, and some syces came rushing back on the main body to announce that the enemy were in front. In the evening a messenger came from the rajah to express his regret for what had taken place, urging that it had been done without his orders by the sepoy deserters, who were beyond his control. He would submit, he added, and give up his cannon, but his authority was limited to his own troops. Distrusting all this, Lord Clyde left him the alternative of surrendering next day, or having his fort beaten to pieces about his ears.

On this, the rajah sent word that he would capitulate on the following day. Stealing out in the night, he came into the camp, by which he secured his own person, family, and property; but deluded Lord Clyde, who found that the whole body of sepoys, to the number of several thousands, had silently marched off in the dusk; and when Amethie was entered it was found to contain only 3,000 of the rajah's matchlock-men, with a few old guns, instead of thirty, which he was known to possess, but had hidden in the surrounding jungle.

Lord Clyde's pioneers and working parties cleared away much of the latter, completely dismantled the fort, and he proceeded on his march against another refractory chief, named Bene Madhoo, who had added to his own raj troops by receiving the fugitive sepoys who had eluded us at Amethie. While *en route* to his mud fort, which was situated at Shunkerpore, a messenger reached Lord Clyde from the son of Bene Madhoo, who offered to expel the latter, as he was an adherent of Brijeis Kudr (the begum's son), and make terms for himself with the British Government, to which he professed all loyalty. Believing that all this was but a scheme concocted between the father and son to elude forfeiture, he sent no reply, but continued to advance on Shunkerpore.

On the 15th he reached Pechwarra, which is situated three miles south-west of that place, while a separate column, under Sir Hope Grant, approached from the north-west by the road from Roy Bareilly, a town on the banks of the Sye, and ever noted for the manufacture of bows and arrows. Finding that he was about to be hemmed in, the wily rebel outwitted both Grant and Lord Clyde, by quietly quitting his fort in the dark, and moving swiftly off with all his troops, guns, women, treasure, and baggage; and in the morning, when Shunker-

pore was entered, nothing was found therein but a few old fakirs, some useless bullocks, and a mad elephant. When Bene Madhoo was next heard of, he had taken post at Poorwah, a town of Oude, from whence, with something of irony, he sent a messenger to Lord Clyde, asking what terms he might expect *now*.

As Shunkerpore was considered to be reduced, Lord Clyde broke up his force. Sir Hope Grant's column marched northwards, and crossed the Gogra into Goruckpore, a district which had been ceded to Britain by the Nabob of Oude in 1801, and the northern portion of which is covered with thick primeval forests; while a detachment from Lucknow moved in the direction of Fyzabad, and another, led by Colonel F. Evelagh, had orders to follow up Bene Madhoo, and keep him closely in sight. With the same purpose, Lord Clyde marched through Roy Bareilly, on the 20th of November, and on the 21st crossed the Sye, at the town of Kunpor, when Bene Madhoo was reported to be at Doondeakira, a place about thirty miles from Cawnpore, belonging to Ram Bux, a zemindar, or landowner, who had murdered in cold blood many of the poor fugitives from that place. His stronghold was attacked and captured; but again Bene Madhoo effected a safe retreat, or escape, with all his troops and their equipage, and for some days nothing was known of his whereabouts, though Lord Clyde, now thoroughly exasperated, made several marches till he found himself in the vicinity of Lucknow, when Mr. Roberts, the commissioner, reported that the pacification of the country was making rapid progress, and many chiefs had availed themselves of the amnesty offered by the proclamation of Her Majesty.

On the 6th of December, Lord Clyde, after having marched some twenty miles from his camp at Buneo, on the Cawnpore road, to Nawabgunge, on that to Fyzabad, heard from his spies that the ubiquitous Bene Madhoo was not more than twenty miles distant from his outposts, at a place on the river Gogra, named the Beyram Ghaut. Making sure to have him now, Lord Clyde, leaving all his infantry under Brigadier Horsford, dashed towards the river at full speed with all his cavalry and four guns of the horse artillery, but arrived just in time to find that the rebel force, under Bene Madhoo, had crossed it, and was safe on the other side, where he had moored all the boats. Halting for a day, till Horsford brought on the infantry, and leaving a detachment at the Ghaut to protect a brigade of engineers who, under Colonel Henry Drury Harness, were constructing a pontoon bridge, Lord Clyde marched to Fyzabad, where he

halted on the 10th of December; but being too impatient to await the colonel's bridge, he crossed by that of Fyzabad, to put in execution a previously arranged movement.

On the 25th of the preceding month, Sir Hope Grant had already crossed the river, and after attacking and routing a body of insurgents under the Rajah of Gonda, and taking possession of that place, had marched to Secroa, a town fifteen miles eastward of the Beyram Ghaut. He was thus in rear of Bene Madhoo, and the latter must have been cut off now by Clyde's advance, had he not discovered his peril in time, and eluded both generals by another rapid flight.

The frontier of Rohilcund, from whence these wandering insurgents had been driven into Oude, was now carefully watched by a chain of posts, with every practicable passage of the Gogra; and thus, on the east, west, and south, the foe was barred in a comparatively narrow space, and nothing remained for them now but to die on the field, or amid the miasmatic marshes of Nepaul.

On the 26th of December, after a twenty-one miles' march, Lord Clyde attacked a considerable body of them at a place named Burgidia; he turned their flank and routed them, and they were pursued till darkness fell, on which all their guns were captured; and next day his troops marched to the fort of Musjidia. "This place," reported Lord Clyde, "was taken after three hours of vertical fire from two mortars, and a cannonade from an eighteen-pounder and an eight-inch howitzer, the infantry being carefully laid out to command the enemy's embrasures and parapets. I have much satisfaction in dwelling on the manner in which the fort was captured, with a very trifling amount of loss to the troops engaged. The chief engineer, Colonel Harness, R.E., has reported it to be one of the strongest, as respects artificial defences, that he has seen in India. But, like all the others, it was without bomb-proof covers, and consequently fell easily into our hands after a few hours of well-directed fire. On the 29th the troops returned to Nanpara, made a forced march on the night of the 30th to Bankee, where the enemy had loitered under the Nana. He was surprised and attacked with great vigour, driven through the jungle, which he attempted to defend, and finally into and across the Rapter, the 7th Hussars entering that river with the fugitives."*

Next day, the general learned that all the various bodies of the rebels who had been retreating before him and Sir Hope Grant from the day of their arrival at Beyram Ghaut, had either surrendered or

been hurled over the frontier of Nepaul, and among these was a band under the indefatigable Begum of Oude. In these affairs we captured eighteen pieces of cannon.

Meanwhile, Brigadier Rowcroft had, on the 23rd of December, attacked Toolasepore, driving the rebel leader, Bala Row, from thence to the mountains, with the loss of two guns. "Sir Hope Grant," says Lord Clyde, "was alarmed about his flank being turned to the eastward, and to the north of Gorruckpore. Acting according to his instructions, and with great judgment, he made that point absolutely safe before renewing his attack on Bala Row. That being done, he advanced through the jungles on that leader, and took fifteen guns from him, almost without a show of resistance on the part of the rebels, the latter dispersing, and seeking refuge in the adjacent hills, and Bala Row fleeing into the interior, as the Nana and his brother had done before him. Thus has the contest in Oude been brought to an end, and the resistance of 150,000 armed men been subdued with a very moderate loss to Her Majesty's troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy."*

The spirit of revolt was not dead, but the Mutiny was virtually at an end, and the malaria of the *Terai* of Nepaul proved as fatal to the fugitives as the swords from which they fled. The infamous Nana Sahib and his brother died amid the jungles there, in 1859, as Marshman asserts; the King of Delhi, by that time, escaping the capital punishment his crimes merited, was expiating them as a transported convict; the ambitious Begum of Oude was glad to find a peaceful asylum at Khatmandoo; the Ranee of Jhansi had been slain, as we have said, by one of our hussars; Tantia Topee, after wandering from place to place with many armed followers and much treasure, was at length betrayed by his most trusted friend, and was seized on the 7th of April while asleep in the jungle, and tried and executed at Sepra. It has been said that, "with the exception of the Ranee of Jhansi and the Begum of Oude, he was the only great leader whom the rebellion produced, and the extraordinary energy and valour he displayed might have entitled him to a more lenient penalty; but for the monster who had taken his seat on a stage, and directed the diabolical massacre at the Ghaut of Cawnpore, there could be no compassion."

On the 8th of July, 1859, Lord Canning proclaimed peace throughout India; and on the 12th of October he commenced a tour through the provinces much in the style of a royal progress, re-

* Despatches.

* Ibid.

ceiving the homage of chiefs and nobles in Her Majesty's name, and holding levees with a display of magnificence well calculated to dazzle the Oriental mind, bestowing *khelats*, or dresses of honour, and ornaments on those whose services during the Mutiny were deemed worthy of such an acknowledgment.

At Cawnpore—where a memorial church has since

staff, "a flock of black coats," and about 200 officers in various uniforms. *Khelats* and presents were given to the various princes; but to one only, the Rajah of Rewah, was this done personally by Lord Canning, who, with his own hands, hung a chain round his neck, and he specially eulogised the Chikaree Rajah for his marked devotion to the British cause, in having not only borne arms against



THE MEMORIAL AT CAWNPORE.

been erected over the well where the victims of the massacre lie—he held a *darbar* on the 3rd of November, which was famous for its splendour. There were present from eighty to one hundred rajahs, with their brothers and Ministers, clad in the richest and most brilliantly coloured silks, blazing with jewels, and not two of them dressed alike. The hour fixed for the *darbar* was two o'clock, by which time all were in their seats; a passage-tent, lined by the grenadiers of the 35th Regiment, led to the *darbar*-tent, a double-poled pavilion, lined with yellow. Lord Canning sat in the centre, and on his right were all the rajahs; on his left, Lord Clyde, the

the rebels, but offered his son as a hostage to save the life of a British officer.

"Lord Clyde," said the viceroy, "I wish to bring to your notice the conduct of this brave man who showed such marked devotion to the British cause; and I trust that every officer of the Queen now present will remember this, and should they ever come in contact with this rajah, act accordingly."*

When the late Company's charter was renewed in 1853, the Supreme Council, which had been invested with the power of imperial legislation, was increased by the addition of one member from

* *Times*.

each presidency, and lieutenant-governorship, and two judges of the Supreme Court; but now a more important alteration was made upon the transference of the Government of India to the Crown. The two judges were excluded, and the Viceroy was instructed to summon additional members, not exceeding twelve in number, when engaged in making laws. One-half the number was to consist of non-official members, who might be either Europeans or natives; thus the latter, for the first time,

when the war with China came on. The actual merit of availing ourselves of their services lies with the Marquis of Dalhousie, who, when a sepoy regiment refused to embark for Rangoon, supplied its place by a battalion of Punjaubees; and this example was followed by Lord Canning in the war we are about to relate.

The transference of the East India Company's establishments to the Crown included the transfer of their European troops of all ranks and arms,



PORTRAIT OF LORD CLYDE.

obtained a voice in the deliberations of the State. The earliest of these members of Council were the Rajahs of Benares and Putteala, and Rajah Dinkur Rao, all of whom had been steadfast in their allegiance to Britain during the revolt. To the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, similar councils were attached, with the same admixture of natives of position.

To the assistance derived through the annexation of the Punjaub, the suppression of the Mutiny was mainly due; but the full value of this great nursery for soldiers of high courage—which was fortunately free from that intolerable nuisance, the caste prejudices of the sepoys—was fully developed

estimated at about 24,000 men. On the return of Lord Clyde to Europe, it fell to the lot of Sir Hugh Rose, who succeeded him as Commander-in-chief, to superintend and direct the amalgamation of the Queen's forces with those of the late Company. By his zeal, energy, and professional skill on this occasion, he succeeded in reforming many old-standing abuses and defects, and greatly promoted the comfort and efficiency of the troops. Three regiments of Hussars were eventually added to the cavalry of the line; and to the infantry were added the Bombay, Bengal, and Madras European Fusileers and Light Infantry, now respectively numbered from the 101st to the 109th Foot.

Though this made no change in the position or prospects of the men, they protested against being handed over from one service to another without being allowed some voice in the matter, and such a strong feeling of dissatisfaction was manifested, that it attained the aspect of insubordination in one corps. To all who objected to the change, Lord Canning offered their discharge and a free passage home to Britain. In reality the soldiers felt no objection to the royal service; but, not unnaturally, looked for a small bounty, similar to that which the royal troops received when, at the expiration of their time, they re-enlisted into other regiments. As this expectation, which was perfectly reasonable, was injudiciously denied them, 10,000 men demanded their discharge; hence the State, by the payment of their passage home, in addition to the loss of more than the petty bounty would have cost, lost the invaluable services of a body of trained and seasoned British soldiers, accustomed to war and hardship. Contrary to the advice of the most eminent Indian statesmen, it was resolved to abolish the local European army, the value of which had been insisted on by Lord Cornwallis and all his successors.*

The Indian Navy—as the small squadron of armed schooners belonging to the Company, employed as a species of police in the Indian seas, was termed—was abolished, and the duty assigned exclusively to ships of the Royal Navy.

During the year that saw all these changes, 1859, the indigo districts of Bengal were much disturbed by the refusal of the ryots to cultivate that plant. The cultivation had never been very remunerative, but they were bound to it by advances forced on them by the planters, and by contracts to which they were often obliged to affix their mark before witnesses, though ignorant of their contents. When once they accepted an advance, they could never free themselves from the planter's books; and hence the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. F. J. Halliday, on his return from Dacca, was surrounded by thousands of men and women, who lined the banks for a whole day's journey, crying aloud and piteously to him for justice.

To meet this new difficulty, the Government passed an Act inflicting a penalty for breaking the contracts of the year, and appointing a commission to investigate the causes of complaint among the ryots. They were fully substantiated; and Sir Charles Wood, Bart., who in that year had been appointed Secretary of State for India and President of the Indian Council, refused to sanction the proposal, which had been made, to consider the

non-performance of a civil contract by a ryot the ground of a criminal prosecution.

The Indian debt had been increased by the Mutiny by fifty crores, and the yearly expenditure, by increased military charges, had risen from thirty-three to fifty crores, while the actual deficit amounted to ten crores, for the financial department had generally been the weak point of the Indian Government. Famous though the land had been in the production of brilliant soldiers, able diplomatists, and eminent statesmen, it had never had a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

To supply this deficiency, Sir Charles Wood resolved to add a financial member to the Executive Council, and for this new post selected Mr. James Wilson, one of the secretaries of the Treasury in London, whose great speciality was finance. He proceeded to have a complete revision of the Customs on scientific principles; as an exceptional impost to meet the monetary charges caused by the late revolt, he laid on an income tax for five years, he imposed a licence duty, and remodelled the currency, withdrawing the privilege of issuing bank-notes, which had been granted by charter to the Bengal banks. A state paper currency was thus created. All his plans were most successful. In less than three years the heavy deficit was removed; but, unhappily, ere all his reforms were complete, Mr. Wilson had to succumb to the climate, and death cut short his career.

In the year 1860, the penal code for India, which Mr. Macaulay had drawn up in 1837, after being for years bandied from one commission to another, having at length been approved of, became law; while, at the same time, the Legislative Council approved of an excellent code of civil and criminal procedure, which substituted simplicity and rapidity for the stupidly complicated, antiquated, and tardy forms of pleading which before so completely impeded the course of justice.

In this year John, Lord Elphinstone, formerly Governor of Madras, and latterly of Bombay, who had rendered the highest service to the State during the revolt, by the vigorous repression of every hostile tendency, and by the organisation of the force which crushed the insurrection in Central India, returned to Britain, with his constitution, after thirty-three years' service, so seriously impaired by the latter labours and anxieties of his post, that he sank into a premature grave. He had formerly been an officer of the Horse Guards, and went to India at an early age.

His Highness the Nizam, who had remained steadfast and true to us during the Mutiny, was

* Marshman.

rewarded with every honour Lord Canning could bestow, and with the more substantial gift of three of the provinces, which he assigned to meet the payment of his contingent and other monetary obligations, as well as the remission of the balance

of his debt to the extent of half a crore of rupees. He had likewise transferred to him the principality of Shorapore, which had been confiscated by the Viceroy, in consequence of the treason of the rajah of that place.

CHAPTER LVI.

THIRD WAR WITH CHINA.

THE year 1860 saw us for a third time in collision with China: the Celestial Empire, the land of opium, of singularly combined civilisation and barbarity, ignorance and exclusiveness. During the three preceding years, a bad feeling had existed in the minds of the people there against Europeans and Christians generally, and this was particularly manifested in what may be called Further India, or the Asiatic empire of Annam, comprising a great portion of the peninsula between Hindostan and China, or the regions generally known as Cochin China and Tonquin. At Vinh-tri, in that country, the storm against the Christians broke out in 1857, and in the persecution and atrocities that ensued, none surpassed in cruelty the governor of Nam-dinh, a mandarin who bitterly hated all Christians, and posted the following notice on the gates of the city:—

“Is it possible that people born in this great kingdom can give up the traditions of their ancestors to observe the bad practices of the religion of Europeans? What extreme folly! Have any of you ever been in Europe, so as to be able to form any conception of its customs? I once visited it in my youth in the way of business, and what I learnt was this: there are no more than seventeen large villages, whose inhabitants are poor and barbarous, and the soldiers are not so many as in the single province of Nam-dinh. Can you hope for anything from them? So little are they able to help you, so powerless are they against our king, that should they appear on our coast with their ships of war, I would, to show my scorn, open my theatre before their eyes. And what can you expect from the priests of Jesus and their followers, who are put to death and sent into exile, and their God does not interfere to deliver them from our hands?”*

Under pressure, he compelled the Christians to

burn their books, trample on the cross, and insult it by blasphemous words, and in some places they had flesh torn by red-hot pincers from the body. Whole villages were destroyed, convents and churches burned and the inhabitants scattered or put to terrible deaths; and these outrages were continued till a treaty with France, on the 5th of June, 1862, put an end to the persecution, though at Tonquin, even after it, a priest was executed, and several Christians were drowned or burned, “so loth were the persecutors to give up the prey of which they once had possession.”*

While the French troops were employed on the coast of Annam, the mandarins derived so much confidence that when our envoy was entering the Peiho river, expecting to obtain the final ratification of the treaty of Tientsin, which had been signed on the 26th of June, 1858 (while a similar treaty had been signed between France and China the day following), a heavy fire, was most wantonly opened upon his squadron from the forts on the bank, thus evincing what might “be expected to arise in dealing with a nation hitherto impenetrable to the principles of European morality. International law implies a reciprocity of obligation, which has never practically existed between China and Britain, and even Lord Elgin’s treaty created rather a contingent right of coercion than a reliable contract between responsible Governments.”†

The correctness of this speculation was proved when Mr. Bruce, the envoy, finding on his arrival at Shanghai his reception at Peking would be evaded, procured the escort of Admiral Hope’s squadron, which, in attempting to force the entrance to the Peiho, was repulsed, notwithstanding his own gallantry and that of his officers and men, by a fire of well-directed artillery, backed by the overwhelming forces of the Celestial Empire. The subsequent failure of the American Minister to

* Shortland’s “Persecutions in Annam,” &c.

* Ibid.

† *Times*, 1859.

obtain an audience of the emperor, afforded sufficient proof that submission to Chinese demands was unlikely to be attended with any satisfactory results, while they were disposed to treat with contempt Europeans in general and Christians in particular.

Though the repulse of Admiral Hope's squadron partook more of the nature of a surprise than anything else, the British mind cannot be easily reconciled to a defeat of any kind, especially one at sea, however superior may be the hostile force; consequently an expedition against the "Flowerly Land" was instantly prepared to assail it by land and water.

The command of the troops was assigned to Sir James Hope Grant, and Hongkong was named as the rendezvous. It had been ceded to Britain at the close of the former war, and then new names, such as Victoria Peak, Gough Peak, Mount Parker, and others, were given to localities the titles of which were unpronounceable by Europeans, when it was the "Red Harbour" of the Spanish Ladrões.

Ships were chartered in great numbers, and hence our troops arrived with great rapidity. Under the orders of Major Temple a singular corps of Canton Coolies was embodied. They were clad in the Chinese dress, but were barefooted, and wore on their heads conical hats of plaited bamboo. Thirty-seven shillings and sixpence per month was their pay, but, from a rumour having been spread that in battle the British barbarians would take shelter behind them, the major could only recruit from the veriest rascals of the place, many of them being known robbers and murderers. Those who could speak a little English were made sergeants and corporals, and when this corps departed crime disappeared in Hongkong.*

As a body of French troops—chiefly those who had been occupied in Annam—were to co-operate with ours, orders were given to take, mutually, possession of the island of Chusan (or Chow-shan), which is fertile and well cultivated, and possesses a delightful climate. To carry this arrangement into effect, on the 21st of April, about noon, the men-of-war and transports moved into the harbour, and Sir Hope Grant with the British and French admirals, escorted by a guard of the Royal Marines, entered Singhai, the principal town of the island, from whence the inhabitants are frequently called Sing-hae-hyen. It is surrounded by walls thirty feet high and two miles in extent, strengthened at every 200 yards by square stone towers. It is so much intersected by canals that

* Swinhoe's "North China Campaign."

it is said to have some resemblance in this respect to Venice.

Unopposed, Sir Hope Grant and the naval commanders reached the residence of the Chinese military governor; and the mandarins, finding opposition futile, came to a conference on board the head-quarter ship of Grant, when it was settled that the town was to be held in the same manner as Canton, and that, in taking possession, the European troops were to aid them in controlling the people.

For this duty the Lanarkshire Regiment, a wing of the Royal Marines, and a battery of artillery under Major Rotton, came on shore, under the command of Colonel George M. Reeves (of the first-named corps), acting as brigadier; but eventually three companies of infantry were deemed sufficient to hold the town. As many baggage animals were necessary before the troops could move inland, Canton, Manilla, and Amoy were searched for ponies; but the Chinese, avaricious and cunning, demanded enormous prices for them. Sir Hope Grant and his staff now sailed for Pootoo; and on the 24th of July the whole expedition put once more to sea, and proceeded to the Gulf of Pechili, which our fleet entered on the 27th, at the same moment when that of France could be descried, under sail and steam, advancing to the same anchorage.

The following is a detail of the force under Sir Hope Grant:—

In the Cavalry Brigade were the 1st Dragoon Guards, Fane's Cavalry, Probyn's Sikh Cavalry, and Colonel Milward's Battery.

First Division of Infantry, 1st Brigade: 1st Royal Scots, H.M. 31st or Huntingdon Regiment, the Loodiana Light Infantry. 2nd Brigade: 2nd or Queen's, H.M. 60th Rifles, 15th Punjab Infantry, Colonel Barry's battery of the Royal Artillery, and Captain Desborough's, with three subdivisions of the Royal Engineers.

Second Division, 3rd Brigade: H.M. 3rd Buffs, H.M. 44th Foot, and 8th Punjab Infantry. 4th Brigade: H.M. 67th and 99th Foot, 19th Punjab Infantry, Captains Gavin and Mowbray's batteries of the Royal Artillery, and Major Graham's company of the Royal Engineers.

In the Reserve were the guns of position, the Madras Sappers, the mountain guns, and Major Rotton's Battery.

On the 30th of July, when the squadrons were within five miles of the coast, it appeared so insipidly flat that only a few green mounds were visible at the line where sea and sky seemed to meet; but ere long these mounds proved to be the famous

Takoo Forts. The dawn of the following morning came in ; it was windy and cloudy, with a drizzling rain sowing land and sea. This caused some delay in attacking the forts, and it was rumoured that the emperor had sent Sir Hope Grant a message, to the effect that 40,000 Tartars were in position at the Pehtang Forts, with 200,000 more men quartered between them and Tientsin.

In a boat, with the American flag flying, Major Fisher of the Royal Engineers (an officer who had surveyed most of the coast secretly in the preceding year) entered the River Peiho, and after closely reconnoitring the forts, reported that they were unchanged since he had seen them in 1859.

Sir Hope now issued orders for the disembarkation of the troops. Each man was to land with his water-bottle full and three days' cooked provisions in his haversack, sixty rounds of ammunition, his great-coat, cloth trowsers, summer tunic, and wicker helmet. Those in the boats to carry the great-coat folded, with canteen attached to it ; those in the troop-boats also to have the coat folded, but not strapped to the back.

All knapsacks were left on board ; neither tents nor baggage of any kind were carried by the 2nd Brigade of Infantry, the first portion of which was to land on the 1st of August. Care was to be taken that all should leave the boats with deliberation, so as to insure the rifle-locks and ammunition being dry.

The 1st of August dawned ; the wind came in light puffs, and a torrent of rain poured steadily down on the dark sea, which was still and calm as a mill-pond. After the landing of our Second Brigade, among the first ashore were General Sir Hope Grant, General Michel, the French commander, with the 101st and 102nd Regiments of the Imperial Line, and a few Chasseurs, who laughed at their own appearance, as they were mounted on wretched-looking Japanese ponies.

The signal for a general disembarkation was then made from the flag-ship ; and from the whole squadron, which consisted of sixty-six sail, the boats put off for the low, flat shore with their armed freights, the gunboats each towing six great launches, filled with troops ; while the French, in gunboats and Chinese junks, were landing at the same time close by.

The sullen-looking masses of the Takoo Forts loomed within a short distance of the united squadrons ; but, save a Tartar flag that fluttered out on the largest, they gave no sign of life. At two in the afternoon, the gunboats moored at the distance of two thousand yards from them ; but all the embrasures were masked, and no sign of troops

was visible anywhere. The town was seen in their rear, and on the causeway that led to Takoo a Tartar cavalry picket was visible, but their commander made no communication on either hand.

Next, two men of rank, in sedan-chairs, accompanied by a mounted escort, were seen being hurriedly borne along the causeway from the town. At three in the afternoon the allied generals determined on making a closer reconnaissance of this causeway, or road, at the head of 200 British, and the same number of French, soldiers.

The former portion were detailed from the 2nd or Queen's, and the boats were pulled shoreward to what proved to be a mere mud-bank, on which they grounded, and there, in landing, the men jumped out, and were up to their middles in mud and water. On reaching the shore, a plot of soft, sticky, slippery mud extended on every side. "Through this we waded," says the *Times* correspondent, "sinking ankle-deep at every step. For fully three-quarters of a mile did we flounder and struggle before reaching a hard patch of similar mud, evidently covered by the sea during high tides. Nearly every man was disembarassed of his lower integuments, and our gallant brigadier led on his men in no other garment than his shirt. Immediately after the reconnoitring party had effected a landing, the Tartars retreated along the causeway, and *then* an order was given to disembark the rest of the forces at once. This was effected without accident by five o'clock, not a single shot having been fired by the enemy."

Depressingly dark, sad, and dreary seemed the country around the advancing troops—on every side black sheets of mud and slime, with sombre pools of brackish water, met the eye. The contents of the latter were quite unfit for drinking, and not a well of pure water was to be found, even when we advanced into a district that was dotted by sand-hills, useful for cover to skirmishers.

Sir Hope Grant had arranged that the British troops should keep the right, and thus take ground on the side nearest the town ; while the French were, of course, to be on our left ; but the combined forces had barely begun to move, when a French colonel of Chasseurs, more zealous than courteous, took possession of the ground allotted to us, by rushing, at the head of his battalion, along the causeway close to the gate.

Ordering his bugles to sound a halt, Sir Hope Grant instantly reported the circumstance to General Cousin de Montauban, who sent the chief of his staff to recall the intruders, on which the British columns got in motion again. The battalion of

the 60th Rifles formed the extreme right of our advance; the 2nd Foot were on the left, and the 15th Punjaubees were in the centre.

They found themselves on a species of island, as it was separated from the causeway by a ditch of great depth, and forty feet in width; but "forward" was the word. The whole brigade plunged in, and in an instant found themselves up to their pipe-clayed waistbelts in black slush and slime of the most odious description, emitting, moreover, a horrible stench; but they struggled onward, assisting each other by turns, till all reached the road, or causeway, that lay beyond.

hand, while he might be unable to save the inhabitants from havoc and sack on the other. So the troops could but lie on the causeway, in the mud, or wherever they were halted, and impatiently wait for the dawn of the next day, when the gunboats were to begin the attack.

A strange rumour was now spread that these vast forts, which loomed so strong and dark in aspect, had been deserted, and hence the silence in and around them. On this, Captain Williams, the Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General, accompanied by a few of the 60th Rifles, crept near and entered. He found four men asleep on the



A CHINESE JUNK.

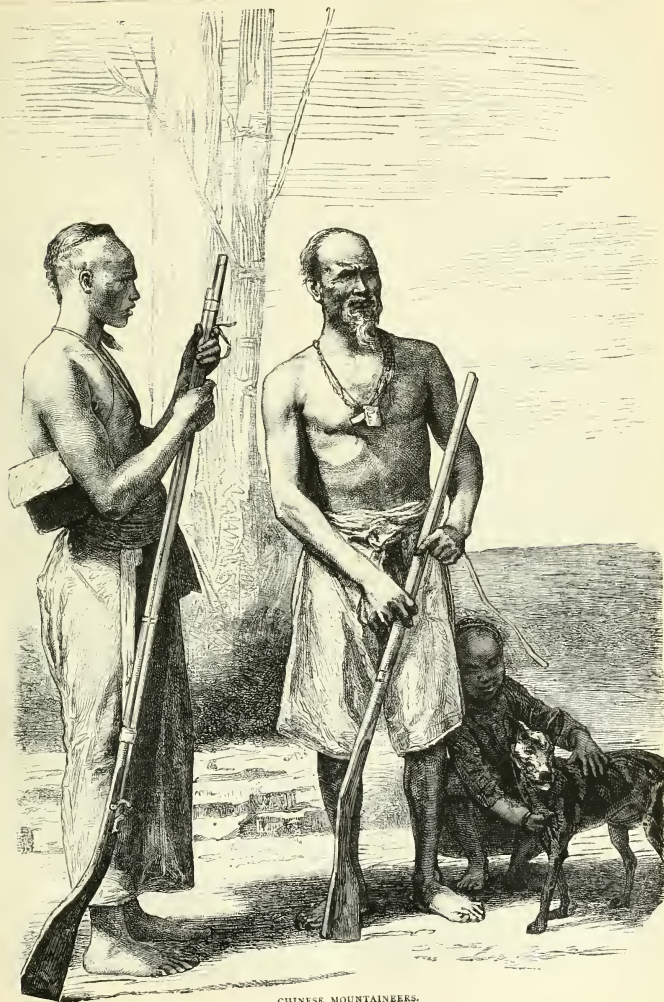
The setting sun now loomed, luridly yet duskily, through masses of cloud, while from the causeway our troops reconnoitred the position. At the wooden barrier of the town, which lay on their right, the causeway terminated, but at a species of moat, as the path had been recently cut for a space of thirty feet, and over the gap was thrown a bridge, which was occupied without delay by the 60th Rifles, and a hundred French infantry, all of whom were astonished that not a shot was fired upon them. Sir Hope Grant was pressed to capture the town at once; but the sun was at the flat and dim horizon now, and evening would darken fast into night.

He was ignorant of the strength of the forces that held the forts, and it would have been alike unwise and rash to entangle his troops in the narrow streets of a strange Chinese town on one

mats, otherwise the forts were empty, and the guns mounted in their embrasures were nearly all dummies formed of wood!

While our astonished soldiers were laughing at a discovery so strange and unexpected, some peasants gave them the alarming intelligence that the works were undermined, and might blow up at any moment. In the night certainly, some Tartar troops approached stealthily, but were repulsed by a rattling volley of musketry, and when day broke Sir Hope Grant set the sappers to work, and they speedily laid open the mines, of which there were four.

In circles of ten feet diameter and seven deep, live eight-inch shells were placed in tin cases, connected by fuses and traps, into which flintlocks were set, with long and strong cords attached to the triggers; and so arranged under a matting



CHINESE MOUNTAINEERS.

covered by a thin coating of earth, that the weight of a man would throw him on the traps, and cause a most dreadful explosion of the whole contrivance.

The generals, now that the day was in, ordered the troops to take up their quarters in the town.

On the 4th of August General Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala), with a column of troops, sailed from the main army for the mouth of the Pehtang river, and his vessels passed over the shallow bar, at half ebb, without grounding. Then, for three miles in front of the fort, there lay a dreary waste of mud and ooze, amid which the sea-birds fed and waded. On the south bank, and in rear of the fort, stood the village of Pehtang.

It had but one landing-place, which was assigned to the French, while our engineers and man-of-war's men proceeded to erect four wooden jetties, under the superintendence of Captain Barlow, of H.M.S. *Pearl*, twenty-one guns. General Napier occupied a joss-house; General Michel, with his staff, had another; while Sir Hope Grant, with the head-quarter staff, occupied the fort.

The mud-built cottages of Pehtang were jointly held by portions of the allied force. So far as the eye could reach, this portion of the boasted "Flowery Land" looked painfully bleak and desolate. It was one vast plain of mud—mud everywhere. There no shrub and no blade of grass grew, nor green thing, save the rushes, which were used to thatch the cottages of Pehtang.

The branch road out of the latter was the causeway to Peiho, on which our advance had passed the first dreary night in China. Sir Hope Grant issued strict orders against pillaging; hence many men were flogged for doing so—among others two of the 60th, for taking a little pig—while the French were openly capturing swine all day for their messes, as they were fully entitled to do in an enemy's country. Yet the 15th Punjaubees, who by choice occupied a pawnbroker's establishment, "made some good pickings out of their quarters there."

Many conflicting rumours now reached Sir Hope Grant as to the strength, disposition, and intentions of the forces then mustering against him under San-Kolinsin, the Chinese general. They were estimated at 20,000 men, drawn up hastily from the provinces, in addition to 40,000 Mantchoorian bannermen and retainers of the forty-eight Tartar princes. A reconnaissance assured Sir Hope Grant that there was no other way by which the Peiho Forts could be reached, save through that half sea of obnoxious mud; so, on the 3rd, he

returned to inspect the causeway once more. At four in the afternoon the French, who were to take the lead, advanced, 4,000 strong, under General Collineau, supported by two three-pounder rifled mountain guns, followed by 1,000 men from the 2nd, the 60th, and the 15th Punjaubees, under Brigadier Sutton. Along the causeway this force marched for three miles, seeing nothing but a monotonous expanse of dark mud and fetid water on each hand, till a wayside temple was reached, and it proved to be the enemy's extreme advanced post in the direction of the invaders.

Half a mile beyond this joss-house stood a bridge, across which the Tartar vedettes were seen galloping to join the main body of their out-picket (if it could so be called), which was about 300 strong, and held some houses at a little distance. From these they opened a heavy fire of musketry and wall-pieces, the moment the French had left the bridge behind. General Collineau then ordered his men to deploy and advance at the double, till they found cover in rear of some grave-mounds that lay in the vicinity.

On this the Tartar picket took post in rear of the houses, which had red tiles with curving eaves, and then a body of their cavalry—some 2,000 strong—came suddenly into sight, and extending to the right and left, threatened to overlap the flanks of the approaching column; but the French cannon, two pieces, now came to the front and opened fire, on which the Tartars at once gave way, so again the line of march was steadily resumed.

Deploying as the ground hardened, the French now took ground in line to the right, and the British to the left, but still the place was marshy, with muddy pools, and the only green tufts seen were those of the salt-plant.

Now there came slowly into sight a large intrenched camp, extending right across the line of advance, defended by a wall with embrasures; at the same time Brigadier Sutton, finding that the Tartar cavalry menaced his left flank, threw it back by a change of front, while a portion of the 2nd, or Queen's, started out, in extended order, to skirmish, till their advance was halted by a pool of water, which, ere they were recalled, compelled them to fall back.

Meanwhile the Tartars had been firing briskly, but as they were beyond range, their bullets pattered harmlessly into the mud nearly midway between the lines. The brigade pushed forward again and halted in line, within twelve hundred yards of the enemy. Again the skirmishers were thrown forward, but were recalled by bugle sound,

as the matchlock firing became severe to all appearance. Doubtful whether, as a reconnoitring force, the brigade should advance or retire, the officers commanding ordered their men to lie down and rest, while they sent messengers back to Pehtang for further orders; on which Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban came galloping on in person, to see how matters stood. On consideration, they resolved to bring back the brigade, as they had no cavalry there to act against the mounted Tartars.

As the retrograde movement began, two British field-pieces from the rear were brought up by six horses each, at full speed, to cover it. In this reconnaissance only seven men of the allied force were killed, not by bullets point blank, but by their falling downward through the air. The Tartars made no attempt to follow; but after this victory, for such they conceived it to be, they became more defiant, and were wont to shout, shriek, brandish their swords, and gesticulate grotesquely within a few hundred yards of our sentinels. As pure water was greatly wanted now, Admiral Hope sent Mr. Morrison, his interpreter, to Hong-fuh, governor of the province, with some white flags inscribed with Chinese characters, and to state that it was the European custom to respect such as flags of truce. On this, Hong-fuh, thinking that we had been terrified by the valour of his Tartars in the affair of the causeway, at once sent letters to the plenipotentiaries—the Earl of Elgin and Baron Gros—but they bluntly declined to treat with him till the British and French colours were unfurled over Takoo.

By this time our King's Dragoon Guards and the other cavalry were all impatience to measure swords with the Tartar horsemen, and on the 12th of August, by drum, bugle, and trumpet, long before the sun was above the horizon, 10,000 British troops and 5,000 French were under arms, and on the march to leave behind the muddy wastes around Pehtang. It was arranged that our First Division, with the French, should advance by the causeway, and make a direct attack on the fortified camp at Tinhó; while the Second Division, led by General Napier, after making a détour at some distance to the right, acting in concert with the Dragoon Guards and Fane's and Probyn's cavalry, should cross the muddy desert, with the view of cutting off all fugitives who should seek the Tientsin road, and drive them back upon the Takoo Forts.

A portion of the 99th Foot was left to guard Pehtang, together with the Government stores; while one officer, with forty bayonets from every

other corps, remained there to form a general baggage guard. "The march was a fearful one across that sea of mud," we are told: "many dropped out of the ranks, and lay, sick of life and heedless of death, by the sides of the gloomy grave-mounds; and many more, the Punjaubees especially, finding their boots an impediment to their progress, threw them away, and rolling up their nether garments, pushed on, bare-legged, through the mire."

Deep amid the fetid ooze sank the cannon wheels, and deeper still the hoofs of the cavalry, yet horse and gun were kept in their places along the line of that horrid march; but maledictions, both loud and deep, were heaped from time to time on China and the Chinese, till the harder ground was gained, and with stern and revengeful satisfaction the troops, though haggard and worn with fatigue, saw a long line of Tartar cavalry, clad in conical hats and flowing garments, drawn up in a kind of order of battle to bar their farther advance.

It was four in the morning when the troops began to leave Pehtang, and so deep was the mud, so slow the progress, and toilsome the way, that it was not until half-past seven a.m. that the last section left the village. On a halt being sounded, General Grant sent forward Captain Milward's battery of the Royal Artillery, three Armstrong guns, with a company of the Buffs on each flank, and one in the rear. The rest of the infantry formed contiguous close columns, with the other Armstrong guns and Major Rotton's rocket battery to protect their left flank. On the right stood Stirling's battery, with a troop of cavalry in the rear, impatiently watching an opportunity for action. Protected by a wing of the 67th, the Canton Coolie Corps, under Major Temple, came with the stretchers for the wounded, and carrying the reserve ammunition.

At 2,000 yards distance the Tartar cavalry stood in line, waiting to be attacked, but in a fashion they were unaccustomed to. The three Armstrongs in front were ordered forward for 500 yards, when they opened fire. Gap after gap now began to yawn in the Tartar line, as horse and man went down beneath the terrible shells from those magnificent cannon, and for a few minutes the Tartars kept closing inward to preserve their front, while firing their antiquated jingals, without the slightest effect save noise.

After a brief space of time a wavering movement began, and one wing of the Tartars swerved away to the right and another to the left, as if to menace both our flanks. Our cavalry on the right were

closing their files in fierce and exulting impatience to be at them ; but they were disappointed, as the sharp fire of Stirling's guns drove the Tartars back in wild disorder ; but those on the left seemed men of better mettle, for regardless alike of Milward's guns and the sharp rifle fire of the advanced guard, and of Rotton's rockets too, they kept moving on towards the Kentish Buffs, when suddenly a party of them changed their front and charged the 67th, the 99th, and 19th Punjaubees, who formed our Fourth Brigade, a movement that caused intense consternation among the Coolie Corps, who were all huddled in rear of the first-named regiment and some marines.

Brigadier Reeves at once gave the order to form squares ; but now the boom of heavy cannon and the roar of musketry were heard from another point, announcing that the First Division and the French had begun to storm the intrenched camp, and the terrified Tartar horsemen began to rush about in all directions.

In obedience to orders, our First Division, under Sir John Michell, C.B., had left Pehatang at ten that morning, and marched in a direct line towards the intrenched camp at Tinho. Brigadier Stanley led the way with the First Brigade, strengthened now by a company of the Royal Engineers, an Armstrong battery, a thousand of Montauban's French infantry, and some of his guns. Closely followed the Second Brigade, with a rocket battery, two more nine-pounders, and the main body of the French troops. On reaching the enemy's first picket-house, already referred to, the skirmishers of the Royal Scots were extended on the left, and those of the 31st on the right ; and soon after, Barry's Armstrongs and Martin's nine-pounders opened a crashing fire on the enemy's works at 800 yards range, in conjunction with a French gun battery on the left and an allied rocket battery.

The Tartars were now to learn in grim earnest what European fighting is, and what are the appliances of European warfare. In some twenty minutes or so after the cannonade began, their cavalry were seen on the left of the intrenched camp, and then some more on the right. The guns were now closed up to within 500 yards, and played alike on the position and the cavalry of the right, who were quickly dispersed. The "advance" was now sounded for both horse and foot, and then the position was found to be abandoned.

As Stirling's half-battery was incapable of following over such heavy ground the cavalry to which it was attached, it remained in the rear under an escort of thirty of Fane's Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Macgregor, who found himself suddenly

charged by more than a hundred Tartars, with such spirit and fury that it required all the energy he and his thirty Sikhs could exert to meet them. But they did so effectually, and completely routed them ; yet Macgregor was wounded in his face, which was, moreover, severely scorched by the explosion of a matchlock near it.

The First Division and the French were now in full possession of the intrenched camp that commanded the road from Pehatang to Tinho, along which our exulting skirmishers were quietly taking farewell shots at the Tartars, who, as Sir Hope Grant had foreseen, were now rushing in headlong flight towards the Takoo Forts, leaving the whole plain in front of Tinho strewn with their dead and wounded, the bodies of both showing the most dreadful wounds and lacerations, the effect of our round shot and shells fired point blank.

The entire Tartar force mustered only 7,000 horsemen, and behaved with enduring courage, especially when we consider that though many had matchlocks and jingals, more had only horses and spears to oppose to British and French riflemen, armed also with the finest artillery the world had yet seen. Hence our loss was most trivial—only two Sikhs were killed and about twelve wounded.

After a two hours' halt in front of Tinho, the men of the Second Division were ordered to pile arms and bivouac for the night. They had no tents, and no provisions save the cooked rations which they had brought from the ships in their haversacks. All around them the ground was dotted by the corpses of the enemy's slain. The entire loss of the latter was never known, while great numbers of their wounded were borne away by their fugitive comrades. Some who lay near the bivouac implored our men, in words they could not understand, to kill them outright and end their bodily misery.

The flat country could be plainly seen from the walls of the captured camp, and the general could then see another camp, about three miles distant, which seemed to enclose a village named Tangkoo. Like that they had already traversed, a causeway led thereto, and on each side of it lay a wide ditch full of the inevitable black mud. On the right, the plain was intersected in every direction by ditches and watercourses, while on the left was slimy ground of that kind through which the troops had passed. All this plain seemed impracticable for cannon, and after their horrible morning march from Pehatang the men were weary ; but General Montauban was anxious to push on and have another brush with the Tartars. Sir Hope Grant, more wary, or more mercifully disposed to the

troops, declined to take any part in an attack; yet he was prevailed upon eventually to lend the 60th Rifles and 15th Punjaubees to Montauban, who opened fire upon Tangkoo with his rifled cannon at 1,800 yards' distance.

The Chinese responded to this with such warmth, that after an hour's firing Montauban drew off, and thereafter the night passed quietly in the dreary neighbourhood of Tinho (which is the name of a district, as well as village, in the province of Chihli), the men finding rest upon or shelter behind the strange grave-mounds that were scattered all about the neighbourhood till next morning, when the bugles sounded *réveillés*, and the sun came up in unclouded splendour.

The allied generals now found that the intrenchments captured at Tinho were merely outposts for the Tartar cavalry, within the works of which were mud-built huts for their accommodation, with a species of awning set on poles in the centre, for the mandarin in command, whom some averred to be no other than the famous San-Kolinsin. As the baggage had now been brought on from Pektang, our troops got up their tents, but during the night of the 13th two sharp *alertes* brought the men under arms, and a Tartar horseman was captured, whose equipment, as described by Swinhoe, afforded a good specimen of the kind of troops ours had now to meet.

He was armed with a rusty sword and spear, and rode in a wooden saddle, with circular solid iron stirrups slung in leathern thongs. The saddle was strapped to the pony by two girths of leather, one round the belly and the other close to the forelegs. The bridle was of leather, fastened by hob-nails, supporting a rough iron bit, to which rope-reins were attached. The animal he rode was a sturdy little filly like the Shetland breed, and the rider was supposed to be a Mongolian. On his head was a cap shaped like a mandarin's, but minus the loose scarlet silk on the crown, though adorned with two cats' tails, hanging over his back, the usual badge of a Tartar trooper.

The drums beat at half-past five on the morning of the 14th, as the First Division was to carry Tangkoo by storm, while the Second was to halt midway between that place and the camp, to be in support or reserve, according to circumstances. The causeway between the two villages was, we have said, some three miles in length. On the left was the muddy flat; on the right the marshy plain, with its watery intersections. Over these the active engineers had thrown temporary bridges. The fortifications of Tangkoo consisted of a long crenelated mud wall, semicircular in form, terminating

at both ends on the bank of the river, which was there made pleasing to the eye by some bordering orchards. As the attack was to be made from the right of the causeway, the British advanced on that point, and the French on the left by the road.

Barry's six Armstrong guns and Desborough's nine-pounders were trotted round to the extreme right, while Milward and Gavin's batteries kept the centre. In the night, breastworks of earth had been thrown up within 700 yards of the walls, to cover our sharpshooters, 200 of whom, under Major Gibbes Rigaud, of H.M. 60th Rifles (who had served in the Kaffir War of 1851-3), took post there in skirmishing order.

Then came closing to the front the Royal Scots, the 31st Foot, then the 2nd, the 60th, and 15th Punjaubees.

A mile below Tinho the river takes a bend to the south, and, turning north again, comes close to Tangkoo. A Tartar battery constructed at the first of these curves galled the flank of our troops as they advanced, but to silence its fire two of Barry's Armstrongs were unlimbered, and opened on it, within fifty yards, with terrible effect, which three of Desborough's twenty-four pounders completed by utterly reducing the battery to silence. At a bend of the river, lower down, another battery and some war junks opened on the column; but their guns were soon silenced also by our seamen, only twenty of whom, under some officers of the *Chesapeake*, fifty-one guns, steam frigate, crossed the river in a boat, routed the Tartars, spiked their cannon, and left the junks shrouded in flames; and in effecting all this only one man was wounded.

"But the scene!" wrote an officer who served in the Chinese wars: "Their junks—just what you see on the rice-paper drawings—the Chinese army, with a sort of armour and tunics, and all the showy old-time equipment, carried me back in imagination to the times of Froissart. It seemed exactly as if the subjects of his old prints had assumed life, and substance, and colour, and were moving and acting before me, unconscious of the march of the world through centuries, and of all modern usage, invention, and improvement. There were the flowing standards to every half-dozen of men, the cumbrous equipment, the attempt at fierce display, the queer weapons, and insignia of all sorts; and then the junks, with their huge mat-sails, their eyes and tiger-heads, and high, elaborately-painted sterns and bluff prowls!"*

These war junks range from 300 to 800 tons, and have European masts, on which traverse the square sails of matting, with stout bamboos at

* "Colonel Mountain's Letters, &c."

intervals of two feet. Their anchors are always constructed of wood, weighted with immense stones, and unprovided with a stock across to ensure their taking any hold.

While the battery was being destroyed and the junks burned, the column of attack was still advancing, and opened fire with all its guns at 800 yards' distance. The enemy replied with some

place while the guns of the former were still bombarding it.

The wall was found to have been a wretched defence, especially against Armstrong guns. The Chinese killed and wounded lay thick around their cannon, to which many of the poor wretches were found securely lashed, to prevent their flight, and in this condition were discovered dead or dying.



VIEW OF HONGKONG.

heavy pieces and jingals, but as the allies had forty-two guns at work, the former were soon silenced, and then Sir John Michell ordered forward the infantry, who at once made a rush for the walls, from which the Tartars fled with absurd precipitation, while the rockets from Rotton's battery whizzed in fierce curves above their heads, spreading dismay among them as they rushed along a causeway to a village farther down the river, which they crossed by means of a floating bridge, and reached the village of Takoo. The French claimed the honour of being first in; but their boast was an idle and false one, as the 60th Rifles burst into the

All who were there wore the white circular badge of the Chinese troops on the breast and back of their tunic. These badges were inscribed with Chinese characters, indicating that the wearers served under the General of Chihli, a Chinese province which is separated by the Great Wall from that of Mantchooria. Wooden tickets, that indicated their rank in their wretched service, hung at their girdles. Scores of them lay about the guns, fearfully mangled; dozens more lay in the ditch near the works, while vast numbers of others were taken down the river in junks, or borne off by the fugitives, while the allied

force had only one man killed and fifteen wounded.

Rushing from house to house the French dashed in the doors and looted the whole place with a

centre of which rose a tall pagoda, then occupied by Prince San-Kolinsin and his staff. A little further off were the forts, looking huge and very gloomy, though gaily decorated with flags of defiance.



A TARTAR HORSE-SOLDIER.

celerity that astonished our First Division, which was now ordered to encamp on the bleak open space between Tinho and Tangkoo, which was occupied by the division of General Napier, who established his head-quarters in the principal joss-house of the village. Two miles distant from it, at the end of a raised path through a muddy flat, was the long, straggling village of Takoo, in the

Sir Hope Grant, before risking an assault on them, resolved prudently to make a close and careful reconnoissance, to have his heavy guns well in position, and all preparations complete before firing a shot at them; and in what he had to do he was happily aided by an able colleague, in the person of General Napier, already famous as a Bengal engineer officer. The preparations in-

volved a lapse of time, and a stay of some length in Tangkoo. Two companies of the 3rd Buffs held the gates that led to Takoo, under Colonel Sargent.

Deserting an intrenched camp which they had formed on the road that led to the northern forts, the enemy now cut their pontoon bridge, the boats of which they towed into the docks at Takoo. In the afternoon some armed horsemen were seen deliberately approaching Tangkoo, and were greeted by a volley of musketry from the guard of Buffs. This emptied a few saddles, after which the white flag of truce was shown, and a stout little mandarin, whose white button and peacock's feather indicated that he was of the sixth rank, came forward, bearer of letters to the Earl of Elgin and Baron Gros. For these he earnestly demanded a receipt, which Colonel Sargent refused to give, though he took the letters.

No answer was returned to them; and on the following day there came another flag of truce with more letters, which were also unanswered. The third day saw a third flag arrive, with the intimation that they had some European prisoners, whom they would forthwith send in. After this they brought a sergeant of the Buffs and a sapper, who had undergone such barbarous usage as to be incapable of standing, and under which the former had apparently lost his senses.

About this time Hong-fuh offered great rewards for the capture of the barbarian chiefs and soldiers, to the end that if he had them once in his hands he might compel their Governments to come to terms; and specially enjoined the capture of the barbarian, Lord Elgin, whose decapitation he believed would put an end to the war. But in his ignorance and insolence, he could little foresee that the fighting was to end in the imperial city, and amid the ashes of the emperor's palace.

To reduce the Takoo Forts was unquestionably the next necessity of the campaign; but Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban had different views about the mode of procedure. "Did we merely wish to gain possession of the forts, and the right of entry into the river, with as little loss as possible?" writes Swinehoe, "or did we wish to surprise San-Kolinsin, with all his Tartar hordes, and thus put an end to the possible recurrence of opposition from that quarter, regardless of life on our part, and by the stroke hold the Chinese Government at our feet? Sir Hope Grant's policy pointed to the former, General Montauban's to the latter, result. By crossing the river and attacking *en masse* the south fort, we should have cut off all possibility of retreat along the broad road leading to Tientsin. With the sea beyond, and

the river on the left flank, the Tartars must have succumbed or perished. Should they have crossed the river and attempted to escape on the north side, our cavalry would have taught them a lesson."

The pride of the ignorant San-Kolinsin and his barbarous soldiery would have been humbled effectually by this; but our loss in achieving it might be serious, as the southern fort had bomb-proof batteries and three high cavaliers, and could only be approached from the rear through the village of Takoo, which was enclosed by an embattled wall five miles in length. A little inspection showed the experienced eye of Sir Hope Grant that as the upper fort commanded all the others, on which its guns could be turned, it was the key of the whole position; that with their capture we should hold the command of the river; that if he were once beaten out of them, San-Kolinsin would have some doubts about meeting us in field, and the stupid Government of China might be compelled to listen to reason and to negotiate.

On the day Tangkoo was captured the floating bridge on the Peiho had been destroyed, hence, to achieve its passage speedily, it was resolved that we should construct another at a point near Tinho, as the conveyance of the army across by boats would prove a tedious process. A number of little craft, found in the ditches about Tangkoo, were utilised for this purpose; the whole vicinity was searched for planks and logs; while anchors and ropes were brought up from our shipping at Pehtang. To choose a spot for the opposite end of the bridge, Colonel Livy, of the French Engineers, crossed the Peiho, with three hundred men, at a point where it is three hundred yards wide, and was bordered by some quaint-looking houses, surrounded by luxuriant orchards and a hedge. From under cover of these a fire of matchlocks was maintained upon his soldiers, till they cleared the place of the Tartars; but finding that he was unable to hold his ground, General Montauban succoured him with fourteen hundred men and some guns, and thus secured to France a firm footing on the hostile side of the stream.

Relinquishing all use of the causeway that led from the gate of Tangkoo, it was resolved to construct a road to facilitate the advance on Takoo; and on the 17th this task was commenced with spirit by the Royal Engineers and Madras Sappers, in concert with working parties of the 67th, and the morning of the 21st was fixed for the assault, at six o'clock.

On the afternoon of the preceding day Major

Graham, of the Engineers, advanced towards the forts with a party of the 67th, bearing a flag of truce, and asked to see the mandarin in command, and on that personage appearing, the major announced that he had come to arrange terms of capitulation. To this the mandarin replied, with ready insolence, that he would accept no terms of any kind, and that if the allied barbarians wanted the Takoo Forts, they had better try to take them. While this had been proceeding through the interpreters, Major Graham, with professional eye, made some useful notes of the form and strength of the north fort, from which,

the moment his party withdrew, a fire was opened on the working parties constructing the road. Milward's Armstrongs then came up in support, and a cannonade was maintained for an hour.

During the night before the attack, the enemy betrayed an evident uneasiness. Ever and anon the boom of a cannon pealed out upon the night, and brilliant light-balls glared through the darkness from the sombre mass of the north fort, compelling our workers, who were pushing their road steadily on, to lie down and thus avoid the enemy's aim, but ere the day dawned their task was complete.

CHAPTER VII.

FALL OF THE TAKOO FORTS.—CHAN-CHIA-WAN.—PARKES AND OTHERS TAKEN.—PA-LE-CHIAO.—ADVANCE ON PEKIN.—SUMMER PALACE TAKEN.—FATE OF THE PRISONERS.—PEKIN TAKEN.—PEACE WITH CHINA.

THE allied generals disposed the artillery for the attack in the following order:—Six French twenty-four-pounders, with one British eight-inch gun and two Armstrongs, were to pound the inner south fort and protect our flank, by keeping down its fire. Point blank from Tangkoo two Armstrongs and two nine-pounders were to fire across the Peiho at some works that flanked the French right; and three eight-inch mortars were placed in the centre at 600 yards range, to batter the greater fort, which we were to assail. Two Armstrongs, two nine-pounders, four twenty-four-pound howitzers, and a rocket battery, were planted in the open ground, 800 yards distant from the fort, while eight allied gun-boats (ours being the *Funus*, *Drake*, *Clown*, and *Woodcock*), as soon as the morning tide served, were to hammer the lower fort with shot and shell.

On the morning of the 21st, the troops detailed for the assault left their camp, which was about four miles distant from the forts, in light marching order, 2,500 strong. They consisted of a wing of the 44th, under Lieutenant-Colonel MacMahon (who had served at Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol); a wing of the 67th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, the other wings being in support; with a detachment of the Royal Marines, under Colonel Gascoigne; another of the same corps, under Colonel Travers, with the pontoon bridge for the wet ditches; and a company of Engineers,

under Lieutenant Graham, to guide the attack. The whole were commanded by Brigadier Reeves.

Prior to this the French had advanced, under Colineau, 1,000 strong, with six rifled twelve-pounders.

Dawn was clear and bright now; the approaching columns could be distinctly seen by the Chinese, who opened with their guns from all the forts at once. Some time after six o'clock, a magazine in the upper north fort blew up with a mighty and tremendous crash, causing all the muddy soil around to heave as if an earthquake were about to ensue; and almost immediately after a similar event occurred in the north fort. On this our field artillery, now within 500 yards of the forts, redoubled their efforts, till the guns of the enemy were nearly silenced; a breach was already yawning near the gate, and creeping to within thirty yards the stormers opened fire—the French on the right, the British on the left. Their close approach compelled the allied guns to slacken fire, on which the Chinese manned their works and opened a heavy shower of musketry.*

Under Colineau the French gained the salient angle next the Peiho, crossed the wet ditches, and gallantly made a lodgment on the berme, or little path of turf between the ditch and rampart, from whence they endeavoured to carry the latter by escalade, but failed, so admirable was the resistance

* Sir Hope Grant's Despatch.

of the Chinese. The sappers also failed to lay down the pontoon bridge; so heavy was the fire that fifteen men fell, all at the same instant, and one boat was utterly destroyed. It was at this crisis that Sir Robert Napier threw forward two howitzers within fifty yards of the gate, to batter a breach; which was speedily done, but only wide enough to admit *one* man.

Reinforced by the right wing of the 67th, under Colonel T. E. Knox, the stormers forced their way in by single files with singular bravery, Lieutenants Rogers of the 44th, and Burslem of the 67th, being the two first to enter, with sword and pistol in hand. Ensign Chaplan, of the latter corps, then planted its colours in the breach, assisted by Private Lane. The French effected an entrance at the same moment, and the garrison were hurled pell-mell, at the point of the bayonet, through the embrasures on the other side and out of the place. While in terror and dismay they scrambled off, obstructed by the wet ditches and palisades of pointed bamboo, erected to impede our advance, a fire of canister and musketry was opened upon them with terrible effect.*

After this the flags on the southern forts were pulled down, and white ones, in token of truce, substituted; and one of San-Kolinsin's officers, who spoke English, came over with a letter, to state that now the Chinese would remove the booms from the mouth of the Peiho, and permit our ships to ascend the river to Tientsin, where terms of peace would be concluded. The letter was crushed up and thrown in his face, with a warning, that if the remaining forts did not surrender by two in the afternoon, they also would be stormed.

A deluge of rain that fell now turned all the muddy district around the forts into a species of inky sea, through which, precisely when the time came, the 3rd Buffs and 15th Punjaubees marched against the lower northern fort; while the heavy guns of the one we had captured—the true key of the position—were turned upon it; but ere a shot was fired, its gates were thrown open, all its flags of defiance were hauled down, and its garrison, more than 2,000 strong, yielded like cowards, and were sent across the Peiho. Soon after, the southern forts were entirely abandoned; 300 men were sent to take possession of them, and about nightfall the whole banks of the river, as far as Tientsin, were unconditionally surrendered to the allies. The capture of the once famous Takoo Forts was fully accomplished.

The Earl of Elgin, with his staff, occupied the roof of a temple in Tangkoo, to witness the opera-

tions, during which the Tartar battery at the bend of the river opened on it, and might have done some mischief, had its guns not been speedily silenced by the fire of some of ours.

The losses of the enemy were great, exceeding 2,000 men, including the mandarin in command of the first fort, who was shot by Captain J. Basset Prynne, of the Royal Marines, who took his cap as a trophy. The second in command could nowhere be found, and is supposed to have committed self-destruction. Never was the genuine and native cowardice of the Chinese so generally shown as in their miserable defence of these strong forts, which had massive and heavily-armed fronts to the sea, contained casemated batteries, and had mantlets in front of the guns. Piles of shot of every calibre were found near these, with baskets of powder and matchlock bullets. There were captured a vast number of wall-pieces, matchlocks, bows, arrows, and arblasts, spears, pikes, and sharp iron calthrops. The wounded Chinese were ultimately removed to the village of Tangkoo, while our own were conveyed on board the hospital-ships.

H.M. 3rd Foot garrisoned the Takoo Forts, while the rest of the army began its march for Tientsin, the 1st division marching on the 29th of August, and the 2nd on the 31st; while the gun-boats tore up and cleared away the obstructions at the mouth of the Peiho, a work of great difficulty, as, in addition to the enormous boom, there was a row of dangerous boats, laden with every kind of combustible, and another of sharply-pointed iron stakes—a veritable *chevaux-de-frise*—each several tons in weight, firmly imbedded in the stiff, dense mud. As soon as these were all cleared away, the admiral, in his steam tender, with five gun-boats, sailed to a point ten miles below Tientsin, and came to anchor. Proceeding further up next morning, he landed small detachments of marines at some forts that were below the town, at the eastern gate of which he hoisted the colours of the allies.

Tientsin is on the Pekin road, thirty-five miles distant from Takoo. The French advanced by the left bank of the Peiho, the British by the right, and the 5th of September saw the bulk of our troops cantoned about the town. It had come to the knowledge of Mr. Parkes, the interpreter, that San-Kolinsin had organised a kind of commissariat there, and the former offered to employ the chief officers for our own purposes. As they were merchants and burgesses they responded readily, and brought in large supplies of sheep, oxen, vegetables, fruit, and blocks of ice.*

* Sir Hope Grant's Despatch.

* Sir Hope Grant's "China War," Edited by Captain Knollys, R.A.

On our first entrance, the viceroy, Hong-fuh, attended by two commissioners named Kangke and Wantsum, came off to the admiral's tender to announce that they had been sent by the emperor to escort the Earl of Elgin to Peking, where, no doubt, a perilous snare was prepared.

Finding themselves unable to cope with the allies in arms, they resolved to try what could be done by the more congenial mode of treachery, and under pretence of peaceful concession to lure our plenipotentiaries to Peking, where, doubtless, torture and death awaited them. The strength of the accompanying escort was fixed at 1,000 men, with a battery of artillery; but the French, for some unknown reason, objected to Lord Elgin taking more than 150; and our officers, fresh from service in India, were all too well versed in Oriental politics not to augur the worst, if the peaceful visit to Peking were persisted in.

It was now given out that Tientsin would be opened to free trade; that the Chinese would pay us two millions and three-quarters sterling, and two millions to the French—the Takoo Forts to be retained till every *tael* was paid. The war was supposed to be over, and all were thinking of home, when suddenly it was announced that the Commissioners had no power to sign the treaty, and that Lord Elgin, with a slender escort, must go to Peking. The duplicity of the Chinese became once more manifest, and the onward march of the army was resumed on the 8th of September.

The force was small, but mixed. The 99th and Marines made 800 infantry; 600 cavalry and two batteries of artillery moved first, under Brigadier Reeves. Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant followed and overtook them.

That night there fell a deluge of rain, during which the Chinese drivers, with the carts, baggage, and ponies, absconded. On the 13th the division reached Ho-si-wee, half-way between Peking and Tientsin, where it was joined by Sir John Michell's column, which made up the strength to 2,300 infantry, the whole of the cavalry, three batteries of artillery, and a company and a half of engineers. Sir Robert Napier's brigade remained in the rear to hold Tientsin, and it was arranged that Admiral Hope should establish a *dépôt* at Ho-si-wee, where a regiment was left, with three six-pounders. The whole country thereabout seemed a flat sea of millet, dotted with little hamlets and an occasional brick-kiln.

On the day of the halt Messrs. Parkes and Wade, the interpreters, with a small escort, pushed on alone, and were received with extreme politeness

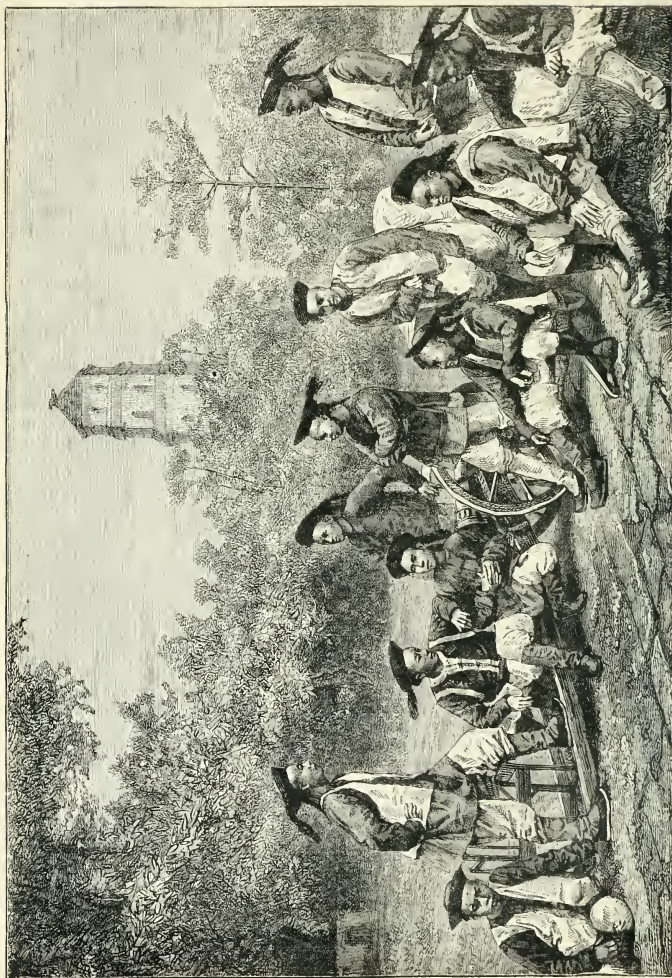
by Tsai, Prince of E, who was at the head of a large force, and skillfully veiled his secret hatred, though he and San-Kolinsin were resolved that not one of the "Hats" should return alive to Tientsin. The term "Hats," was generally applied to the allied troops, who wore pith-helmets, or solar-toppes. The success of our envoy was communicated to General de Montauban by Lord Elgin, and it was resolved to push on; and Mr. Parkes went in advance to arrange for the peaceful arrival of the allied forces. He was accompanied by Colonel Walker, C.B., afterwards Military Attaché at Berlin, but then Quartermaster-General of the cavalry; Mr. Thompson, of the Commissariat Department; Mr. Lock, secretary to the Earl of Elgin, afterwards lieutenant-colonel, and governor of the Isle of Man; Mr. de Norman, one of Mr. Bruce's attachés; and Mr. Bowby, the *Times* correspondent. They were escorted by five of the King's Dragoon Guards and twenty of Fane's Horse, under Lieutenant Anderson, and none of the party had the least suspicion of treachery.

On the 18th, at daybreak, the army resumed its march, with the intention of encamping at Chan-chai-wan, but had not proceeded far when signs of mischief and the Chinese troops appeared in front.

"We looked through our telescopes," says Sir Hope Grant, "along the line of Chinese troops, and made out Colonel Walker and three of the Dragoon Guards on their horses; but to our surprise they did not come out to meet us. The space of ground occupied by the enemy extended over three miles; and as they were moving round both our flanks, I sent a squadron out to our right and left, with directions to keep a good look-out, and advanced a battery of nine-pounders to some high ground on our right flank, with orders to prepare for action. Suddenly we heard a heavy fire of matchlocks and jingals, and a number of horsemen were seen galloping furiously towards us. They turned out to be Colonel Walker and his party. They soon reached us, and told us their story."

A French officer had been engaged in a dispute about a mule with some Tartars, who murdered him before he could be rescued by Colonel Walker, who rode to his assistance, and was next assailed by the Chinese, on which he called to his party to ride for their lives. Charging through, they made their escape—viz., Walker, Thompson, one sowar, and four Dragoon Guardsmen, but not without wounds. Mr. Loch, Mr. Parkes, and Major Brazon were missing.

This attack was more premature than San-Kolinsin intended, and put Sir Hope Grant on the alert.



CHINESE ARTILLERISTS.

In front were the enemy, more than 20,000—some say 30,000—strong, while his force, by sickness and garrisons left in the rear, numbered only 3,500 of all arms. The French were on the right, with Fane's Horse and the batteries of Barry and Desborough, covered by a weak squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards; the 15th Punjaubees were in the centre; H.M. 2nd Foot, with the rest of the cavalry, and Stirling's battery, were in the centre. The remainder of the infantry formed the reserve. The general briefly narrates the engagement that ensued as follows:—

"The enemy opened upon us from all points, but their fire was ineffectual. Sir John Michell encountered such heavy masses on his left that he had some difficulty in holding his position, and was attacked by a large body of Tartar cavalry. Probyn, who had only a hundred of his regiment with him at the time, was ordered to charge to the front, which he did in most gallant style, riding in amongst them with such vigour and determination that they could not withstand his attack for a moment, and fled in utter consternation. The Mushees (low-caste Sikhs) then advanced in steady line, carrying everything before them, and taking

several guns. By-and-by we were joined by the 99th Regiment, the nine-pounder battery, and the Dragoon Guards; and Sir John Michell having sent to say that the enemy was still very strong in front of him, I sent the Armstrong battery to his assistance, and shortly after they retired. The whole of their position was now captured, and I sent to the French, who had made a long circuit, to say that I intended to advance and take the town of Chan-chai-wan; but General de Montauban replied that his men were so knocked up that he did not propose to advance any farther. The squadron of Fane's Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Cattle, crossed over and joined Sir John Michell, and I rode on and found the enemy had evacuated Chan-chai-wan. Advancing through it with the Mushees about a mile on the other side, I

came to a large Chinese camp, in which we took several guns. The total number which fell into the hands of the allies that day amounted to eighty. Our combined forces did not exceed 4,000 men. We occupied the town."*

Many houses full of rare and elegant furniture were pillaged and destroyed, less by our troops than by the natives of adjacent villages, who crowded in and carried off all they could lay their hands on.†

On the 19th fresh pickets were thrown forward, and Mr. Wade was sent with a flag of truce to discover the fate of the prisoners, and to warn the Chinese that, if they were not given up, Sir Hope Grant would capture Peking. General Collineau's column now came up, and increased the French strength to 3,000 bayonets; Sir Robert Napier was ordered to come on with two regiments from Ho-si-wee, and the 21st of September saw the advance resumed again.

A march of two miles brought the allies close to the enemy, whose guns opened on the French, who had the right flank. Opposite them was the canal bridge of Pa-leh-chiao (from whence General de Montauban subsequently took his

title of Count Palikao), to all appearance strongly fortified.

Our troops formed with the infantry on the right, the cavalry in echelon on the left. Stirling's guns opened on some Tartars and drove them back, firing with case-shot at 200 yards. The Dragoon Guards, Fane's Horse, and Probyn's Lancers now went thundering forward in a headlong charge, before which the Tartars gave way. Fane's Horse followed them in hot pursuit across a road bordered by a high bank and ditch. Lifting their horses with bride and spur, the front rank cleared it well; but the men of the rear, unable to see before them owing to the excessive dust, crossed with difficulty; while the Tartars fled, followed by a terrible fire from the Armstrong guns, and the pursuit was

* Sir Hope Grant.

† Swinhoe,



PORTRAIT OF GENERAL MONTAUBAN
(AFTERWARDS COUNT PALIKAO).

continued past what must have been the camping-ground of a Tartar general of rank, as there were captured two yellow banners of the Imperial Guard and eighteen brass guns.

With their usual spirit the French attacked and captured, with twenty-five guns, the bridge of Pa-le-chiao, which was held by the Chinese Imperial Guard, whose flowing dresses of brilliant yellow made them conspicuous among the greenery with which they attempted to mask their batteries; but on every hand the enemy were routed. Their general, Paou, was borne away wounded, and in his rage and agony ordered the decapitation of the Abbé de Luc and Major Brabazon, two of the unfortunate prisoners so treacherously captured. The Chinese loss at the bridge alone was 510 men. One of ours who fell into their hands had his eyes scooped out, and was slowly hacked to pieces, joint by joint.

At both ends of the bridge of Pa-le-chiao the French formed their camp. Around it the country was beautiful, with dilapidated temples amid groves of tall and magnificent trees. In three of the former the Earl of Elgin, Sir Hope Grant, and General de Montauban had their quarters. Next morning, the 22nd of September, a flag of truce was sent in, with letters from the highest mandarin in the empire, Prince Kung, brother to the emperor, stating that he had been appointed chief commissioner in place of the other two, with a view to peace; but Lord Elgin declined all word of peace till our prisoners were released. Another message offered to restore them in exchange for the Takoo Forts, but the emperor would not receive a letter from the Queen of Britain except through Lord Elgin in person. The surrender of the poor prisoners still being evaded, the advance to Peking was again resolved on, though Kung threatened the result would be their entire massacre.

"The perils which environed the latter placed both the military and the diplomatic chiefs in a position of the most painful perplexity. Mr. Parkes and his party, having been captured in violation of the laws of nations, when employed on diplomatic duty, could not be considered lawful prisoners of war; and Lord Elgin always refused, in his correspondence with the Chinese, to admit them to be such. The cruel and treacherous people into whose hands they had fallen, if irritated, were quite capable of wreaking a fearful vengeance on them, as subsequent events proved; and yet to have yielded an iota in our demands to ensure the safety of our fellow-countrymen would have been the most fatal of all precedents—would have been a premium on future bad faith, and might

almost have neutralised the successes we had already gained. The plenipotentiaries made the surrender of the prisoners a *sine quâ non* before hostilities could be suspended." *

The sole cause of delay now was waiting for the siege train to batter the walls of Peking, and according to a return picked up about this time, the Tartar army we had to oppose was stated to be 80,000 strong, and chiefly horsemen. To Sir Hope Grant, General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, gave a carefully-marked and privately-made map of the Celestial capital, which proved of great service in the operations against it.

On the 27th the future hero of Magdala arrived, and by the active measures of Sir Hope Grant the army was reinforced by a battalion of the 60th Rifles, the 67th, a wing of the 99th, and another of the 8th Punjaubees; and on the 29th the siege guns arrived in charge of Captain Dew, R.N., who had experienced great difficulty in bringing them up, owing to the shallowness of the river, in which Grant had channels cut by the Madras Sappers. About the same time the chief mandarin at Tientsin, proving refractory, was brought a prisoner into camp, when he expressed much genuine astonishment at the existence of two such nations as Britain and France, having never heard of these barbarian tribes before.

Our movements evidently excited alarm, as, on the 1st of October, Prince Kung again wrote Sir Hope Grant, praying him to stay his march, and hinting that Mr. Parkes should be employed as mediator; but again he was told that nothing could be done till the prisoners were given up. By this time it was discovered that they were lodged in the Kaon-meon Temple, near the Tch-shun Gate.†

On the 3rd of October the tents were struck at noon, and our troops began their final advance, through a populous country, so intersected with houses and trees that progress often became difficult. On the 6th the army reached a large grass-covered but ruined rampart, when the bugles sounded a halt for breakfast, and Sir Hope Grant and General de Montauban agreed that, as the great army of San-Kolinsin had evidently fallen back, they should make for the famous Summer Palace, near Peking, where they might capture the emperor, or some of his principal officials.

It was now the turn of the British troops to march first—each nation taking it day about—and as the country became still more enclosed, Grant pushed on with a strong advanced guard

* Grant's "China War."—Note by Capt. Knollys.

† Wolseley.

with carefully covered flanks. From a slight eminence the entire movements of our compact little army could be seen distinctly, though portions of the line of march were lost at times as the lines of white helmets, the glittering bayonets and colours, pair by pair, disappeared between the green groves and orchards that bordered the way. Peking, the place of their destination, is situated sixty miles from the great wall of China, and one hundred from the sea. A halt was sounded, when from the summits of some old brick-kilns, the staff got their first glimpse of the mighty capital of China at a distance of six miles, occupying flat ground, its buildings almost hidden by its long line of fortified walls, with great towers looming at intervals against the blue sky. The former are thirty feet in height and twenty feet thick at their base, narrowing in successive courses of stone, like the pyramids of Egypt; the latter are square, seventy yards apart, with a projection of forty feet from the curtain. The population was estimated at 2,000,000, including the standing garrison of 100,000 Mantchoorian warriors and their families.

By this time our troops were much fatigued, and Sir Hope Grant ordered them to bivouac near some fine temples in an open plain, where straw and millet were plentiful, while he rode in search of the French general, whom he supposed to be on the left, for the purpose of holding a conference with him; but Montauban was nowhere to be found, or his troops either, for having made a greater détour to his flank, he had crossed the rear of the British troops, and thinking that he was still behind them, marched on, and thus was first at the Summer Palace.

Lord Elgin and the general took up their quarters in an old Confucian temple, and when darkness fell the latter had large fires lighted to indicate to the French, and also to our cavalry flankers, who had lost the main body in the enclosed country, his exact position; a royal salute was also fired for the purpose, but without avail, so a squadron of the Dragoon Guards were sent to patrol, to discover the exact quarter of the Summer Palace, and to ascertain if the French and our missing cavalry were there. Sir Garnet Wolseley (of the 90th), then Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General, went with the squadron, and returned at 9 a.m. next day, to report that he had found them at Yuan-min-yuan, the Chinese name of the palace, to which Sir Hope and the earl at once proceeded, and found it beautifully situated amid gardens and woods, approached by a stately and ancient avenue,

terminated by ranges of edifices, roofed with bright yellow tiles turned up at the end. The French were encamped near the Great Audience Hall, and already the work of general pillage had commenced. In the gateway lay several Chinese officials shot dead. All these proved to be eunuchs, wearing hats with scarlet tassels. The grounds were ten miles in diameter, 60,000 acres in extent, containing a singular example of Chinese landscape gardening, in mimic forests, mountains, lakes, and rivers, spanned by bridges like those on the old willow-pattern plate. The palace resembled a vast village, and contained thirty distinct residences for the emperor.

It was filled, says Sir Hope Grant, with beautiful jade-stone ornaments of great value and carved in a most elaborate manner, splendid old China jars, enamels, bronzes, clocks and watches—many of which had been presented by Lord Macartney, probably about 1793, and two guns, dated 1782, and given by him, were taken and sent back to Woolwich, where they had been made. "General Montauban and I," he continues, "agreed that all that remained of prize-money should be divided between both armies. A quantity of articles were set aside for us, and I determined to sell them for the benefit of our officers and men. The French general told me that he had found two *joies*, or staves of office, made of gold and green jade-stone, one of which he would give me as a present to Queen Victoria, the other he intended for the Emperor Napoleon. . . . The next day, the 8th of October, a quantity of gold and silver was discovered in one of the temples of the Summer Palace, and a room full of the richest silks and furs. This treasure was divided in two equal portions between the French and ourselves."* In the stables of the palace were found fourteen chargers, belonging to the unhappy captives so treacherously taken by the Chinese, who, on the afternoon of the 8th, under pressure of alarm, sent into camp the survivors, Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Parkes, Mr. Henry Brougham Lock, and five Frenchmen, including the Comte l'Eskayrac de Latour, of the Imperial Scientific Mission, who came to the temple where Sir Hope Grant and Lord Elgin resided, and told their sad story, which was as follows:—

"On the 8th of September, Lock and Brabazon having ridden into Tang-chow, collected all the party, consisting of De Norman, Mr. Bowlby (of the *Times*), Lieutenant Anderson, nineteen sowars, one of the King's Dragoon Guards—Phipps by name—and Parkes himself, and started on the way

* "Incidents in the China War;" Blackwood, 1875.

back. Ere long, however, they were fired at from the Chinese lines, and on riding round a field of high maize they came across a body of infantry, who, levelling their matchlocks, desired them to halt. Parkes spoke a few words of remonstrance, but was told that no one could be allowed to pass without an order from San-Kolinsin, who was not far distant, and to whom he was referred. Lock and a sowar accompanied him, and thus they became separated from the rest of their party. That general abused him, and said that all the evil of the war had been brought upon the Chinese owing to his misconduct, and ordered him and Lock to be made prisoners. They were then made to dismount, and forced to kiss the ground. Their arms were tied tightly behind their backs, and they were taken to the rear, where their custodians began to ill-treat them, and they expected every moment to be killed. They were put into a cart, and driven to Peking, thrown into a common prison, in company with seventy-five malefactors, and loaded with chains, one round their necks, one round their bodies, two round their arms, and two round their legs. These were connected by a main chain to a ring in the wall so tightly that they could not sit down. It was afterwards lengthened, which relieved them considerably. A jailer kept close to them day and night. In this state they were kept, badly fed, for nine days, when they were released from their chains and put in a prison by themselves, where they were interrogated by inquisitors as to the strength of our force, and other matters connected with us; but the two Englishmen refused to answer."

The fate of the other prisoners was not known until the 13th, when one Frenchman and eight Sikhs were given up, and their sufferings had been terrible. When Messrs. Parkes and Lock had left to remonstrate with San-Kolinsin, they had been overpowered by a rabble of Chinese soldiers, who tied their hands behind them as tightly as possible, and then wetted the cords. These, of course, contracted, and the state of the prisoners' hands and wrists soon became past description. Lieutenant Anderson grew delirious, and died after nine days of torture; he "was a noble fellow," wrote the general, "clever, amicable, and much looked up to by his brother officers."

De Morgan suffered more; he did not die for seventeen days. Mr. Bowlby, and the others, also died, or were destroyed by violence. Among the last who survived was Private John Phipps, of the Dragoon Guards, "who was especially distinguished by the fortitude with which he endured his

sufferings, and with which, up to the day of his death, he strove to keep up the courage of his fellow-captives."

Loot and destruction were the order of the day at the once far-famed Yuan-min-yuan. Silk stores and embroidered dresses were carried off by the French, who with clubbed muskets and heavy sticks smashed mirrors, clocks, chandeliers, and all they were unable to carry off, while rifle-shot demolished other objects beyond immediate reach. One French officer found a string of precious pearls, each the size of a marble, and foolishly sold it for only £3,000 at Hong Kong. On the table of the empress lay a repast, showing how sudden had been her flight. The Chinese of the adjacent villages crowded in, and carried off all they could find; while some of General Napier's staff found the roof of an edifice consisting of plates of pure gold, valued at £9,000, which they gave over to the soldiers. The surrender of the Anting Gate of Peking was now demanded; but Kung's commissioner, Hong-ke, a vainglorious mandarin, protested against such a humiliation—eventually in vain, however.

"A great change of temperature now took place," records Sir Hope Grant, "and on the 9th of October the rain fell, and a cold north-west wind set in, like the blasts of Edinburgh in March." He ordered a sale of all the collected plunder, by a commission appointed, and each officer on restoring his spoil could redeem it at a fixed price. A few of our Dragoon Guards and Sikhs had found their way into the Palace with the French, consequently their camps were much resorted to for the purchase of silks; but nearly every French soldier had in his possession many watches, or strings of pearl, jade ornaments, silks, and furs; others had large sums in dollars, and many of their officers amassed what they deemed small fortunes. The state robes of the emperor, yellow silk, embroidered with dragons in gold and floss-silk, lined with ermine, were sold at the general auction. "The proceeds of the sale amounted to 32,000 dollars, and the amount of treasure secured was estimated at over 61,000, making a rough total of 93,000 dollars. Of this, two-thirds were set apart for distribution, in proportionate shares, to the soldiers, and one-third to the officers. Sir Hope Grant generously made over his share to the men, and, as a token of respect, the officers presented him with a gold claret-jug, richly chased, one of the handsomest pieces of the booty."*

In the private apartments of the emperor at the Summer Palace many remarkable documents were

* Swinhoe.

found, which showed that there had been a disposition to resist us even after the fall of the Takoo Forts; and showing also that it had been the intention of the Chinese to lure Lord Elgin from Tientsin with a slender escort, make him prisoner, and then frame their own terms of peace. One document, written in vermilion, suggested "war to the knife," and concluded thus:—"If we wait until the spring, and summer of next year, these barbarians will, of course, raise large bodies of black barbarians (*i.e.* sepoy), and will bring the force of all the world to try conclusions with us. And they will league with the long-haired rebels; and then, between war with those from afar and those close at hand, we shall have trouble enough to hold our own."

This referred to the rebel Chinese army, reported to be within 100 miles of Peking, about October, on the 10th of which Sir Hope Grant and General de Montauban, with the approval of the two plenipotentiaries, informed Prince Kung, that unless he gave up one of the gates of the Tartar portion of Peking, an entrance would be made by force. After this Sir Hope, to reconnoitre, daringly rode so close to the walls that his horse drank out of the ditch, though Tartar soldiers lined them. Then our engineers began to form a battery at "the Temple of the Earth," a handsome set of buildings within 200 yards of the city, and the generals of the allied army threatened to commence the attack precisely at noon on the 12th, if the An-ting Gate was not surrendered.

Watch in hand Sir Robert Napier stood counting the minutes, and with bayonets fixed the 1st Royal Scots stood by the guns, supported by a wing of the 67th, when, precisely at five minutes to twelve, Colonel Stephenson came galloping up to announce that the gate had been surrendered. Between the vast imposing towers, and under the great archway, then instantly Sir Robert Napier marched in, with 300 of the 67th and 100 of the 8th Punjaubees. These proceeded a few yards along the street within, driving before them great multitudes of the people, and then halted, fronted, and formed line, to receive with presented arms the French, who marched in with colours flying and brass drums beating. Sir Hope Grant then got some of his Armstrong guns upon the rampart, and turned their muzzles threateningly over the city of Peking, on the walls of which the British flag was now flying.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, of the 67th Regiment, was assigned the command of the An-ting Gate, and on the 14th of October the bodies of eight of the unhappy prisoners, six British and two French, according to one account—four British

and eight Sikhs (afterwards cremated), according to another—were brought to head-quarters in coffins, "which," says Sir Hope Grant, "contained little more than the bones. By the clothes, however, we were able to identify the remains as those of Lieutenant Anderson, Messrs. De Norman and Bowlby, and two sowars." They were buried in the Russian cemetery at Peking; and the French in an old Roman Catholic one formed long ago by the Jesuits. "Lord Elgin and I were the chief mourners," says Sir Hope Grant; "the band was furnished by the 60th Rifles. I shall never forget the bitter cold of that day—the hills were white with snow, and a north-west wind blew with the cold piercing blast of winter. The coffins were laid in one large grave, the service was read without any pomp or display, and then we left the bodies of our poor countrymen in their last sad resting-place."

The French were buried with much more ceremony on the 28th, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. General de Montauban made an eloquent address, and waving his hat cried, "Adieu, mes amis—adieu!" Then, instead of giving three volleys, every French soldier present marched past the coffins singly, firing his rifle against them, till they were covered with exploded cartridge-paper.*

Major Brabazon, of the Artillery, and the Abbé de Luc were still unaccounted for, till the fact of Paou having ordered their decapitation was proved by their headless bodies being seen floating in the Yung-leang canal. The troops were so exasperated by the general treatment of the prisoners, that very general regret was expressed that Sir Hope Grant had given his word that Peking should be spared if the An-ting Gate was surrendered; but as the Summer Palace had been the scene of these atrocities, its destruction was resolved on, and completed by the division of General Michell, and amid the flames roof after roof went crashing down, while the cheers of the soldiers echoed through Peking.

But peace was now agreed to.

On the 22nd of October, Father Mahé, a French Roman Catholic missionary, reported, on the authority of some converts, that treachery was meditated on the allies entering the town; that infernal machines were placed in the streets through which the plenipotentiaries and generals would have to pass; and that guns on the walls would be turned on the building in which the treaty of peace was to be signed. This made Sir Hope Grant prepared for the emergency; and on the morning of the 24th of October, the day on which

* Sir Hope Grant.



SCENE IN A STREET IN PEKIN.

the treaty was to be signed, Sir Robert Napier, with the Second Division, occupied the main street leading to the "Hall of Ceremonies;" a field battery was posted at the An-ting Gate, ready for instant action; while Lord Elgin, with Sir Hope, 400 infantry, and 100 cavalry, proceeded to the Hall, where they were met by Prince Kung and 500 mandarins in silken robes of state. Kung

march; and on the conclusion of peace, after Lord Elgin had insisted on the payment of 300,000 taels (about £100,000) to the heirs of the murdered prisoners, with the cession to Britain of Kooloom, a district at the mouth of the Canton river, and an indemnity of 8,000,000 taels, the troops began to take their downward way towards the sea. Save three regiments, the whole force was shipped off



PORTRAIT OF SIR HOPE GRANT.

bowed low to the earl, who replied by a proud, contemptuous stare, which inspired him with a terror that became pitiable when, a few minutes after, he saw the lens of Signor Beato's camera (the photographer who accompanied the staff) levelled full at him, "expecting every moment to have his head blown off by the infernal machine, which really looked like a sort of mortar ready to disgorge its terrible contents into his devoted body." *

As the winter was drawing on fast, Sir Hope Grant was anxious to commence his homeward

* Sir Hope Grant.

in about a fortnight by the active quartermaster-general without a single accident, but a battalion of the 60th and the 67th, with Fane's Horse, were left, as a precautionary measure, to hold the Takoo Forts till the indemnity was paid, while a naval squadron received orders to winter at the Miaoutau islands of Cheefoo; and for his eminent services in China and elsewhere Sir Hope Grant received the Grand Cross of the Bath.

"The capture of the gates of Peking," said the *Times* of the day, "though, unhappily, ineffectual in saving the lives of the prisoners, at once led to

the conclusion of the peace which had formed the sole object of the expedition. By the flight of the emperor, by the violation of the immunity of the

capital, and the exposure of the vulnerable points of the monarchy, the Chinese have purchased the third Sibylline book in time to avert destruction."

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE STAR OF INDIA.—LORD ELGIN GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—DIES.—SIR JOHN LAWRENCE SUCCEEDS.—
THE WAR IN EHOTAN.

THE most exalted Order of the Star of India was instituted by the Queen in February, 1861, and was enlarged and re-modelled five years afterwards by letters patent under the Great Seal, to afford to the princes, chiefs, and people of her Indian Empire a testimony of her royal regard, and to commemorate Her Majesty's resolution to take upon herself the government of that portion of her empire. It consists of the sovereign, a grand master, and one hundred and seventy-five companions, divided into three classes:—(1) twenty-five knights grand commanders, (2) fifty knights commanders, (3) one hundred companions, together with such extra and honorary knights as the sovereign may appoint. The sovereign is the king or queen reigning in Great Britain; the grand master is the viceroy of India for the time being. The sovereign may confer the dignity of K.G.C. upon such native princes and chiefs as shall have entitled themselves to the royal favour, and upon such British subjects as have, by important and loyal services rendered by them to the Indian Empire, merited such favour; and among the earliest who received the new order were the Maharajahs of Cashmere, Indore, Jeypore, and Travancore, with the Guicowar of Baroda, the Rana of Dholepore, the Nawab of Hyderabad, and others, with the Lords Harris, Lawrence, Strathairn, and General Sir George Pollock.

The whole machinery of judicature in India was finally remodelled throughout that empire during the administration of Lord Canning. He amalgamated the Supreme and Sudder Courts, and established in each presidency a High Court, consisting chiefly of English barristers, and partly of the Company's judges, while a native lawyer of eminence was likewise raised to the Bench, with much honour to himself, and great gratification to the country; "and thus was the baneful ostracism of Lord Cornwallis abolished by the admission of natives to the

distinction of administering the law upon a perfect equality with Europeans." Small cause courts were at the same time established, with a simpler mode of procedure, for the recovery of petty debts in the provinces, and demands were rendered easy by the absence of the cumbrous formula of ancient English law.

In 1862 the death of Lady Canning hastened the departure of the viceroy, whose health had become seriously affected by six years of care and political toil. He embarked in March, but did not survive his arrival in England more than three months. He died "leaving the reputation of an industrious and conscientious public servant, though he had not attained the highest rank among statesmen. In the troubles which rendered memorable the commencement of his viceroyalty, and the prosperity of its close, his principal merit was undaunted resolution and steady devotion to duty."*

His administration certainly forms the most remarkable period in the history of British India. No governor-general ever had to experience such an epoch as that of the terrible Mutiny. If he was somewhat slow—perhaps dilatory—under circumstances when the foresight and energy of such men as Hardinge and Dalhousie would have been priceless, he never lost heart or composure of spirit, and his perfect equanimity under the most appalling circumstances has rarely been surpassed.

On the 12th of March, 1863, Alexander Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, who had been our ambassador to China, and chief superintendent of British trade, succeeded Lord Canning as governor-general and viceroy, but died, at Dhurumsala, on the right bank of the Gogra, in the Himalayas, on the 20th of November, 1864. His tenure of office was thus too brief to afford sufficient scope for any display of those talents which he possessed in an eminent degree.

* *Times*, 1862.

The preceding year was rendered memorable by the loss of two gallant soldiers, who had earned their highest fame in India—Sir James Outram and Lord Clyde—the former one of the most sagacious and chivalrous of that long succession of heroes who have conquered and kept for us the Empire of India; and the latter, though less distinguished by intellectual power, was equally a general who understood the art of war; yet it was only in old age that his long services were rewarded by a peerage.

Brief though Lord Elgin's tenure of office, it was marked by a Mohammedan conspiracy against the British Government, fomented by the fanatical Wahabees. It burst forth in Sitana, a village of Upper India, which is chiefly inhabited by them, and lies beyond the Indus, between Torbala and Umb, on the Afghan frontier. Under Brigadier Chamberlain, eight battalions of infantry (six of which were sepoys) marched against them, and penetrated into those savage fastnesses amid which, about three centuries before, the army of the mighty Akbar was beset, cut off by thousands, and nearly destroyed.

Early in the strife Brigadier Chamberlain was disabled by wounds, and the position of his troops became so critical that the Council at Calcutta, contrary to the remonstrances of the Commander-in-chief, Lord Strathnairn, was on the point of withdrawing them from what seemed a useless contest—a perilous measure, which, by a confession of weakness, would have encouraged all the wild tribes of the Punjaub to rise in arms against us. Luckily at this juncture Sir William Denison, K.C.B. (brother of the Bishop of Salisbury), Governor of Madras, arrived in Calcutta to assume temporarily the duties of viceroy; and by his orders those desultory operations known as "the Umbeyla campaign" were prosecuted against the Wahabees with vigour, till their close in 1863.

In London the Ministry were filled with alarm at the prospect of a new Mohammedan outbreak and all the terrors associated with it, and at once offered the vacant office of viceroy to Sir John Lawrence, Bart., K.C.B.—one who had contributed so largely to the preservation of India—and his acceptance was hailed with universal approbation; for, although the revenue was flourishing, the most

able of Indian rulers would find sufficient occasion for his energy and for his vigilance. The Wahabee disturbances were of minor importance; but the Mutiny had furnished a terrible precedent to malcontents, as well as a warning to us, that the chiefs and princes of India were daily becoming more impatient of their social and political inferiority.

Sir John Lawrence reached Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1864, and used at once, in the duties of his office, the influence of that love and fear which are at all times most effectual in the East; and that the former predominated was proved by the magnificent assemblage of six hundred native princes, attending in all the gorgeous display of Oriental pomp his durbar at Lahore, in the October of the same year.

On his landing he found the Umbeyla campaign at an end. Four years after there was another outbreak of these fanatical barbarians, but the march of a single brigade sufficed to crush it.

The civil war which was then—in 1863-4—raging in China, did not prevent a rapid extension of British trade. By our forces and the French, the Taepings, who were in rebellion, were prevented from approaching the European settlements at Shanghai, and a certain number of British officers, with the sanction of our Government, entered

the singular service of the Celestial Empire.

The civil war in America having interrupted the supply of cotton, Indian cotton was looked to as a substitute. The price rose to an exorbitant amount, and the exports increased to two or three hundred per cent; but as they greatly exceeded the exports from Britain, the article was paid for in coin. During the American strife the imports of precious metals into India amounted to more than seventy-five crores of rupees, and poured unprecedented wealth into the pockets of the cultivators. So great was its influx that "it was poetically described by the metaphor that the ryots made the tyres of their cart-wheels of silver."*

During the year 1865, the unexpected increase of prosperity at Bombay, arising from the export of cotton, caused a remarkable mania for speculation. The most preposterous schemes were brought forward and embraced with readiness, and the shares of the companies rose fifteen and twenty-fold.

* Marshman.



PORTRAIT OF LORD ELGIN.

The Bank of Bombay lent itself, without inquiry or scruple, to many wild projects and bubbles. When these burst, it was driven into the Bankruptcy Court, and was thus the first bank associated with Government that had been in such disgrace.*

In 1864 Sir John Lawrence found the Government of Bengal involved in disputes with the wild tribes of Bhotan, which, though an extensive region of Northern Hindostan, lying between the 26th and 28th parallels of north latitude, and forming the southern declivity of the great table-land of Thibet, is almost unknown, save by name, even to the student of geography. But so far back as the time of Warren Hastings, the Bhotanese had been a source of annoyance to the Indian Government, by their lawless inroads to carry off cattle, plunder, and even our people as slaves. Till about the time of which we are now about to write, Thibet and Bhotan had been a land of mystery, and as much unknown to us as the "thick-ribbed ice" around the Pole; and, apart from the old accounts of Marco Polo, little was known, till a survey of the lower district of Thibet was made, in 1864, by Major Montgomery. Among the few who have explored that region were Drs. Saunders and Hamilton, in 1783; † Moorcroft, in 1812; and Huc and Gabet, two French Jesuits, in 1855-57; but the first Europeans who ever penetrated into these mountain districts in modern times were Thomas Manning, an Englishman, and George Bogle, a Scotsman, who were sent, in 1774, by Warren Hastings, to open up a communication with Thibet, and between the Bhotanese and Bengal. Thomas Manning was then the only European who had ever been to Lhasa; and Bogle, who had come to India to seek his fortune, that he might clear from debt his paternal estate of Daldowie, in Lanarkshire, would have achieved much, as he became on friendly terms with the Tesha Lama, but he died prematurely, in 1781.‡

The lawless proceedings of the Bhotanese compelled the Government to organise a field force against them in 1864, with orders to penetrate beyond the great central ridge of the Himalayas and the level ground which constitutes the natural boundary of Assam.

The Bhotanese are a tall and athletic race, with dark complexion, high cheek-bones, black hair, and narrow pointed eyes—a mixture, apparently, of Chinese and Tartars, and a race distinct from all others in Hindostan. They are governed under two heads, the Dhurma and the Deb Rajahs—the

former a spiritual, and the latter a temporal, chief—who are aided by a council of ten in conducting public affairs. The office of Dhurma is viewed as a perpetual incarnation of the Deity, and is always filled by a priest. The latter, or Deb Rajah, sends yearly a caravan to Rangpoor with coarse woollen cloths, wax, ivory, gold-dust, tea, pepper, and horses, in return for English woollens, cotton, nutmegs, and gunpowder; and save these caravans and an occasional raid, the Bhotanese were not wont to have much intercourse with their southern neighbours.

Under these rajahs are a subordinate class of officials, who command the small stockades called *katmas*, and who were the chief leaders of the outrages which it was resolved, in 1864, to put down with the strong hand. Brigadier Mulcaster, commanding in Assam, was to operate with a column on the right; while two others, under Brigadier Dunsford, C.B., were to act on the left, and to push through the Dooars to the forts on the hills. Mulcaster was to start from the place named Gowhaty against the Bhotanese in Dewangiri, with three mountain guns worked by half-caste artillerymen, the 43rd Assam Light Infantry, three companies of the 12th Bengal sepoy, and a company of sappers and miners.

Under Colonel Richardson, C.B., the right-centre column was to move against Bishensing. It consisted of a half-caste company with three guns, six troops of Bengal Light Cavalry, wings of the 12th and 44th Bengal Infantry, two more companies of the 12th, and one of native sappers.

Under Colonel Watson, the left-centre column was to assail Buxa and Balla, for which purpose it had three Armstrong guns and two eight-inch mortars, manned by the Queen's artillery, a pontoon raft in charge of the sappers, the 2nd Ghoorkas, and a wing of the 11th Bengal Infantry.

The column on the extreme left, which had orders to march against Dhalimacote (the key of the defile by which Bhotan can be entered from Bengal) and Chamoorchee, had also three Armstrongs manned by the Queen's Artillery, with wings of the 11th and 18th Bengal Infantry, a company of sappers, the 30th Punjaub Infantry, and two squadrons of Bengal cavalry.

The reserve consisted of three companies of H.M. 48th and 80th Regiments, and two companies of the 17th Bengal Infantry, to move from Darjeeling. By the end of November all these troops were ready for action; but owing to certain commissariat difficulties, the advance of those on the right was delayed for some days. Led by Major Gough, V.C., and accompanied by a body of native peons

* Marshman. † "Phil. Trans.," February, 1789.

‡ "Mission of G. Bogle to Thibet, &c.," Trübner & Co., 1876.

under Major Pughe, an advanced party of our Royal Artillery, with two mortars, covered by cavalry and infantry, crossed the river Teesta near Julpigorie, and inaugurated the mountain war by the capture of Gopulgunge.

The 29th of November Major Gough was before Myngoorie, where he found a large stockade deserted; and as the people submitted peacefully, he allowed them to continue their agricultural operations unmolested, while pushing on with his little force through a rich and romantic country that was cultivated to perfection, and where the rivers and chasms were crossed by *sangos* or wooden bridges, or the *jhoola* or rope bridge, like those described in the work of Captain Gerard.* Major Gough advanced to a stockade at Dhamonee, on the delta of the Durlah and the Teesta; but its garrison fled without firing a shot.

Brigadier Dunsford's column crossed the latter stream by the pontoon bridge, and the 3rd of December saw it marching with ease over a level plain, among fields of waving rice and hemp, mustard and tobacco, for about five hours, till it pitched its tents at the base of the hills that are bordered by the Chayb river, and rise near the entrance of the pass that leads to Dhalimacote. There, as the nature of the country rendered it impracticable for cavalry, he sent back that arm of his force, and advanced with the artillery and infantry, pushing up the steep ascent into the charming vale of Ambioik, where, the green jungle being open, and the path amid it good, the bullocks and elephants brought on the baggage and Armstrongs with ease.

On a densely-wooded hill peeped out the yellow bamboo huts of the village of Ambioik, and above them rose the Bhotan fort of Dhalimacote. On the troops halting, a Bengalee interpreter, with a white scarf in token of truce, was sent to the chief who commanded there, with a request that he would comply with the directions of Colonel Houghton, our political agent, if he wished to save his fort from being captured next day. The garrison were now seen making hasty preparations to resist; and, as diplomacy was likely to be but little understood, the guns and mortars were got into position near the village, and opened a vertical fire on the fort, while a party of the 30th Punjaub, by a secret path which Colonel Houghton had discovered, gained a ridge about 200 feet below the walls, from whence, and from some jungle, showers of well-directed stones, with volleys from matchlocks and bows, swept and galled their ranks. The Punjaubees slept with their Enfield rifles, and captured a barricade or breastwork which had been

formed across the ridge, from which they rushed at once against the sloping works of the fort, under the mingled storm of matchlock-balls, and stones shot unerringly from strong catapults, while quivering arrows studded all the turf about them; and there two men were killed and many wounded, including Captain Macgregor and Lieutenant Loughman, one by a ball and the other by a barbed arrow. The mortars were now dragged forward to the ridge; but when reducing the charges of powder to suit the shortness of the range, one of our own shells exploded, and blew up an ammunition cask, by which Major Griffin, Lieutenants Anderson and Waller, of the Royal Artillery, with four gunners, were killed on the instant, while Lieutenant Collins of the Engineers, and several artillerymen, were severely mutilated and scorched, and the Brigadier, who stood by, had a narrow escape.*

In one of the towers the Armstrongs soon beat a great breach, and as the Punjaubees rushed through it with fixed bayonets, the Bhotanese were seen flying out on the opposite side and down the steep and wooded slopes to the sheltering jungle.

Dhalimacote was found to be built of mud and stones, and, though having a residence for women, was destitute of artillery. The monastery and every other edifice within, including some stores full of rice and grain, were given to the flames.

To take possession of a fort at Dhumsong, about twenty miles from the frontier, was the only operation to be carried out now in that quarter of the mountains; and on the *jungpen* in charge of it surrendering, it was garrisoned by fifty of the 17th Bengal Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Dawes. Thus by the 19th of December Brigadier Dunsford had annexed all the hill-territory between the fort of Dhalimacote and the Darjeeling line of the Bhotanese frontier.

By successive detachments his column now began to march towards the plains, and along the base of the mountains towards the pass of Chamoorchee, which opens thirty miles eastward of that at Dhalimacote. Not a Bhotanese was to be seen when, on the 23rd, he was pushing eastward through wild, dense jungle to a place where he encamped, midway between the passes, and from whence, on the 29th, he sent 150 men of the 30th, under Major Mayne, to reconnoitre Chamoorchee, where the enemy had taken post. The major marched his party to a piece of open ground 600 yards below the hill on which Chamoorchee is situated, and then the Bhotanese came rushing down with great force and fury, yelling like demons, and showering missiles from matchlocks, bows, and

* "Account of the Himalaya."

* Dr. Rennie.

slings against him; and before he could get his detachment into a place of security for the night, twelve men fell wounded, two most severely.

General Dunsford came up on the 31st of December and made a reconnaissance, thus securing

1865. With one Armstrong gun, one mortar, and 250 of the 11th Native Infantry, Major Garstin took post on the left of Chamoorchee; fifty men of the same corps, and the artillery with two Armstrongs, were on the right; while, with 250 Pun-



CHINAMAN SELLING THE "PEKIN GAZETTE."

a good position for the Armstrong guns, and discovering an unfrequented path that led directly to the village. Meanwhile Captain Perkins, of the Engineers, with a hundred bayonets, marched next morning betimes to cut off the flight of the Bhotanese, by taking post near some densely-wooded acclivities that were in their rear. To enable him to act with due effect the attack was deferred till three a.m. on the New Year's Day of

jaubees and one mortar, Major Mayne held the centre, with orders to attack by the main road.

The roar of the great gun on the right, and the splitting crash of the mortar in the centre, announced the attack at the appointed time; but, owing to some difficulties in the approach, Major Garstin's two guns failed to get into position, and he—finding the opposition but slight—dashed with the bayonet into the village, which was instantly



VIEW OF THE BRITISH CONSULATE, CANTON.

abandoned by the enemy, whose archers, slingers, and matchlock-men fled rearward to the wooded acclivities, from whence the unexpected fire of Perkins' men completed their consternation and destruction, while we had only five casualties in all. A body of armed Bengal Police was placed temporarily in the village, which consisted of only twenty huts and a monastery; after that the column descended from the mountains and returned to its tents, while Brigadier Dunsford, with a small party, proceeded eastward to reconnoitre the posts of Buxa and Balla; but these had already been taken possession of by Colonel Watson's Division, which had come on from Cooch Bahar (the inhabitants of which claim descent from Mahadeo, or Siva) simultaneously with the march of the left wing from Julpigorie. About this time there came to the brigadier a letter from the Deb Rajah of Bhotan (whose title signifies "the Divine King"), in which he styled himself the brother of Queen Victoria, and, after some proposals for peace, concluded in these amusing terms:—"If you wish for peace, do not disturb our peasantry: it will be best for you to go back to your own country without doing any harm to ours. But if you will take possession of my country, which is small, without fighting, and attach it to your own, which is large, I shall send the divine force of twelve gods, *as per margin*, who are very ferocious ghosts. Of this force 7,000 stop at Chamoorchee, 5,000 at Dhurma, 9,000 at Buxa, and 12,000 at Dhalim Doar. You have done great injury to our country, and should not repeat it."

In spite of the "ferocious ghosts" Colonel Watson took possession of Buxa on the 7th of December, and found it to be a wretched sample of military architecture; and having only one gun, a dismounted Chinese piece of great antiquity. Advancing by a causewayed road, that was pleasantly shaded by graceful ash and willow-trees, Watson marched westward by the plains, and took possession of the Balla Pass, and left a detachment to hold its stockaded fort. Near the bed of a dry stream, in which the troops found a welcome vein of coal, he established his camp, at the foot of the hills, while our two right columns were busy along the frontier of Assam.

Colonel Campbell, of the 43rd Light Infantry, territorially named from that province, had crossed the Brahmapootra River on the 2nd December, accompanied by Brigadier Mulcaster, and established a standing camp at the summit of the Darungah Pass, fifteen miles distant from the hill-fort of Dewangiri. The village, which consisted of several huts, three great temples, and a stone

edifice occupied by the Soubah, crowned a ridge of the Himalaya, about 2,000 feet in height, from whence could be seen the level plains of Assam, covered with groves of mango, bamboo, and tea, interspersed with tea-gardens and tree-ferns.

After the tents were pitched, Captain Macdonald, with fifty men, preceded the column, which on the 9th began to penetrate the mountains beyond the pass, by a path which was only the bed of a rugged torrent. The advanced guard was formed by a company of the 43rd, under Lieutenant Peet, who came upon a stockade manned by the Bhotanese, to the volleys of whose slingers and jingal-men he made a brisk response; but, when about to storm it, was recalled by General Mulcaster, who now received tidings of the successful capture of the fort of Dewangiri by the gallant Macdonald, with only six casualties.*

The column at once advanced to that place, when a royal salute was fired as soon as the guns came up. Strict orders were given to leave the temples unmolested; and in the library of one were found more than a thousand volumes of sacred writings. Two mountain howitzers of the half-caste battery, with six companies of the 43rd, under Colonel Campbell, were placed as a garrison in Dewangiri, to carry out the scheme of complete annexation, and on the 17th of December the brigadier marched the rest of the troops back to his standing camp; but on the day after his arrival the right centre column marched for Bishensing, a hill-fort forty-two miles distant. The route proved a most arduous one, so much so that frequently only four miles' progress were made in a day, owing to the steepness of the mountains and the impervious density of the ancient jungles, to counteract the miasma of which quinine was every morning administered to the troops, who did not find themselves within three marches of Bishensing till the 5th of January.

So little was known of this district, in which the grass was sometimes so high as to conceal the largest baggage elephants, that on General Mulcaster advancing with much caution and resolution, at the head of the 12th and 44th Native Infantry, to storm that which he had been led to consider a strong hill-fort, he found, to his intense surprise, only a small stone house, occupied by an aged Lama priest. Leaving, however, three companies of the 44th to hold it as a post, he began his return to Gowhaty, on the frontier of Assam.

The Government at Calcutta, believing that the task of annexation had been completely accomplished, unwisely hastily issued orders to break

* Dr. Rennie.

up the Doar field force early in February, to withdraw the regular troops, and leave the occupation of the newly-acquired districts chiefly to some 800 men of the Bengal Police Battalion, together with a few light cavalry posts along the hilly frontiers of Bengal, Assam, and Cooch Bahar, while the land was to be placed under deputy-commissioners and divided into districts.

That all this was premature soon became apparent; for when all seemed quiet, and the Bhotanese were to all appearance coerced, they were secretly and actively preparing for a general onslaught upon the whole of the small and isolated chain of hill-posts that lay between Dewangiri and Chamoorchee. Thus, on the night of the 29th of January, the little garrison in the former place was suddenly environed, when least expecting it. The camp faced the north; a Sikh company of Roorkee sappers were on its extreme right; in the centre were the six companies of the Assam Light Infantry; on the left was the jungpen's house, occupied by some officers and the Bengal Police; while in front of the centre was the artillery, on a mound 150 yards distant.

Amid the darkness and stillness of the morning of the 30th, about five o'clock, a terrible noise was heard suddenly in the camp, as if all the cattle had broken loose, and Lieutenants Peet and Storey, of the 43rd, who occupied the same tent, were roused by its cords being slashed through, like all the rest in camp. It was then found that the Bhotanese had crept past all the advanced sentinels unseen, and were now, with matchlocks, slings, arrows, spears, and swords, making a general attack. The gunners rushed to their cannon, the troops confusedly and half-clad fell into their ranks, opening, as they did so, independent file-firing in that direction where they supposed the enemy to be; and thus the Bhotanese were kept in check till day was fairly in, and their position could be exactly seen. Then Colonel Campbell, with the 43rd and sappers, charged them with fury, and drove them off, but not without encountering an obstinate resistance. Lieutenant Urquhart, of the Royal Engineers, was mortally wounded by a jingal bullet, four men were killed, and Adjutant Storey, of the 43rd, and thirty-one others, were wounded; but Tongso Punlow, the aged leader of the Bhotanese, fell (as he received a wound which ultimately proved mortal), with more than sixty of his men, who, though repulsed, were by no means defeated, and for three days continued, without intermission, to harass Campbell's post, and destroyed a bamboo aqueduct which supplied it with water from a spring about a mile and a half distant.

Taking fresh courage now, they took possession of the mouth of the pass, thus cutting off Campbell's communications with Assam, and began to erect a stockade within 600 yards of his camp. At this point the Bhotanese were 5,000 strong, each matchlockman carrying a flask of powder, a bag with 100 bullets, six pounds of rice, and twenty stones, each sufficient to stun a man.*

It was now deemed impracticable, with the small force in Dewangiri, to dislodge the enemy from their position before it, and water was imperiously required. Hence Campbell contrived to dispatch a messenger to Brigadier Mulcaster, urgently requesting aid, but was told that the force he had with him was sufficient to hold Dewangiri, which commanded the five great passes into the mountains; yet Darungah, the great central one, was now in possession of the enemy.

Ammunition, which he at least expected, failed to reach Colonel Campbell, who, finding his position a desperate one, resolved, on the night of the 4th of February, to abandon it, and endeavour to reach the plains of Assam by a valley in the hills known as the Libra Pass. Secretly and quickly he made all his preparations. Of the 43rd he told off 250 men to carry and escort the sick and wounded, fifty to carry two twelve-pound howitzers, while the remainder of his force (only 200 bayonets) formed the advance and rear guards.

In silence—for their lives depended upon it—the troops began their downward march, amid darkness, at one o'clock on the morning of the 5th; but the enemy were aroused, and the march had to be covered by a fire from the pickets; and soon the extreme difficulty of such a retreat became apparent, as it was made amid pitchy gloom, among the wildest and most stupendous mountain ranges in the world. The main column lost its way, and a panic ensued. The cannon had to be abandoned, and, by order of Captain Cockburn, of the Royal Artillery, they were hurled over a tremendous cliff, where, however, they were found by the Bhotanese. After many perils and much suffering, Campbell's troops reached Mulcaster's head-quarters; but all their baggage was taken, together with the wounded, who, instead of being butchered, as all expected they would be, were fed, kindly treated, and all sent in, each man with a small present, by order of old Tongso Punlow, who was then suffering from a bullet in his chest.

The conduct of the 43rd on this occasion was severely reprehended by those who forgot to consider that, until the Bhotan expedition, the corps had never, since its formation, acted as a battalion.

* *Calcutta Englishman.*

CHAPTER LIX.

END OF THE CONTEST IN BHOTAN.—FAMINE IN ORISSA.—AFFAIRS OF MYSORE.

THE unfortunate affair of Colonel Campbell proved to be one of the general series of attacks upon the whole line of hill-posts between the two points named. Bishensing was assailed, on the 25th of January, by a strong force of Bhotanese, whose approach was concealed by the density of the adjacent underwood till they were within half pistol-shot of a stockade which our troops were in the act of constructing; yet they were roughly repulsed by three companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry, who had only two men wounded by their missiles. Buxa was assailed in a similar manner at three o'clock in the morning of the 26th; but the fiery little Ghorkas who held that place repulsed them bravely with bayonet and *kookerie*. Early on the 27th our stockaded post at Tazagong, in the Galla Pass, was attacked with singular fury by the Bhotanese, who sought to cut a passage into the heart of the place, but were repulsed by fifty men of the 11th, under Lieutenant Millet, who routed them with the loss of only seven men. Here, as in other encounters, the casualties of the enemy were unknown, as they always bore away their wounded. Though repulsed here, they did not lose heart, but began the construction of a stockade to command the post of Millet, who was so harassed thereby that Colonel Watson had to march to his succour.

On the 4th of February that officer attacked the stockade, at the head of some infantry, with Armstrong guns and a mortar; but after cannonading and shelling it for two hours, he was compelled to fall back with the loss of Lieutenant Millet killed, Lieutenant Cameron, R.A., mortally wounded, and many men of the 11th Bengal Infantry. Meanwhile our post at Chamoorchee, which was held by only 150 of the Bengal Police Battalion, was menaced, and had some of its sentinels murdered in the night. Major Pughe, their commanding officer, hastened to their succour, but found the Bhotanese so strongly intrenched that he was unable to drive them back, and had to appeal for aid to Brigadier Dunsford, who sent 150 Punjaubees under Captain Huxham. The Bhotanese were driven out, but they returned and re-occupied the work the moment our troops retired.

The Government at Calcutta now began to find their recent measures a mistake, and that there was a rigid necessity for securing the posts that yet remained in our possession. To this end, two

batteries of the Royal Artillery, the 55th Regiment from Lucknow, and the 80th from Dumdum, were marched to the north-eastern frontier without delay, together with three battalions of Punjaub infantry (the 19th, 29th, and 31st), under Brigadier-General Tombs, an officer whose bravery had already won him the Victoria Cross. One of these batteries, with a wing of the 55th, moved against the Bhotanese in Dewangiri; the other, and the second wing, with H.M. 80th, the 19th and 31st Punjaubees, moved to reinforce the left, and the end of February saw them toiling across the fertile plains of Assam towards the snow-capped ridges of the Himalayas; but, ere the month was over, exposure led to their decimation by cholera.

Under Generals Tombs and Fraser-Tytler respectively, the troops were now divided into two independent columns, designated the right and left brigades. The last-named officer commenced hostilities, on the 15th of March, by the recapture of Balla, at the head of the 18th Bengal and the 19th and 30th Punjaub Infantry, covered by the Armstrongs and mortars. The latter set the stockade in flames; from two points the infantry, through fire and smoke, rushed in with the bayonet, and, with the loss of only nineteen killed and wounded, drove out the Bhotanese, who left forty-four dead behind them. Tytler's brigade now pushed on towards Buxa, where the Bhotanese abandoned a stockade, after which, with slight opposition, he took post at Chamoorchee.

Led by General Tombs, the right brigade was meanwhile moving onward to recapture Dewangiri, after halting at the eastern fort of Koomreketta, in a spacious plain at the base of the hills, till the right wing of the 55th and the Royal Artillery guns came up. In each of the five great passes that led to Dewangiri, the key of the whole, the natives had thrown up fortifications to oppose all passage. From Koomreketta reconnoitring parties were sent forward to inspect these works, and on the 13th of March one of those, led by Captain Norman, stormed a stockade in the Balader Pass (leading to Dewangiri), and slew twenty-four of the enemy. Four days subsequently, the stockade in the Darungah Pass was captured, after which there came a last letter from Tongso Punlow, who was still lingering under his wound, asking the general why he wanted Dewangiri

again, and from whom he first got permission to take it.

Tombs waited at Koomreketta till the end of March, when his reinforcements came up, and then, as the rains were at hand, at two in the morning of the 1st of April, he began his march into the Darungah Pass, when a fire was opened from a stockade upon his advanced guard, but a few rounds from a gun soon caused it to be abandoned; the march was resumed, and the invaders halted only at the base of the hill which was crowned by Dewangiri.

At seven next morning the troops, consisting of a battery of the Royal Artillery, the 12th, 29th, and 44th Bengal Native Infantry, part of the Assam Light Infantry, and H.M. 55th, commenced the attack. Along the front of the whole was the last-named corps extended in skirmishing order, while the guns got into position—howitzers on the right, and mortars on the left—at 600 yards' range; but they soon closed up to half that distance from the enemy's works, which were formed of a central stockade, flanked by two others, distant respectively at 120 and 150 yards. As the artillery were now unable to act, from the nature of the ground, the extended files of the 55th crept up the slope of the hill, and fired into the loopholes of the stockade, within the distance of 100 yards, and from these close apertures the fire was briskly returned, when the bugles sounded for the stormers to advance.

A party of these were repulsed in attempting to carry the stockade on the right; another assailed the central one, but was unable to find entrance, till Captain Truro and Lieutenants Douglas and Griffiths gallantly showed a way by climbing over the palisades. When they leaped down, sword in hand, among the Bhotanese, the latter became panic-stricken, and offered no resistance. Then the native troops rushed in, and the natural blood-thirstiness of the Hindostanees was shown by an indiscriminate slaughter, in which the discomfited stormers from the right took an active part, till every Bhotanese in the place was destroyed by the Sikhs and Patans, whose conduct on this occasion was not exceptional, says Dr. Rennie; "it is their character whenever they get an opportunity of so dealing with a beaten foe. . . . Very different is said to have been the conduct of the men of the 55th (Queen's) Regiment, to such of the wounded as escaped the bayonets of the native soldiery. They were seen supplying them with water, and doing what they could to relieve their sufferings by placing them in more comfortable positions." The garrisons of the smaller stockades, on beholding the capture of the great one, fled down

the mountain, and once more Dewangiri was ours, with the loss of only one officer, who was shot in the groin, and three others injured by stones from slings; hence the slaughter that ensued was most unjustifiable, though our officers did all in their power to avert the wholesale butchery.

Deemed untenable during the monsoon, the buildings at Dewangiri were utterly destroyed, and by the 7th of April all the European troops were on their homeward march to Calcutta. General Tombs returned to Gwalior, leaving to Fraser-Tytler the establishment of the chain of hill-posts, fourteen in number, extending from Tezore to Darjeeling, along the western side of Lower Assam.

The Bhotanese were supposed to be completely crushed now; but the Government was again mistaken, for, in 1866, an army of 7,000 men, including a considerable number of Europeans, had once more to penetrate their mountain passes, which was achieved on the eastward and westward simultaneously. These measures so completely overawed the Deb Rajah that he conformed to all we required of him, and concluded a treaty with our civil commissioner, Colonel Bruce. One of its conditions was, that in consideration of the territory we had annexed, the Government of India should pay to that of Bhotan the annual sum of £2,500 sterling, which was to be increased to twice that amount, or 50,000 rupees, in the event of our failing to fulfil the stipulation, and so ended the desultory war with Bhotan.

Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-chief in India, who had attained such distinction there, resigned in February, 1865. He had long been regarded as one of our most able general officers, and was deservedly raised to the peerage as Baron Strathnairn, in the county of Nairn, and of Jhansi, in the East Indies. He was succeeded as Commander-in-chief by Sir William Rose Mansfield, K.C.B., an officer who had served with distinction in the campaigns of the Sutlej and Punjab, in the Crimea, and throughout the Mutiny.

One of the most important legislative measures of Sir John Lawrence had reference to the tenancy question in the Punjab and Oude. He was most earnest in his desire to protect the just rights of the hereditary cultivators against the encroachments of the landholders, whether zemindars or talookdars. In 1865, a great outcry was raised against the acts which were of his creation, as being of a nature calculated to unsettle the engagements which had been made with the landholders, and to revive disaffection. On inquiry it was discovered that the ryots in Oude, for whose benefit the Government had incurred the greatest risk, had

joined the talookdars during the Mutiny, oblivious of the oppression and petty tyranny under which they had groaned for generations, and that in fact there was no class to whom the term of hereditary cultivators could be applied.

With great earnestness and no small acrimony the question was discussed, and then silenced by a despatch from Sir Charles Wood, who desired the

and yet, contrary to what might be expected, they are far from being unhappy. The law allows a husband to beat his wife, and for infidelity to maim her, or else put her to death; but I have never known these severities resorted to, and rarely any sort of harsh behaviour. A man is despised who is seen much in company with women. A wife, therefore, never looks for any fondling from



MARWARI MERCHANTS OF CALCUTTA.

local authorities "to take especial care, without sacrificing the just rights of others, to maintain the talookdars of Oude in that position of consideration and dignity which Lord Canning's Government contemplated conferring on them."

The social condition of the Hindoo peasant was not a very high one. According to a paper read by Mr. Coats before the Literary Society of Bombay, we are told that "the women of the cultivators, like those of other Asiatics, are seldom the subject of gallantry, and are looked upon rather as part of their live-stock than as companions,

her husband; it is thought unbecoming in him even to mention her name, and she is never allowed to eat in company with him from the time of their wedding dinner, but patiently waits on him during his meals, and makes her repast on what he leaves. But, setting aside these marks of contempt, she is always treated with kindness and forbearance, unless her conduct is perverse and bad, and she has her entire liberty. The women have generally the sole direction of household affairs, and, if clever, notwithstanding all their disadvantages, gain as great an ascendancy over their lords

as in other parts of the world." But the author quoted gives us the reverse of this picture of a Hindoo cultivator's establishment, by adding that "the condition of these interesting people is extremely deplorable. Their houses are all crowded, and not sufficiently ventilated, and their cattle and

miles in length, with an average breadth of seventy; and though generally a barren country, its south-eastern portion equals any part of India in fertility, particularly in its crops of rice. The total failure of rains in 1865 had given the Bengal Government premonition of the scarcity that was certain to



INDIAN NOBLES.

families are often under the same roof. Their food, though seldom deficient in quantity, is not always wholesome and nutritious, and they are wretchedly clothed, though exercise and water-drinking generally make them wear well. The constant labour of the women out of doors unfits them for nurses, and a large proportion of their children, in consequence, die in infancy."

In 1866 there occurred a desolating famine in the great province of Orissa, which is about 400

follow; but they took no measures to avert the evil. They were, in fact, quite indifferent, till the visitation came, and it was too late in the season to obtain succour by sea; yet the calamity was greatly mitigated by the humanity and exertions of Lord Harris, Governor of Madras; but the victims numbered three-quarters of a million, and their fate cast a deep stain on the Bengal authorities.*

In 1867 the affairs of Mysore were brought to

* Marshman, Abridg.

an issue, during the administration of Sir John Lawrence. Lord William Bentinck had been constrained by the oppression and insufferable misrule of the rajah to assume the government of that country, and grant him a pension suitable to his rank and requirements, while the local administration was placed in the hands of General Cubbon, one of the old Company's greatest statesmen, under whose care Mysore attained a state of unexampled prosperity. The rajah petitioned Viscount Hardinge to replace the government in his hands. The question was referred to General Cubbon, whose local knowledge enabled him to report with confidence, that every improvement that had been made had encountered the most strenuous opposition on the part of the rajah, and that the transference of the government of Mysore to him would have a most fatal effect upon the people and their prosperity: the request was consequently declined.

In no way daunted by this result, the rajah made similar applications successively to Lords Dalhousie, Canning, and Elgin, and to Sir John Lawrence; but all emphatically refused. Sir Charles Wood upheld the decisions of the five governors-general. The rajah then proceeded to adopt a son, in the old Indian fashion, and demanded that he should be acknowledged as the heir to his throne. In the creation of the principality in 1801, Lord Wellesley had expressly declared that he excluded all heirs and successors to the musnud of Mysore, limiting the enjoyment thereof to the rajah alone, on whom he had bestowed it as a personal gift; but in 1867 the Conservative Secretary of State for India reversed the decision of all the public functionaries there, and recognised the adopted son as the future heir to the throne, and to whom the administration of the country was to be committed on his coming of age.

Since reinforcements for the army of Egypt, under Sir David Baird, no Indian troops had gone westward till this year, when the Abyssinian war was undertaken, and Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, then Governor of Bombay, assured the Ministry that a sufficient force could easily be dispatched before the end of 1867. The command of the troops destined to act against King Theodore was assigned to Sir Robert Napier, then Commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, an officer of a Scottish family, though born in Ceylon. He had served in the campaign of the Sutlej, and been senior engineer at Mouktan, Goojerat, and Lucknow; and he willingly undertook the enterprise, in which the natural obstacles were more to be feared than armed resistance. Among the three Indian presidencies there arose a jealous contention as to

the contribution of a quota of troops from each, and on this subject Sir Robert Napier wrote thus on the 5th of September:—

"I consider it especially of advantage to have the native regiments, if possible, of one army, as they work in harmony with, and rely upon, each other. If they are of different presidencies, feelings of great bitterness arise when one is left in the rear, and partialities are conjured up as a reason why one or other is not taken to the front."

Sir Robert Napier estimated that for this expedition 12,000 men would be required, including 2,000 to remain in port to cover the embarkation of the rest; and with the exception of one regiment of Dragoon Guards, some of the Royal Artillery, and four regiments of infantry, the troops embarked belonged to the Bombay army, including a battalion of Beloochees, whom an eye-witness describes as "a splendid regiment—tall, active, and serviceable-looking men as I ever saw. Their dress is a dark green tunic, with scarlet facings and frogs, trowsers of a lighter green, a scarlet cap, with a large black turban around it; altogether a very picturesque dress."* But the expedition on which these troops departed, though crowned with the most complete success, does not belong to the history of India.

In a brilliant durbar, held at Lucknow in 1867, Sir John Lawrence received, in Her Majesty's name, the homage of the talookdars, zemindars, and other landholders of Oude, who then appeared to have become sincerely loyal to the British Government.

In the same year the generals of Russia succeeded in establishing a protectorate over the semi-barbarous state of Bokhara, or Usbekistan, in Central Asia, the then reigning ameer of which owed to his new patrons the safe possession of a throne that had been assailed by dissatisfied subjects under his rebellious son. This acquisition of Bokhara brought the Russians—ever a source of anxiety in India—into the immediate neighbourhood of Afghanistan, and afforded them a convenient opportunity for interference in the perpetual civil wars which distracted that country. An Afghan prince, with a body of his fierce mountaineers, was already serving in the Russian army, and it was evident that other defeated pretenders might court the favour of allies so powerful.

Dost Mohammed, who had faithfully maintained his engagements with the British Government, had died in 1863. His son, Shere Ali, whom he had nominated his successor, mounted the throne, but was soon driven from it, though he ultimately suc-

* Henty's "March to Magdala."

ceeded in recovering it. While these intestine struggles were in progress, Sir John Lawrence maintained strict neutrality, and avoided all interference in a contest that desolated the country.

This policy was applauded by some "as masterly inactivity," and it may possibly have been the more prudent course; but it soon became apparent that the rapid progress of Russian influence in Bokhara rendered the maintainance of such a policy impracticable. The administration of Sir John Lawrence, which was now drawing to a close, was marked by an earnest advocacy of an open Christian course in the government of India, and especially of making the Bible a class-book in all Government schools, but allowing the attendance of the native pupils to be completely voluntary.

It was also marked by a great attention to works of irrigation, and just before the expiration of his term of office he drew up a minute, detailing those which had been completed and planned for all the three presidencies. The proposed works would have required an expenditure of many crores of rupees; but as the finances exhibited a yearly deficit, the complete canalisation of India had to be deferred to a more auspicious period.

On his quitting office in the beginning of 1869, the leading journal wrote thus:—"It is asserted that Sir John Lawrence has lately seen reason to modify the absolutely neutral policy which he has observed during the lengthened contest in Afghanistan. It is unfortunate that he should be replaced by an inexperienced successor at a moment when

a comprehensive knowledge of Asiatic politics is more than ever required by the rulers of India. For the present, the Russians in Bokhara and the adjacent regions have given no cause of offence to the Indian Government, nor is their mighty power, at so great a distance from their resources, likely at any time to be formidable. It is only in dealing with disaffected subjects or turbulent neighbours that the vicinity of a second European power might lead to complications."*

At this very time we were nearly on the brink of a collision once more with the Chinese, and had to employ a small naval squadron to avenge the wrongs of certain missionaries, though it must seem doubtful whether such interference was justified by our last treaty with "the Celestial Empire," or by international right; and it was perhaps justly—though some said harshly—urged then that "it was impossible to protect all British adventurers who, in the prosecution either of commercial or religious designs, think fit to reside in remote and uncivilised regions. A missionary is not bound to expose himself to death or torture; and if he thinks fit to incur the risk, he must not suppose that he has always a British squadron at his back."

Sir John Lawrence, after his return to Britain, was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom on the 27th of March, 1869, as Baron Lawrence of the Punjab and of Grately in the county of Southampton, and other honours and rewards were deservedly conferred upon him.

CHAPTER LX.

THE ISLES OF BRITISH INDIA.

IN most histories of our Eastern Empire, save by an occasional reference, these dependencies of the great continent are seldom mentioned and rarely described, with the exception of Ceylon and Penang, of which we have given detailed accounts chronologically, in their places. The other islands are Manar and Rameshwaram, the Lacadives and Maldives, the Mergui Archipelago, the Andaman and Nicobar Isles.

The two first-named lie between Ceylon and the coast of the Deccan. Manar is eighteen miles in length, with an average breadth of three, and is separated from Ceylon by an arm of the sea, which

at low water is partly dry. It is nearly covered with pretty groves of the cocoa-nut and palmyra trees, and is famous for its black cattle. From the western point of this island to that of Rameshwaram there runs a bank of sand called Adam's Bridge, which the Hindoos regard as the remains of a bridge constructed by their demi-god Rama when he invaded Ceylon, since when the monkeys have enjoyed a sacred character, as having been then the soldiers of Krishnu. Across this bank are three openings or channels—one called the Tal-Manar passage, the second eight miles to the

* *Times*, 1868.

westward of the isle, and a third eleven miles from Rameshwaram, called the Tanny-Coody passage.* Manar was first occupied by the Portuguese in 1560, but it was taken from them by the Dutch in 1658, after a tough engagement, at the head of 1,000 men with twelve frigates, after which they made it a place of exile for their refractory subjects. It was formerly noted for its pearl fishery, which now has passed away.

Rameshwaram, the other isle at the northern extremity of Ceylon, is low, flat, about ten miles in length, and is considered as the most southerly pier of the series of shoals and coral rocks composing the Bridge of Adam or Rama, and has a population of more than 5,000. "The name signifies the temple of Rama," says an old account, "and there is a pagoda belonging to the lord of the isle, which they say contains immense treasure. The lord of it has built a strong castle opposite to the coast of Coromandel and Madura, which commands a straight passage leading to Manar, Jafnapatam, and Negapatam."†

The pagoda or temple is entered by a gateway 100 feet in height, under which no European has ever yet been permitted to pass; in architecture it closely resembles the Egyptian. Within it is an image of Rama, which is bathed every day with water brought 1,000 miles, from the Ganges; and consequently the concourse of pilgrims, jugglers, and beggars is very great, and each pays according to his zeal or ability. All surplus, after the expense of the temple, becomes the property of a Brahmin family, whose chief is named the *Pandaram*, and with whose emoluments our Government does not interfere. The whole island is dedicated to the purposes of religion; no plough is allowed to break its sacred soil, and no animal, wild or tame, permitted to be killed within its precincts; but early in the fourteenth century the Mohammedans carried their arms into it, and erected a mosque in testimony of their zeal.

In the Indian Ocean, 150 miles westward of the Deccan, lie the Lacadives, a group of isles which are divided into fifteen clusters of two or more each, surrounded by rocks, coral reefs, and dry, uninhabited spots. They were discovered by Vasco da Gama in 1499, but passed to Britain, with Canara, at the close of the eighteenth century. Each cluster is called an *attollon*, and the natives, who are of Arabian origin, and about 10,000 in number, assert that each of these was formerly one island, through which the encroaching sea has made inroads. Owing to the extreme intricacy of the navigation, they are seldom visited by European

ships. The three principal isles are Anderot, Caharita, and Akhalu, and all are of coral formation. The first of these presents one remarkable feature, in the land being highest on the windward side, where it rises almost perpendicularly from an unfathomable depth, whereas all the others are protected to windward by sloping banks of coral.

The larger isles grow plantains, cocoa-trees, the manufacture of coir from the husk of the nut being, with the cultivation of rice and fishing, the sole occupation of the peaceful and inoffensive inhabitants, whose circulating medium is the cowrie-shells that are found upon their shores. An old writer, De la Val, tells us that those "who are much in the sun about noon often lose their sight in the evening, and for the recovery of it take the liver of a cock boiled, write certain magic words upon it, and swallow it just before sunset." He adds that he and his companions found much benefit from this recipe, though they omitted to use the charm. Only twenty days' consumption of rice can now be grown in all these islands; the rest is imported from the continent.

Two hundred miles south-west of Cape Comorin lies another cluster of coral islands, named the Maldives, in seventeen groups or *attolls*, the entire chain of which has a length of 466 geographical miles, and the narrow channels between which are most unsafe for ships of burden, owing to the bottom being coral, and the anchorage near the shore, on which the mighty surge of the Indian Ocean is for ever rolling in tumultuous fury. Some of these clusters are now wasting away before its violence; and in many places the cocoa-nut groves of the *attolls* are already standing in the water. One island has totally disappeared; but a sacred banyan tree that grows upon it is still visible.

The natives of the Maldives, estimated at more than 200,000, are of African race, though the higher orders among them, by their fairness of complexion, seem of Persian descent. They carry on a considerable trade with the continent of India by means of decked boats, and, like the people of the Lacadives, they traffic by means of cowrie-shells, which are valued at one rupee per *goolah*, a bundle of about 1,200. They are a quiet and peaceable race, and the awkwardness of their sword and spear exercise at festivals shows that they are but little accustomed to use them. Their only military duty is to serve in rotation, with muskets, at the palace of their prince at Malé. They are both civilised and hospitable. In 1777 a French ship, having many ladies on board, was cast away on the isle of Yemety, and they were treated with the utmost

* Major Sim's Report.

† "Atlas Geographus," 1712.

kindness and attention. The poverty of these isles—perhaps, save those of Mergui, the poorest in British India—has saved them from foreign invasion, although the Portuguese erected a fort on one of them, but were soon driven off. Hyder Ali contemplated their conquest by his fleet, till frustrated by his wars with the British and Mahrattas. It is singular that, among the Maldives, the brewers reside in one group, the goldsmiths in another, and the locksmiths, mat-makers, potters, turners, and joiners each inhabit their respective group.

The ordinary dress of the men consists of drawers and a cummerbund. The head-people wear in addition a sash of embroidered silk or cotton; and on Fridays, when attending the mosque, a white turban and overshirt reaching to the ankles. The women's dress is a skirt from the waist to the knees, and they are not kept from the view of strangers, or secluded, as in most Mohammedan societies, though a plurality of wives is allowed.

The Mergui Archipelago is a chain of bold and rocky isles, which lie in a triple line from north to south along the coast of Tenasserim, with deep, wide, and smooth channels between them. They are covered with trees—red-wood, lance-wood, satin-wood, and cocoas—and are edged with rocks, which are encrusted with little oysters. Small rills of pure water pour down their sides; but a few patches of cultivation are only to be found in those opposite the town of Mergui. There is a spacious harbour, capable of containing a fleet, on the north side of St. Matthew's Isle, formed by it and the adjacent islets, named Phipps, Hastings, Russell, and Barwell. A race of men, named Geelongs, are found scattered among these Mergui islands, where their dread of the Malay pirates keeps them in constant locomotion to escape slavery. Of this race Dr. Helfer is the only traveller who has written any account; and on his landing among them, he says a general terror spread everywhere, the community not knowing whether friend or foe had come. "Suspecting an incursion of the Malays, the women and children fled into the interior, and their best property, sea-slugs and rice, had been buried in all hurry in the jungle. Finding that a white man had come among them, the whole community came in the morning to welcome me." They are chiefly fishermen; but he adds that "they have no nets—the trident is their only weapon, and with it they spear sharks as well as turtle; all the rest is done with the *dah*, or hand, as they know no other instrument."

The Nicobar Isles, which lie 180 miles south-west of Pegu, are a British possession. The largest of the group is named Sambelong; but

the two most visited by Europeans are Carnicobar and Nancoury; there are nine others, with a multitude that are nameless. They are generally covered with wood, and some have large trees that are of little value. In 1756 the Danes attempted to make a settlement on Nancoury, but by 1770 scarcely one settler remained alive. They were chiefly Baptist missionaries, who sought to convert the natives, who are of Hindoo race with an interfusion of Malay blood. The men are nearly beardless, and shave their eyebrows, but never cut their nails.

The climate is unhealthy, owing to the heavy dews by night. In the year 1782, the *Hinchinbrook*, East Indiaman, came for supplies to the Great Nicobar, and out of twenty-one persons who slept a single night on shore fifteen perished, four others had severe fevers, and the only persons who escaped in safety were two who walked about the whole night.

The weapon of the men is a javelin; the women, who are remarkable for their ugliness, till the ground. Most of the country ships from the different coasts of India touch at the Nicobar Isles to procure cocoa-nuts, which they purchase at the rate of four for a leaf of tobacco, and a hundred for a yard of blue cloth—the former is the current medium of all exchange and barter. The yams grown in these isles are the finest in India, and the oranges are good and abundant.

The Andaman Isles (the penal settlement of British India) are a group in the Bay of Bengal, forming the larger and more northerly portion of that island chain which stretches from the southern shore of Burmah to the north-westward of Sumatra. The length of the Great Andaman is about 150 miles, and is from eighteen to thirty in breadth. The Little Andaman, thirty miles to the south of it, is twenty-eight miles long by seventeen broad. In the former is a mountain 2,400 feet high. The climate is temperate, and on both grow the banyan, almond, and oil-trees, the latter to a vast height, and many other beautiful kinds of wood; amid which scorpions, snakes, and lizards abound, and in the branches of which, as well as in the rocks, the salangane, a kind of swallow, builds its nest, which is edible, and an object of traffic.

The aborigines, whose total number does not exceed 2,500, are an anomalous race of the most degraded and repulsive description; and are supposed to be the descendants of a cargo of African slaves wrecked upon these isles, which before that had been uninhabited. Fierce, cunning, and vindictive, they are perfectly black, never over five feet in height, with huge disproportioned heads,

high shoulders, small limbs, and protuberant stomachs. The only covering of their persons consists of mud, in which they are constantly coated as a protection from the noxious insects which infest these isles. Their woolly hair they dye red with ochre. Their habitations are branches of trees, spread over four short poles; their couches are leaves, and they have no vessels capable of resisting the action of fire. Their weapons are

Demon of the Storms, whose wrath they deprecate in wild and barbarous choruses. In the time of Kæmpfer they were deemed cannibal, but this has been since disproved.

The necessity for a British establishment, as shelter for shipping east of Bengal, and also as a dépôt for the reception of convicts, induced the Government to establish a colony at Port Chatham (in 1791), a well-sheltered, picturesque embayment



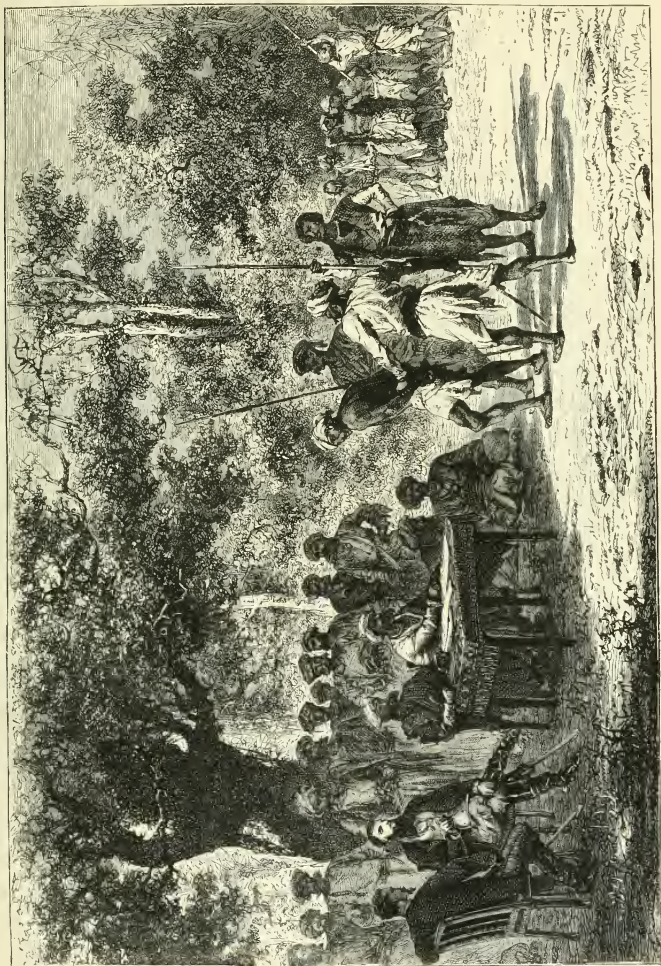
PORTRAIT OF THE EARL OF MAYO.

bows and lances of iron-wood. The former are bamboo, strung with vegetable fibre; their arrows reeds, pointed with fish-bone. Their mode of running up a cocoa-tree is remarkable—running up like a monkey, and descending with astonishing velocity. In tempestuous weather they are reduced to the utmost want, feeding on rats, lizards, and snakes, and perishing when these resources fail. Their language has no affinity to any other in India, and they worship the celestial bodies and various imaginary genii, especially one named the

at the south-eastern extremity of the Great Andaman. Two years subsequently a similar attempt was made at Port Cornwallis, in the same island; but the extreme unhealthiness of the locality, together with the ferocious disposition of the natives, and their excessive hostility to all strangers, rendered the attempt abortive.*

We shall have again to refer to these islands, when detailing the unfortunate fate of the successor to Sir John Lawrence in the administration of India.

* "Asiatic Researches," vols. ii. and iv., &c. &c.



A COURT OF JUSTICE IN THE JUNGLE.

CHAPTER LXI.

EARL OF MAYO VICEROY.—SHERE ALI.—THE REVENUE OF INDIA.—THE FEUDATORY PRINCES.—THE LUSHAI WAR.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKE, Earl of Mayo, was the next Viceroy of India. Born at Dublin in 1822, he was a man of refined literary taste and high diplomatic talent. When Lord Naas, he had been M.P. for Kilkenny, and had thrice been Secretary for Ireland. Prior to his departure for the East, he paid a farewell visit to his native land, to which, with all its associations, he was tenderly attached, and in October, 1868, was at Palmerstown, his family seat. "The day before he left these scenes for ever," says his biographer, "he chose a shady spot in the quiet little churchyard on his Kildare estate, and begged that if he never returned, he might be brought home and laid there," as if some foreboding of the sudden fate that awaited him had passed through his mind.

On the 13th of October, he left Palmerstown, as he tells us in his diary, "amid tears and wailing, much leave-taking, and great sorrow." On the 25th, he dined with the Prince of Wales, at Marlborough House; and on the 11th of November, 1868, left London for India, by the overland route. He reached Calcutta, on the 11th of January, 1869, where his reception on the great flight of steps at Government House formed an imposing spectacle. He was received by the worn and veteran viceroy in full uniform, "his face blanched, and his tall figure shrunken by forty years of Indian service; but his head erect and his eye still bright with the fire that had burst forth so gloriously in India's supreme hour of need.* The earl took the oaths as viceroy on the 12th of January, 1869.

One of his first acts was to modify Sir John Lawrence's policy of non-interference with the affairs of Afghanistan, and to confirm amicable relations with Shere Ali, the reigning ameer. His predecessor had frequently been censured for his persistent neutrality during the struggle for supremacy among the descendants of Dost Mohammed; and it is no doubt probable that Shere Ali, when his rule was finally established, may have felt but small gratitude to the Viceroy of India for the tardy recognition of his title, though, as an Eastern ruler, he was little inclined to regulate his policy by sentimentalism. He was, however, invited to an interview with Lord Mayo, who received him

with every pomp at Umballa, on the 29th of March. With the Russian dominion steadily extending itself over Central Asia, and almost to the base of the Afghan mountains, Shere Ali saw the necessity for an alliance with the only power which was strong enough to protect him; and in his journey to Umballa he had a good opportunity of appreciating the strength and discipline of our troops in North-western India. Although it was deemed unnecessary to conclude a formal alliance, Shere Ali was gratified by a subsidy of twelve lacs yearly and a supply of arms.

By all this he no doubt understood that our Government simply desired the maintenance of his power and independence, as a native prince, interposed between us and the Russian advance to Khiva and Bokhara. Lord Mayo rendered himself popular with all the native princes by his graciousness, and with the European community by his winning manners and noble hospitality. In all his domestic administration he profited largely by his parliamentary and Irish official training to exercise a vigilant supervision of finances. On a careful revision of the Indian budget, it appeared that the expenditure largely exceeded the revenue; and he began at once, by a vigorous effort, to restore equilibrium, by a sweeping system of retrenchment.*

Before the end of his first year, Lord Mayo had completed his circuit of India, or 5,666 miles, by rail, steamer, and saddle. In the latter he sometimes travelled from sixty to eighty-six miles a day, and he availed himself of every conceivable conveyance—Punjaub camels, Bengal elephants, and the *yakhs*, or riding cows of the Himalayas. From Bombay he sailed to the coast of Goa, and wherever he went we are told that the consolidation of the British power in India struck him "as a marvel of labour."

On the 16th of November, 1869, the fêtes inaugurating the opening of that link between Europe and India, the Suez Canal, took place. They commenced with religious ceremonies in the open air; at these were present the Empress of the French, the Khedive of Egypt, the Emperor of Austria, the Crown Princes of Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and the Grand Duke Michael of Russia,

* Hunter's "Life of the Earl of Mayo."

* *Times*, 1869.

with many other royal personages, and the diplomatic representatives of all nations; and on the 20th the canal was traversed by forty sea-going vessels, among which was the imperial yacht, *Aigle*, with the Empress Eugénie on board.

That this great work has been a success experience has proved. In 1870, for instance, the tolls taken came to £206,373; in 1874, they were £994,375; and Mr. Fitzgerald records* "that the receipts were trebled in two years from the opening, and in the next four years this amount had been almost doubled; while the receipts at the end of the last year (1875) were nearly six times those of the first. This progress, or anything approaching to it, will not, of course, be maintained; but, on the other hand, the steady increase at five per cent., at which some competent authorities have declared it will settle down, seems far too low. There are hardly any data to go upon, the development being literally incalculable, for we know not to what extent the trade with the East may expand under the new encouragement, and fifteen or twenty per cent. steady increase does not seem so improbable."

Ever since the Suez Canal service has been instituted, all H.M. troops proceeding by that route to India have been directed to "call for orders" at Gibraltar and Malta.

In the same year there was held a great industrial exhibition at Kurrachee, in Scinde, the chief entrepôt of the Indias; and to celebrate the event medals in bronze and silver were struck, bearing upon them for the first time since the capture of Delhi by General Wilson that title which became such a vexed matter seven years after, "Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India." The same title was used three years subsequently, in an address by the Rajah of Jeypure, in connection with the Baroda inquiry.

For the first time in our national history, an Indian budget was presented to the British Parliament in 1868-9, by the Duke of Argyll in the Peers and Mr. Grant Duff in the Commons; and from the accounts presented to the latter, in May, 1870, the net receipts and expenditure were as follows:—

Total revenue (net) ...	£40,012,925
Expenditure over revenue	4,144,643
	£44,157,568†

Of the improvement of the agricultural population of India we find Sir Charles Trevelyan, the financial Minister there, writing thus on the 27th of July, 1870:—After mentioning that wages

had risen from two to eight annas a day, he goes on to say that the peasant proprietors had "become emancipated from the village money-lenders, to whom they had been enthralled time out of mind. They have been elevated to a state of physical ease and abundance, so that the time has now come for commencing their education and moral improvement on a comprehensive and systematic plan. There was no use in attempting it while they were ground down to the earth, and were struggling for daily subsistence. They are now so well off that innumerable stories are current about the fancy bullocks in which they indulge, and the marriage-portions they give their daughters; and Oriental imagination has even marked the change by the characteristic mythical ploughing with a silver ploughshare. The agriculturists are the only class to whom the great rises of prices have been pure gain. The merchants have had immense losses from the panic and collapse of trade; the Government has lost by high salaries and prices what it gained by high prices; but the peasants have kept their share, and their share was the largest. The result is that 'the poor ryot' with his 'scanty subsistence' is a thing of the past. Then there is the excise duty on spirits and drugs. This ought to be screwed up to the highest possible point which will not encourage smuggling. That is the principle on which all Anglo-Indian Governments profess to act, and they have only to go on, and really carry it into effect."

One of the most noted features in Lord Mayo's administration was the projection of another system of railways, embracing 10,000 miles, to be constructed by the State, and not by the agency of guaranteed companies. A rigid economist of time, the earl rose always at dawn, and began the work of the day at once, frequently, in his ardour for business, omitting the morning ride so usual with all Europeans in India. In a private letter to H.M. Ministers, dated the 23rd of November, 1870, he wrote thus:—

"Our relations with the native feudatory states are, on the whole, satisfactory, though they are by no means defined. We act on the principle of non-interference, but we must constantly interfere. We allow them to keep up armies, but we cannot permit them to go to war. We encourage them to establish courts of justice, but we cannot hear of them trying Europeans. We recognise them as separate sovereigns, but we daily issue to them orders which are implicitly obeyed. We depose them, as in the Tonk case, when the ruler permits or sanctions a grievous crime; or create an administration for them, as in the Ulwar case, when

* "The Great Canal at Suez" (2 vols).

† Finance and Revenue Accounts.

a chief misgoverns or worries his subjects. With some we place political agents, with others we do not. With some, as with Jeypore, Bhopal, and Patiala, we are on terms of intimacy and friendship; others, such as Dholapore and Ulwar, we scarcely ever address, except to find fault with them for some gross neglect of duty. In fact, all our action with regard to these petty despotic States is governed by the circumstances of the time and the character of the ruler, and it must be so if we are to influence them for good."

Lord Mayo discerned much evil in our feudatory system, and was much hurt by the native maladministration, which the principle of non-interference left him powerless to amend—as all petty intermeddling precluded salutary intervention; yet he greatly wished to develop such a scheme of general government as would secure to the many princes of India their present cherished independence, while at the same time arming the suzerain with power to check their abuse of authority over their people.

In the second year of his administration he found that in Rajpootana improvement proceeded slowly, and that the power of the princes over their *thakors*, or barons, was no greater than it used to be of old; and that in Jodpore and Ulwar female infanticide, and many other social evils, prevailed to an enormous extent, and that in all these districts there was a vast amount of undetected crime; but Lord Mayo was not one of those reformers who hope to change the customs, habits, and thoughts of a people in a day. He kept his hands "unstained by a single annexation," yet he made every native prince to feel that, if he proved unfit to rule, the sceptre would be taken from him.*

Ulwar was now to be the scene of some trouble. This state lies north-east of Rajpootana, and comprises, with its adjuncts, a superficial area of about 3,000 square miles, populated by 778,591 souls. Its army consisted of 7,498 men, and its revenue was £200,000 yearly. It was founded in the latter part of the last century by a Rajpoot chief, who became an ally of ours; and nearly seventy years of British surveillance, since the days of Lord Lake, had made it a prosperous state. But early in 1870 the Earl of Mayo had tidings that the people of Ulwar had risen in arms, and that 2,000 of them were in the field against their prince. One-half the *thakors* were loyal to him; but the other half were with the rebels, whom his misrule had exasperated, as he had confiscated to his own uses the public lands assigned for the support of his troops and the relief of the poor, and had proudly and

vindictively rejected all the counsels of our political agent.

Terms between the contending parties seemed impossible, though a last chance was given the prince by Lord Mayo, who summoned him to name a committee for the management of affairs. As he neglected to do this, the viceroy created a native council at Ulwar, the capital (which stands at the base of a steep hill, seventy-five miles from Delhi), with the British agent as president; and under their care the principality rapidly emerged from its troubles, though the prince clung to his worthless favourites, and, at a state durbar held on the Queen's birthday, publicly insulted his nobility. The council did its work well and ably; but the prince held himself haughtily aloof, "and sank deeper and deeper into the slough of evil habits, until he died, a worn-out old man, at the age of twenty-nine, in 1874."

This was the most serious case of misrule during Lord Mayo's short administration, and the only one in which he had to push the necessity for interference to the point of superseding the hereditary prince; but he was strong in power, as he gathered around him a circle of chiefs whose personal character he admired, in whose administration he took pride, and by whom he was beloved in turn.

He entertained very stringent views of the duties of the Indian Government towards the hill tribes on the frontiers. He held that we were bound to preserve the peace of the borders, not by vindictive inroads for chastisement, but by the organisation of preventive measures.

"It is with great reluctance," he wrote, "that I have to express the opinion that it will be necessary to send, in the ensuing cold weather, an armed force into the country of the Lushais. The cruel raids that have been made for years upon various parts of our territory, more especially on the Tea Gardens of the Cachar District, and the very unsuccessful and inefficient means which have been hitherto taken for the protection of our frontier, together with the partial mismanagement, or want of success, which have attended almost everything which we have done, have doubtless imparted to these savages the impression that we are either unable or unwilling to take active measures, and to punish the perpetration of such crimes."

He estimated the expense of the intended expedition at ten lacs, or £100,000;* and, save a disturbance among the Kookas, and another near Hyder Kail, the petty Lushai war was almost the only occasion when any fighting occurred during his administration.

* "Life of Lord Mayo."

* Ibid.

On the 18th of January, 1872, the Kookas—a Hindoo caste—made a serious outbreak near Loodiana, and some Punjaub mutineers attacked the Malad Fort, killing two men and wounding a sirdar; but troops were promptly on the spot from Delhi; 100 Kookas were killed, and a vast number made prisoners. About the same time General Keyes had to march from Edwardesbad, with 1,700 bayonets, to punish some hostile tribes, whose chiefs submitted, while their followers fired upon the troops. General Keyes at once attacked and utterly destroyed the Afghan village of Hyder Kail, on the Cabul road, killing forty of its defenders.

With regard to the punishment of the Lushais, Lieutenant Woodthorpe, in his narrative of it,* tells us that the tribes on the north-eastern frontier of India have ever been a cause of anxiety and expense to the British Government. Every district in that quarter has the same characteristics and history. Bordered by, or forming part of, a range of hills inhabited by fierce and roving tribes, for ever engaged in armed inroads on their neighbours, plundering the villages and leaving them in flames, while bearing off to slavery all whom they did not kill or disable. The rights of the hill-men, real or fancied, were always respected carefully when we annexed any district: losses sustained by them were made good, and every means were taken to conciliate them; but after the annexation of Cachar, which we wrested from the Burmese in 1824 (after they had conquered it in 1774), it became necessary to secure the peace of the frontier, and enable the peaceful tea-planters to follow their avocations unmolested, and this was the object of Lord Mayo in dispatching the Lushai Expedition in 1871-2.

Cachar is a province lying between Bengal and Ava, bounded on the north by Assam, and to the south by Cassay. On the west it is bounded by Sylhet; on the east by the Jiri river, to its delta on the Barack, and from thence to where a stone pillar marks the triple junction of Cachar, Muni-pore, and the Lushai Hills. It is mountainous, sterile, and full of jungle. The ancient name of this territory was Hairumbo. The natives are Hindoos of the Khuti tribe; formerly a communication was kept up between them and Bengal, and Mr. Verist, with a party, visited Cossore—its capital—in 1763, before it fell under the yoke of Burmah. The Cacharis are a quiet and inoffensive race, whose rajah pays a yearly tribute to the British Government.

In unison with a tribe named the Pootoo Kookies, the Lushais began to cause much

trouble and anxiety to the Indian Government about 1840 and 1844, when some of the former attacked the village of Sylhet, on the east side of the Brahmapootra river, and carried off several of the people as slaves, together with twenty human heads to bury in the grave of a chief who died at the time. Similar outrages succeeded each other quickly, till early in 1850 Colonel Lister marched against them with a force, destroyed Mora, their largest village, and rescued several hundred captives; but in every movement he was harassed by the Lushais, who fired into his camps, hovered on his line of march, and put every straggler to a barbarous death.

Twelve years later three villages were pillaged and set in flames by these marauders, near Adum-pore; and in 1868 simultaneous attacks were made on those in Muni-pore, a part of the Cassay territory under our protection, and the great tea-gardens in South Cachar were menaced with destruction. Nawarbund was invaded by the Lushais in January, 1869; the villages were everywhere burned, and many people slain. Next, the Monarkil Garden was attacked, a stockade stormed, the police guard routed, and everything given to destruction; after which the Viceroy in Council resolved to send an armed force against these restless marauders, and crush them for ever.

The expedition was ordered to consist of two columns—the right and the left. One was to advance from the district of Cachar, and the other from Chittagong, at the south-eastern verge of Bengal. Each was to consist of three battalions of infantry, with a half-battery of artillery and a company of sappers and miners. The whole force mustered only 2,000 men, with the same number of camp followers, and some baggage elephants.

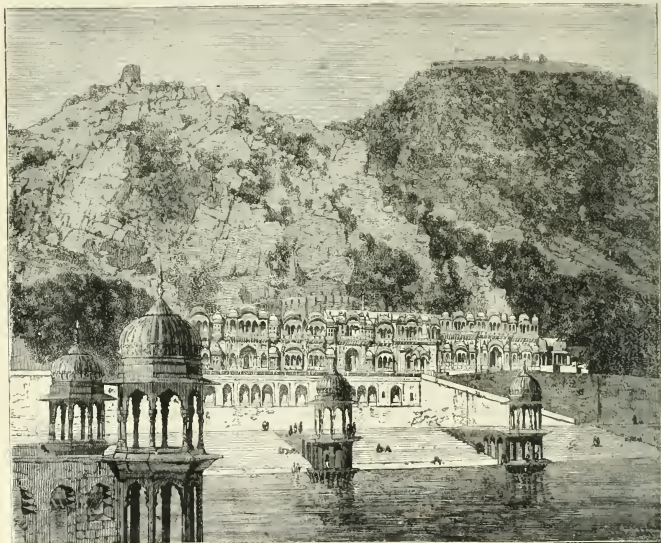
Brigadier Bouchier, C.B., commanding on the north-eastern frontier district, was to lead the Cachar column, with orders to attack Lalboora. The Rajah of Muni-pore was to aid us with a contingent of 500 men, and Major-General Nuttall—an officer of great experience in frontier warfare—was to accompany it as political agent. By his directions the rajah was to establish a line of outposts along the mountains, eastward of the Tipai Mukh, and to have an advanced force near Chiboo, for the double purpose of securing the valley of Muni-pore, and to prevent a chief named Kamehow from aiding the Lushais, who, at the same time, would be precluded alike from moving eastward, closing upon our rear, and cutting off our supplies from thence.

The Lushais, like all mountaineers, are men of a hardy nature and muscular frames, and are great

* "The Lushai Expedition." One vol. London.

hunters and eaters of venison. Their average stature is good, their complexion a deep rich brown; they have flat noses, full projecting lips, and eyes that are small and almond-shaped. They are fond of Scottish tartans of brilliant colours; these they procure at Munipore or Cachar, but their chief attire is a large piece of homespun cloth twisted round the body. For

Stafford; 500 of the 42nd Assam Light Infantry, under Colonel Rattray, C.B.; 500 of the 44th Assam, under Colonel Hicks; 100 Native Police, under Mr. Daly; half of the Peshawur Mountain Battery, under Captain Blackwood, R.A., and the Sapper Company, under Lieutenant C. Elwyn Harvey, R.E. The management of the commissariat was entrusted to Colonel Davidson, who had



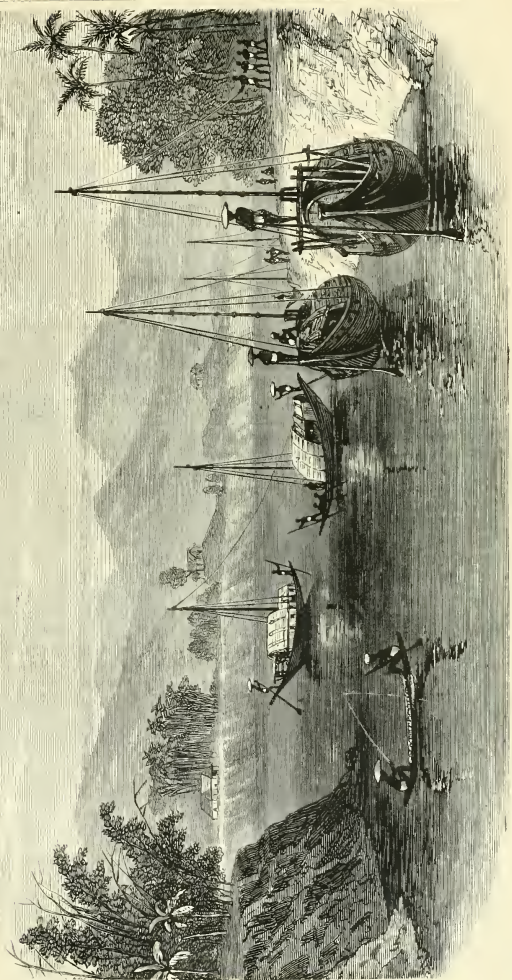
VIEW OF THE LAKE OF ULWAR.

arms they had old flint muskets, some of considerable antiquity; their bullets are iron slugs or balls of hammered lead, and their powder-flasks are bulls' horns, frequently mounted with silver. Their other weapons are spears, the *das*, a triangular dagger twelve inches long, with two-handed Burnese knives, bamboo bows and poisoned arrows. Their dwellings are of timber, thatched with jungle-grass; they are frequently enclosed by stockades, and are usually built on hill-tops or commanding ridges.

General Bourchier's column consisted of 500 men of the Punjab Infantry, under Colonel

a coolie corps with the elephants; while another coolie corps, 800 strong, under Major Moore, carried the lighter baggage. Silchar, a little village of a few brick houses, was named as the rendezvous of the corps forming the expedition, and for that place all their trenching tools, Norton pumps, waterproof sheets, and gutta-percha boots, had been sent on by water.

Some delay occurred in moving the Cachar column, owing to the slow drying of the country, after some unusually heavy floods; but by the 22nd of November, the 44th Assam Regiment had reached Mynhadur, the last and most outlying of



SCENE ON THE RIVER BARACK, NEAR CACHAR.

the tea-gardens, on the left bank of the Barack river, where the sappers and police were already at work making roads to the front, for the purpose of getting on the artillery, which had been left at Cachar, until the route was reported practicable for elephants that were to carry the guns of the left column.

The country through which they had to proceed consists of jungle, studded with steep hillocks; but the troops were all in high spirits and anxious to push on, though cholera broke out among the camp-followers, and Captain Hidayat Ali lost 150 coolies out of his corps of 800. "They had been shamefully overcrowded in the flats that brought them to Chattack"—says a paper of the day—"and a proper supply of medicines and medical officers had somehow been forgotten at the right moment. Under Dr. White's active care, however, the cholera was fast disappearing, and great praise is given to the commissariat and local authorities for the energy with which they have pushed on the work of obtaining and forwarding supplies, in spite of obstacles thrown in their way by the natives."*

Between Mynhadur and the place called Tipai Mukh, four camps were established, and the troops built them huts of bamboos, for which kind of work they were all supplied with native knives. Of Tipai Mukh General Bouchier made a careful reconnaissance, but could discover no stockades or other defences. Limes, cinnamon, and walnut-trees abounded, and in many places the paths lay through fine forests, where gigantic creepers swung from the branches overhead in graceful festoons. In some places the Lushais put up certain threatening symbols, as if to warn our troops of what awaited them. One of these was a bamboo gallows, from the cross-beam of which some little wooden dolls were dangling; another consisted of slender bamboo canes stuck into the trunk of a felled tree, from the wounds in which a natural sap of deep red, like blood, was oozing.

On the bank of a stream called the Tuibum, a party of fifty of them was discovered by the advanced guard, against whom they made threatening demonstrations, and yelled out to the troops to turn back and go home; but on the 44th advancing steadily, they fled into the woods shouting, and without firing a shot. As it was supposed they meant to fight at a place called Kholel, General Bouchier resolved to give them no time to strengthen their position there, and so he advanced towards it on the 23rd of December, by a march up-hill, amid jungle dense and thick. The advanced guard was led by Colonel Roberts,

who came suddenly upon an edifice, called a joom-house, from which the Lushais fired briskly upon our skirmishers as they debouched from the jungle into the open, but, closing in, the 22nd Punjaubees rushed, with fixed bayonets, against the enemy, who fled like hunted deer over the hills behind the joom-house, which was instantly destroyed, with all its stores of grain.

In this kind of fighting the steep nature of the ground and the density of the jungle were much in their favour, and against accoutred troops. As the latter advanced they found many blood-gouts in all directions, but no other trace of the fallen, as the Lushais bore them all away, having a strange belief that if the skull of a man slain in battle becomes a trophy of the foe, he is compelled to be the shadowy slave of the victor in the world to come. A three hours' skirmish up-hill was terminated by the destruction of two villages and many storehouses full of rice and grain, after which our troops pushed forward.

Another village on the Vauboug ridge, the chief stronghold of a leader named Kalhi, was vigorously defended by the Lushais, but was captured by the 44th with trifling loss. The former then resorted to desultory firing from the woody shelter of a forest into the camp; by this several men were hit, and skirmishing between them and our sentinels continued the whole night. General Bouchier, with a party of the 44th, under Captain Robertson, carried a fourth village next day, and destroyed it by fire. On Christmas Day, the work of punishment was still in progress, and parties of the 44th, under Captains Robertson and Lightfoot, gave twenty-two well-filled granaries to the flames.

On that festive day the officers attempted to establish a Christmas mess, and all dined round a table on which lighted candles were placed, as the evening was calm and still. But as darkness fell, the Lushais began to fire at the lights from an adjacent thicket, and it was remarked that whenever a song was sung they always ceased firing to listen.

So greatly did they increase in strength, skill, and caution, that this point soon became untenable, and General Bouchier resolved to fall back on the Tuibum river, and there take post; but as this would appear as a timid retreat to the Lushais, he used secrecy in effecting the movement. The advanced guard was formed by the 22nd; the 44th covered the rear, while the baggage and sick were sent on in front. The new camping-ground by the Tuibum was overlooked on every side by steep mountains, densely wooded, and from these the Lushais harassed the troops by

* Allen's Indian Mail, 1871.

incessant firing, especially on the detached parties who were burning their villages in all directions. Near one of these our advanced skirmishers came suddenly upon a man clad in a yellow cloak, with a scarlet cap. He proved to be a messenger from Poiboi, the Lushai chief at Kholel, suing for peace, or at least a cessation of hostilities and destruction of villages. To this the general consented temporarily; then the jungle firing ceased, and two days of perfect quiet ensued.

On the 27th, the Lushai sharpshooters began to

give considerable trouble again, as the general states in his report, "until we had cleared the jungle for some distance round the camp. The road as far as this will be ready for elephants to-day. A reconnoitring party proceeded three miles onwards yesterday without coming across the enemy."

Up to the 1st of January, 1872, the skirmishing in wood and jungle, and the destruction of villages, continued without intermission, and the sufferings of the Lushais, in life and property, were admitted by themselves to be very considerable.

CHAPTER LXII.

LUSHAI WAR.—THE RIGHT COLUMN, ETC.—LALBOORA DESTROYED, AND PEACE ENFORCED.

In a despatch from Vananah, dated 23rd of December, 1871, Brigadier-General Brownlow reported that a portion of the right column, under Colonel Macpherson, had made its way to a range of mountains and destroyed a large village, marked on the map as Lalpoethal, and that Major Macintyre had captured and destroyed two others, which had been strongly stockaded, with all their rice granaries, estimated at 8,000 maunds, seizing on twenty-five *gvals* and all the pigs and poultry.

Writing on the 5th of January, the *Times* correspondent says:—"Intelligence from the Lushai expedition shows that no time has been lost since the troops arrived in the enemy's country, in striking at the resources of the tribes; and already there has been an outcry here (at Calcutta) that the war is cruel—about the most absurd outcry ever raised in relation to military operations. The demand for the expedition was general; men confessed on all hands that these successive raids must be checked, or our Cachar tea-gardens deserted. Yet how we were to reach the tribes was a problem not to be solved theoretically. If they stood, there would be no difficulty; if they rose, there would be no means of punishing them save by the destruction of their stores. The fighting so far has been very slight, as running has been the order of the day. Well, we have destroyed what stores the fugitives left behind, and they have systematically destroyed all they have been able to destroy before retreating. Their scouts and sharpshooters have hung around both columns ever since the arrival of our troops in the thick jungle country. Our men have been fired

upon from every hill-top. And yet there are people who blame them for destroying stores—and blame them in India, too, where military feeling is supposed to be so strong, and where it cannot be weak without entailing disastrous consequences. I refer to the subject lest the same unjust outcry should be raised in Britain. Our officers have been sent to do an unpleasant duty; their orders are so simple and definite, that almost everything which has occurred was foreseen long before the expedition was entered upon. The forbearance of the Indian Government has been most marked. You will remember that even after the raid of 1868 there was a general hesitation about following the raiders. Instead of an expedition, Lord Mayo sent a mission of peace, used every argument to persuade the tribes to enter into peaceful relations with the men of the plains, and exchange visits with them yearly for festive intercourse and trade. But it was of no avail, and as a last resource the expedition was organised."

The artillery had been left at Tipai Mukh, guarded by a wing of the 42nd and another of the 44th Assam, under the command of Colonel Hicks. The gun and commissariat elephants were usually sent a little way up the riverside to graze, and on the 27th of December, trusting to the cessation of hostilities, the drivers had unwisely taken thirty-six of these to a greater distance than usual, and an alarm reached the camp of their being attacked. The drums beat to arms, and, as the troops were forming, an elephant came trotting in, with its blood pouring from seven bullet wounds. The *mahouts* next brought tidings that the camp

was about to be attacked. Colonel Hicks at once got the guns into a proper position; a musketry fire began to flash redly out of the leafy jungle, where the dark figures of the crouching Lushais were invisible. The two infantry wings poured in a few sharp volleys at random; but a single cannon-shot where the enemy's fire was thickest proved effectual. Some shrieks and yells rent the sky, and then the fusillade died away.

A party of the 42nd, under Captain Harrison, recovered nine of the elephants and some of their drivers, who were severely wounded; and next day all the animals were recaptured save three. Three attendants were killed and one wounded.*

The slain were found to have been most barbarously mutilated, hacked, and decapitated; and, singular to say, the scalps only had been carried off.†

A halt was now made at an advanced post, named Pachui, where the general hoped to bring the western tribes to terms, and collect supplies, to enable him to march with rapidity against the village of Poiboi, in case that resolute chief should oppose our principal movement upon Lalboora; while, to secure our communications, a road was formed to the Tuivai river. The troops were now amid the most magnificent scenery, where every morning the deep valleys were filled with silvery mist, from which the mountain-spurs and rocky peaks started abruptly up like islands amid a sea of carded wool.

When General Bouchier, on the 17th of January, with a wing of the 44th, was descending a bank of the Tuivai—a fine stream that foams amid rocks, between mountains covered with forests—so many Lushais became visible that he halted in line. Then Darpong, the former messenger in the yellow cloak, approached, and promised that Poiboi would come and parley with him in the night. To this strange meeting the general declined to accede, and resumed his march, after which 200 Lushai sharpshooters were seen to extend themselves in skirmishing order over some rough ground in front. All these men were clad in grey shirts, with a grey fillet round the head, and each carried a haversack slung over his left shoulder.

The 44th now halted in line, about 150 yards in front of them, and, through Darpong, the general demanded that Poiboi should now come to treat with him. As he did not appear, the advance was resumed with steadiness; and though the Lushais uttered many fierce warning cries, they did not fire, while the troops ascended a height of more than

2,200 feet, up which the elephants, with the artillery on their backs, were driven with inconceivable labour; and ere long Chelam, the chief village of Poiboi, became visible over the crest of an intervening eminence.

General Bouchier having been informed that he might expect an attack at eight a.m. on the 25th, in a ravine through which he had to pass, sent Captain Robertson of the 44th, with fifty men, in advance. The general, with a wing of that regiment and his staff, followed, while only sixty men of the 22nd were left to protect the guns and coolies. The advance had not been made for more than half a mile into the wooded ravine, when shots were heard in front and along the whole line of march, for the force of Bouchier was so reduced now, by the number of detachments he had been compelled to leave at different places, that he had not sufficient men to scour the defiles on his flanks.

In the first discharge of bullets and slugs, the general's orderly was shot dead from the right bank, and himself was wounded from the left bank in the hand and arm. Captain Robertson threw out his little party in skirmishing order, and carried the ground on the left flank, "while the rest of the 44th, under Colonel Nuttall and Captain Lightfoot, flinging down their packs and great-coats, dived into the rocky stream, and, meeting the enemy in their own jungle, almost hand to hand, drove them up the hill, scattering them most effectually. Thirteen Lushais fell almost in one spot in the stream, those who were not dead being dispatched without mercy. One was trying to escape up the face of a rock, over which some water trickled into a pool below. The slippery stone hindered him, and, ere he could mount it, a Ghoorka cut him down with his kookerie. He fell on his face in the pool, looking painfully like a woman as he lay with his smooth cheek and neatly braided hair and knot."*

When the troops pushed on, and reached more open ground, the Lushais could be seen rushing in confusion along the green spurs of the hills, and all making for one point, the village, as if their chief stand was to be there.

After traversing a narrow and perilous path that wound along the sheer face of a mighty cliff, and which for a long distance was commanded by a stockade at a point where a few brave men might have held it against thousands, and where whole battalions might have been slaughtered simply by large stones dropped from above, our troops were permitted to pass unmolested, till they came to a

* General Bouchier's Despatch.

† Lieutenant Woodthorpe's Narrative.

* Lieutenant Woodthorpe.

second stockade, on the crest of a very steep ridge. Owing to the precipitous nature of the ground, it was impossible to carry by a rush this work, from which brisk firing at once began; but two detachments of the 44th, under Captains Lightfoot and Robertson, moved round to its right flank, and, finding concealment among the tall, wavy jungle-grass, allowed the Lushais to expend their ammunition in the direction of the cliff pathway, where Bouchier had halted the main body under cover of a bank, till the result of the flank movement was seen.

Terrified on finding themselves suddenly attacked in the rear and flank, the Lushais fled down the steep slopes, and vanished into the forests. The village was entered through the stockade; the baggage was brought in during the evening. Fires were found burning in all the houses, and the troops regaled themselves on such food as they could find.

It now came to the knowledge of the general that it was only on the preceding evening that, at a council of chiefs of tribes, Poiboi had come finally to the firm resolution of casting his lot with the rest in arms, believing that if he could achieve the slaughter of the unarmed coolies, we should be compelled to retire; but the number of dead that lay in the ravine proved how complete the defeat of his people had been, and so hasty was their flight, that they had only time to remove the heads of two of the fallen.

Colonel Roberts was now ordered to follow up this success, by taking a hundred men, and two steel guns of the mountain battery, to Taikum, and burn the village of that name. On this service the guns were not carried by elephants, but by coolies, sixteen to a gun—six for the carriage, six for the gun, two to each wheel, and four for the ammunition boxes. After traversing some mountain-ridges, one of which was 6,000 feet in height, and *en route* turning the flank of a strong stockade, about five p.m. Colonel Roberts found himself before Taikum, a village of some two hundred houses, well stockaded, and full of armed warriors. He brought the steel guns to bear upon it at twelve hundred yards' distance, with shells. Four rounds completely cleared the village, which the troops then set on fire, and fell back to the place where the guns were halted—a knoll, from whence the flames and smoke of the blazing houses presented a striking scene, as they ascended into the calm, moon-lighted sky. By eleven at night the troops were again in camp, weary and worn with the work of the day.

Tidings now came from Cachar to the effect that certain captives, carried off in a recent raid, in-

cluding a little girl named Mary Winchester,* whose name made some noise at this time, would be given up to the other column of our army by the Syloo tribe, whose chief had sent a submissive message to General Brownlow, then halted at Savoanga, 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and from whence he reported that he was campaigning in a country of which he could give no proper indication by the map, as it had "ceased to be correct."

With detachments of the 22nd and 44th Native Infantry, General Bouchier, on the 1st of February, was again in motion. He marched along the western face of Muthelen, a route overhung by steep and gloomy mountains, and through an old primeval forest, where the rays of the sun seem never to have fallen, and ere long he came again in sight of Chelam, on its hill, 8,500 feet in height. "This was the chief stronghold of Poiboi, whose house stood high above the others, which rose in tiers of broad streets upon the slope, and were enclosed by a strong stockade."

No trace of the Lushais was visible, save some human skulls placed grimly as ornaments on the posts of a wooden gate; so the troops marched in without molestation. Part of the wall of Poiboi's house was found to be covered with human skulls and the antlers of the sambar. Orders were now issued for the right and left columns to effect a junction, prior to which General Bouchier resolved to reduce Lalboora, the chief village and stronghold of the enemy. The time was one of heavy rains, but the troops were well hutted, and in good health.

* Mary Winchester was born at Elgin, in Scotland, but lost her mother in early infancy. She was taken to India by her father, who had been appointed plantation overseer at Beckrampore. About March, 1871, Mr. Winchester paid a visit to the tea-plantation of Mr. Sellar, a "brither Scot," in Cachar, and was accompanied by his little girl. During the visit the party was attacked by the hill tribes. Sellar escaped, Winchester was shot while running off with his daughter on his back, and Mary was carried away to the wild Lushai country. The Lushais being unable to repel the attacks of the British expedition, she was latterly handed over to one of the Southern Howlong chiefs who was on friendly terms with the British, and who delivered her up on January 30, 1872, to a party of the 4th Ghorkas, by whom she was brought to Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, at Dewangiri, and by him she was sent to the Commissioner's house at Chittagong. On hearing of her release, her grandparents in Elgin applied to the Government for her, and their request was at once complied with. She left Calcutta on March 4, 1872, and reached London towards the end of April. She was then seven years old, and was described as a pretty, affectionate, and intelligent child. She would give no information respecting her captivity, but always looked sad whenever the Lushais were mentioned, and said she didn't want to hear or speak about them. It is obvious that she must have been a favourite with her captors, otherwise they would probably have put her to death. Before they restored her to the Howlong chief, they cut off her beautiful curls, and kept them as a sort of memento of her sojourn among them.

General Brownlow was meanwhile advancing north-eastwards, and had crossed the Dullesuree—two mountain-ranges. On the 18th of February he telegraphed from Changoomana, between the

British colours, where they had never waved before. Next day he reached the greater village of Lalboora, consisting of five hundred houses. The chief having failed to surrender, it was given



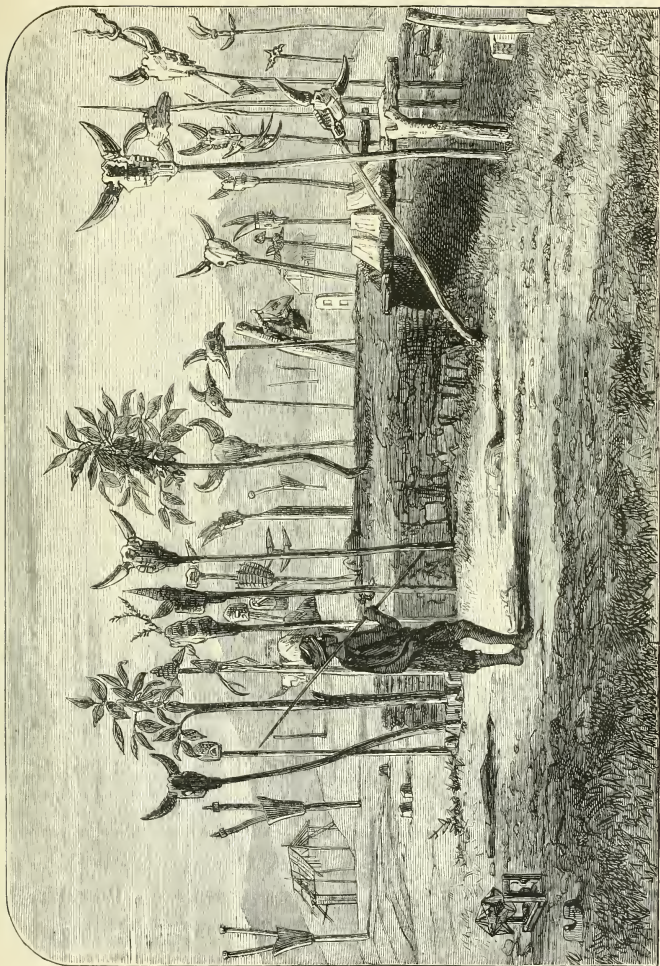
PORTRAIT OF MARY WINCHESTER, THE CAPTIVE OF THE LUSHAIS.

Koladyne and Dullesuree rivers, that two of the most powerful chiefs and northern Howlongs had made their submission, sent in captives whom they had taken, and bound themselves to keep the peace, and allow free access to their country now and hereafter.

On the 17th General Bouchier, after some heavy marching, reached the village of Lungvel, the stronghold of Vonslel, and there hoisted the

to the flames, after the troops took out the pillage, among which were found many articles carried off by raiders from the British territories.

After haranguing the troops, and thanking them in the name of the Queen and the Earl of Mayo, General Bouchier gave the welcome order for the homeward march, prior to which he had a parley with the chiefs and head-men of the now thoroughly humbled and harmless Lushais, in his



THE GRAVE OF A LUSHAI CHIEF

camp near a stream, at a pleasant spot under some beautiful trees. To them he dictated the terms of peace:—They were to agree to receive British agents in their villages; to restore all firearms carried off, and pay as an indemnity a war drum, a set of gongs, ten goats, fowls, and twenty maunds of rice in the husk. The fine was paid, and the homeward march began, with the 42nd Assamese in front. All seemed happy to quit these terrible mountains, but none were happier than the captives rescued from slavery.

In March the troops re-entered Cachar, and then the field force was broken up.

"From the beginning of November, when the troops were first put in motion, to the present time," said General Bouchier in his Farewell Order, "every man has been employed in hard work cheerfully performed, often under the most trying circumstances of heat and frost, always bivouacking on the mountain-side, in rude huts of grass or leaves, officers and men sharing the same accommodation, marching day by day over precipitous mountains, rising at one time to 6,000 feet, and having made a road fit for elephants from Luckipur to Chipoune, a distance of 103 miles. The spirits of the troops never flagged, and when they met the enemy they drove them from their stockades and strongholds until they were glad to sue for mercy. The history of the expedition from first to last has been sheer hard work. . . .

Young officers may especially feel glad at having had such an opportunity of gaining experience in mountain warfare."

So ended this petty strife, since which—save the Naga outbreak—we have had peace on the frontiers of Assam and Cachar.

By this time various means had been taken in order to secure our authority in Central India and elsewhere, caused by the recent attempt of the mutineers to destroy it. The number of European troops had been already raised to the requisite standard, and the facilities for their transport on the shortest notice to any point of danger had been multiplied by the construction of many hundred miles of railroad, which would be further increased by the numerous arrangements schemed out for covering the whole continent with a network of railway lines; while, by the extension of the telegraph to Europe, intelligence of any outbreak would reach Britain on the day on which it occurred. The opening of the Suez Canal—which we have noticed in its place—by shortening the distance between Britain and India, brought into play those resources of European strength on which the safety of our Eastern Empire depends, so that now

they are within four weeks' reach of the nearest Indian post. In the course of our narrative we have seen "that whenever the mutinous sepoys encountered the Queen's troops in the field, though they might outnumber them as ten to one, they were signally defeated; and there can be no doubt that if on the outburst of the Mutiny the Government had enjoyed the same advantages for facing it which they now possess, it would have been nipped in the bud, and possibly might never have been attempted."^{*}

At the same time that Lord Mayo created a kind of new frontier by the Lushai expedition on the north-east of Bengal, he was equally busy in Burmah, repressing the hostile proclivities of the Golden Foot, developing commerce, and compelling a due respect for the power of Great Britain.

The settlement of the Mekran, or Western Khelat boundary, had been rendered necessary by the continued encroachments of the Shah Nasser-ed-Deen, and his pretensions to the whole country between the boundaries of Scinde and Bandar Abbass. At Teheran these were viewed simply as a mild mode of evincing long-existing rights; but it became plain to the intervening states, and to the administration at Calcutta, that the question at issue was the pressure of the Persian frontier close up to our own. In September, 1869, the Viceroy laid before the Secretary of State the dangers that would follow if this were permitted, urging that if Persia was to absorb the regions lying between Scinde and the Mekran, the safe and prudent policy deemed so essential to British interests would be brought to a rough and speedy termination. The Mekran is a large and maritime province, forming the central part of Beloochistan, and separated by a desert from Afghanistan. The northern and inland part is separated from the maritime district by a range of barren mountains; and the whole province was occupied by a number of independent chiefs, whose power and extent of territory were continually fluctuating, and who professed allegiance to the Khan of Khelat, the Inaum of Muscat, or to the Shah of Persia, according to their own interest or the whim of the moment, and who could always bring 25,000 men into the field.

In November, 1869, the Viceroy again represented to Her Majesty's Government the necessity for dealing firmly with Nasser-ed-Deen, and ending finally this continued dispute as to boundaries, lest matters should become more complicated.

On this the Home authorities continued to plod,

* Marshman's "India."

ponder, and reflect, till the spring of 1870, when Lord Mayo was compelled again to press his views and desires upon them. In the most urgent feature of the question—the definition of the boundary-line between Persia and the Khanate of Khelat—he, in the meantime, gained his point; and on the 14th of April in that year a letter from the Shah reached London, agreeing to have the matters in dispute submitted to arbitration.

Under this consent, General Sir Frederick John Goldsmid, C.B., a Madras officer of high talent and learning, was deputed, in 1870, to carry out the work. The chief object of his mission had been to arrange the Sistan frontier, but the disturbed state of Herat rendered it impracticable for the ruler of Afghanistan to send a commissioner there; thus, Sir Frederick was ordered to proceed southward by Beloochistan, and there to settle the Khelat boundary. He marched, accordingly, to Bampore, the seat of authority in Western Beloochistan, and thence to the ocean, collecting sufficient topographical information to enable him, in 1871, to draw up a convention, which was accepted by both parties. But the actual demarcation of the frontier was effected by a subordinate commission in 1872, under Major St. John, of the Royal Engineers. What Lord Mayo achieved for Persia and Khelat he was, at the time of his assassination, attempting to perfect between Afghanistan and Persia.

Sir Frederick Goldsmid's decision in the affair of Sistan was given in August, 1872, as arbiter for the Perso-Afghan frontier; but neither of the claimants were satisfied—for to the tribes there, as to the Scottish and English borderers of old, there had been handed down a bitter legacy of wrong and reprisal, "and each village, with its own running sores, was not to be suddenly plastered over by parchments signed by high contracting parties at a distant court." Time was requisite to perfect the pacification of such a predatory and warlike frontier.

In December, 1869, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab telegraphed to Lord Mayo that an envoy from Kushbegi, or Ataligh Ghazee (Defender of the Faith), had arrived at Leh on his way to the British frontier, from the ruler of Eastern Turkestan, concerning its frontier with Afghanistan. Our only knowledge of his master, Yakoob Kushbegi, who had risen on the conflict of races and creeds in Turkestan, was derived from the inquiries of Mr. Johnstone, a talented officer of the Indian Survey Department, and the more recent account of Messrs. Howard and Shaw, two travellers who had just come from that remote region; and it was now, for the first time, that this

new power in Central Asia—the *Altishahr*, or Lord of the Six Cities of Eastern Turkestan—came to the official knowledge of the Indian administration.

For the honourable reception of the ambassador of this new potentate orders were duly issued; but for nothing more. On the 29th of January, 1870, he entered the city of Lahore, with letters from Yakoob Kushbegi to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Viceroy, and the Queen of Great Britain. Towards the end of March, in an interview at Calcutta with Lord Mayo, he laid before him his credentials, and, among other things, solicited that a British officer might accompany him back on a friendly visit to his master, Yakoob of Eastern Turkestan.

Lord Mayo, after some inquiries as to the actual power of the latter and the consolidation of his recently conquered territories, assented; and that eminent Indian civilian, Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas Douglas) Forsyth, was selected, and his powers were most minutely defined to him. He was to proceed to Yarkand, the capital of Eastern Turkestan (once in the Chinese Government of Ele), on a mere friendly visit, but with a view to obtain every information regarding the country and the removal of obstacles to commerce, if any such existed. He was to abstain from all political questions, and to limit his stay in the country so as to run no risk of finding the passes of the Himalayas closed by snow, and thus being detained in Yarkand for another twelve months.

On the 26th of April, 1870, Mr. Forsyth left the Punjab, and proceeded through Cashmere to Leh (or Leea), where he was joined by the Yarkand envoy, with whom he proceeded on his journey across the Himalayas, ascending through the Masimik Pass, 19,400 feet above the level of the sea, where the snow lies for ever; and by the 7th of August he was in the territories of Yarkand, where he found that, though that province and Kashgar were at peace, the Ataligh Ghazee was engaged in a civil war with other portions of his dominions.

On this, Mr. Forsyth, in accordance with certain instructions from Lord Mayo, resolved at once to return, but proceeded as far south as the capital, Yarkand, which had a population variously estimated from 40,000 to 200,000, and was surrounded by stone walls three miles in extent, with a vicinity that is fertile, yielding rice, barley, fruits, and silk. There he re-fitted his train with provisions and beasts of burden for re-crossing the Himalayas. By the vice-regent of the Ataligh he was received with honour, and regrets for the absence of his master at the seat of war, and every effort was

made to detain him till the prince's return from battle; but Mr. Forsyth, finding the new kingdom was far from being consolidated, led back his retinue to India by a new route.

He learned much that was new concerning an almost unknown region; his visit evinced the friendly sentiments of the British Government; and from it, in 1870, dates the first turning-back

of Russian commerce in Central Asia before the advancing tide of British enterprise. The Russians have the prescriptive hold of that commerce; but the bazaars of Central Asia are ample enough for us both; and every season, since the first advent of Sir Douglas Forsyth, has seen the Brito-Indian merchant still more firmly established in Eastern Turkestan.

CHAPTER LXIII.

LORD MAYO'S FOREIGN POLICY.—RETRENCHMENT.—THE EX-KING OF OUDE.—INCOME TAX AND SALT DUTY.—RAILWAYS.

THE chief work of the Viceroy's foreign policy lay upon the western and north-western frontier of India; and what that important work was, is thus given by the Hon. Sir John Strachey, of the Bengal Civil Service, in a paper quoted by Dr. Hunter:—

"There is hardly one of the kingdoms that border on our Indian Empire of which it may not be truly said that peace and settled government have been unknown in it for ages. The history of one and all of these, from Oman to Yarkand, is a record of wars, revolutions, and dynastic changes, succeeding each other with such rapidity as to leave in the mind of the reader only a confused feeling of bewilderment. This chronic state of turbulence and disorder—destructive of ancient landmarks and boundaries, and producing only weakness and disintegration—both provokes and invites annexation. It ruins commerce; destroys the productiveness of the soil; scares away peaceful traders, who have an interest in the preservation of order and settled government; creates a permanent class, whose interest it is to perpetuate anarchy; and produces isolation, jealousy, and distrust in the countries that suffer from its curse. It was this state of things that forced on the extension of the British Empire to the mountains beyond the Indus. It was this state of things, more than lust of conquest, that extended, in spite of herself, the dominion of Russia in Asia.

"To apply a radical remedy to these evils was the main object of Lord Mayo's foreign policy. Honestly proclaiming, and showing by his acts, that the spectre of annexation was laid for ever, he taught our neighbours that they had nothing to fear from us. By bringing about a common understanding between the countries on our frontier as to their

mutual boundaries, he sought to remove every pretext for war and aggression. By assisting the rulers of these States to strengthen their internal government, and by bringing both his own personal influence and the moral support of the British Government to bear in putting down rebellions and revolutions, he endeavoured to establish firm, just, and merciful government. By the encouragement and development of trade he hoped to break down the barriers which isolate these countries from us, and to create, both within and beyond our frontier, a permanent interest in the maintenance of good order. By free and friendly intercommunication he desired to remove that ignorance as to our policy, and that jealousy of our intentions, which in past years have been so fruitful of mischief. And lastly, by endeavouring, through frank and amicable discussion with the Russian Government, to secure the adoption on their part of a similar policy in the countries on the Russian frontier in Asia which are subject to Russian influence, it was his hope that he would be instrumental in securing some degree of peace and prosperity to the exhausted countries of Central Asia, and in removing the causes of disquietude as to the designs of Britain and Russia which have been so prominent in the public mind in both countries."

Lord Mayo's system of foreign policy was essentially his own, for, excepting a brief period when he had the able councils of Sir Henry Durand, he was his own Foreign Minister, and, personally, the initiating Member of Council for Foreign Affairs, working the Foreign Department almost entirely through its secretary, Mr. Charles Umpherston Aitchison, C.S.I.

When he assumed the viceroyalty, the conquests and annexations of a hundred years had left on our hands a population alleged to be nearly 150,000,000—even 200,000,000 (though the exact number never has been known)—with 50,000,000 of feudatories, a yearly revenue of £46,000,000 sterling, and a debt aggregating in November, 1869, £208,000,000, being the permanent cost of establishing our power in India. Of the last item, £70,000,000 may be deemed the cost of conquests, and about £35,000,000 as the expense of crushing the sepoy revolt and of the subsequent military organisation.

The Mutiny of 1857, says the biographer of Lord Mayo (abridging many blue-books and statistical abstracts), left on the hands of the Indian Government "two great armies—a vast shattered wreck of native troops, and a European force, fewer in numbers, but admirably equipped, hardened by a fierce struggle, and organised on the basis of constant readiness for war." In the year 1856 the native troops mustered 249,153 men of all arms; the European, 45,522. The terrible lesson taught us by the Mutiny led to the reduction of the native army to half its original strength; and to the corresponding increase of Her Majesty's troops by about half their number.

When all dread of further revolt passed away, and the respective armies were placed upon a new peace establishment, the native force consisted of 140,507 officers and men; the European of 75,337; but so effectually was the empire tranquillised under the vigorous government and able civil administration of Lord Lawrence, that on the 1st of April, 1869, the native army numbered 133,358 of all ranks, and the European, 61,942.

A fortnight after Lord Mayo's arrival at Calcutta, the Duke of Argyle, as Secretary of State for India, sent him a despatch on the yet unsettled matter of military reform, pointing out that, notwithstanding the numerical decrease of the forces since the Mutiny, the expenditure on them had increased from twelve and three-quarter millions sterling (1856-57) to over sixteen millions in 1868-69; and urged that, while a novel and most expensive system of native police had been organised, the anticipations of military retrenchment had been disappointed; and a hope was expressed, that his lordship would endeavour to reduce the military expenditure of India by a million and a half sterling.

After giving the matter his deepest consideration, in September, 1869, he brought it before the Council, where he had advisers of high experience: Major-General Sir Henry Durand, the military

member of Council; Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Norman, then secretary in the military department; and, more than all, Lord Sandhurst, the Commander-in-chief, who had served in the campaigns of the Sutlej and Punjab, the operations on the Peshawur frontier, and under Lord Clyde in all the operations that led to the suppression of the Mutiny.

"Their previous efforts at military retrenchment had been directed partly to numerical reductions, partly to a more stringent economy in the staff and the various departments charged with the army administration. They now found that, as regards the latter class of charges, a vast saving might be effected by a better distribution of the duties and a more accurate adjustment of appointments to the actual amount of work to be done. But they also found that economy in administration, however stringent, would be wholly inadequate to meet the case; and that even if they suddenly cut down every such grant for the effective services in India by one-half, the saving would fall short of the one and a half million desired by the Secretary of State. It is hardly necessary to add that no measure of this sort was ever contemplated by the Duke of Argyle, for it would have left the army shattered and utterly disorganised."*

His Grace's allusion to the new police, whose great numbers had led him to hope for a reduction of the army such as had not been realised, served to strengthen the Indian executive in its plan for numerical reductions. They found that by the gradual progress of good government, the same efficient police referred to by the duke, the development of that railway system which had been a pet scheme of the Marquis of Dalhousie, and the improved rifles now in the hands of the troops, India could be controlled and guarded with a less costly army in 1870 than in preceding years.

The scheme of military reform which the Earl of Mayo's administration developed consisted of certain proposals under specific heads. He ascertained that retrenchments, aggregating £79,000, were possible without any sacrifice of efficiency in the staff and other departments of the army, and these he carried out firmly and stringently; but when he came to consider the numerical reduction among the troops, European and native, the question became a complex one indeed, for he conceived that of the former we had not one man too many in India. Nevertheless, he proposed to reduce the expense of that force by half a million sterling, without diminishing their numbers or pay.

He showed that the chief cause of the great

* Dr. W. W. Hunter.

military expenditure arose from the circumstance that the European corps in India had dwindled from their proper effective strength, so that a large number of separate battalions were necessary to give the requisite number of fighting men. He therefore proposed to keep the same total of effectives, but to reduce the number of separate regiments, and thus get rid of the expensive organisation of eleven European corps, as involving the

having each forty company sergeants and an average of 790 bayonets. The Earl proposed to reduce seven of these regiments from service in India, and to raise the strength of the remaining forty-five to fifty company sergeants and 930 bayonets. The number of sergeants, corporals, and privates on the roll of the fifty-two battalions originally was 43,160. The total strength of the forty-five, on the new system, would have been



AN INDIAN MAIL CART.

maintenance of a needless number of separate staffs. Hence, while the pay of officers and men remained untouched, the number of the latter would be increased, while efficiency would not be lessened; and that similar changes in the Queen's cavalry and infantry alone would yield a yearly saving of £297,220. A corresponding reform in the artillery, by the amalgamation of batteries, &c., would give a further reduction of £271,542 per annum. Hence, the total saving in European troops alone would be £568,762.

In 1869, the Treasury of India was charged with fifty-two separate regiments of British infantry,

44,100, showing an increase of 940 rank and file, with a certain decrease in other ranks, represented by the staff, commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the seven battalions dispensed with. The saving to the Indian exchequer by this arrangement would be £122,220.*

With reference to the British cavalry, the Viceroy found the revenue of India charged with the support of eleven regiments, having an average strength of 378 sabres, making a total of 5,060 of all ranks. This force he proposed to reduce by four, but to raise the remainder to a strength

* Despatch, 4th Oct., 1869. Quoted in Hunter.

of 518 troopers, the total of all ranks to be 4,200. Of this alteration the Commander-in-chief approved; and the eventual saving in this arm of the service would amount to £175,000 yearly.

twelve brigades, with eighty batteries, having 11,525 men and officers, which would give a saving of about £271,542 per annum throughout India.

The possible reductions to be effected in the



VIEW OF THE SALT MOUNTAINS OF RAWAL PINDI, HIMALAYAS.

As regards the artillery, it was proposed to reduce the undermanned batteries and raise the others to a proper standard of efficiency. The Royal Artillery, then on service in India, was formed into sixteen brigades, with ninety-four batteries, mustering of all ranks 11,993 men. These the Viceroy and Lord Sandhurst resolved to re-organise in

native army were the cause of much discussion between Lord Mayo and his military advisers.

"The general scheme of the military retrenchment and re-organisations proposed by Lord Mayo's Government divides itself into four branches, and would have effected an eventual saving of close upon one million sterling. Thus:—

" 1. Staff Appointments	£46,065
" 2. Army Departments, and reduction of the Governor-General's Body Guard	32,940
" 3. European Troops— Artillery—6 horse and 8 field bat- teries	£271,542
Cavalry—4 regiments }	297,220
Infantry—7 regiments)	
	568,762
" 4. Native Army— Artillery—4 batteries or companies	17,003
Cavalry—4 regiments	59,009
Infantry—16 regiments	224,474
	300,486
" Total Saving	£948,253"

Such was Lord Mayo's scheme of military re-trenchment, and though he lived long enough to carry out a large portion of it, that adopted by Her Majesty's Government yielded eventually the saving of £591,440 per annum. To Lord Sandhurst and to Lord Napier of Magdala belong the credit of carrying out in detail, as Commanders-in-chief, the improvements in the various arms of the service effected or suggested during Lord Mayo's short period of rule. He advocated that the health and vigour of the European troops should be economised by a system of hill-stations, and other sanatoria, such as cottage barracks, "which, while fulfilling every desideratum of health, comfort, and discipline, enable a whole regiment to be housed for a smaller sum than, under the old system of imposing but less comfortable structures, it would have cost to house three companies." Nor was the duty of making a fit provision for the orphans of British soldiers in India forgotten by this generous Irish noble. To him it was a source of much earnest thought, and he appointed a committee for the more efficient working of the bequest of Sir Henry Lawrence. Regimental workshops, exhibitions, and every device for keeping alive the mental activity of our soldiers under the hard strain of an Indian climate, found in him a constant friend; and a mass of notes and papers which he left behind him proved the deep interest he took in the Lawrence Asylums.†

On many great subjects, such as education, irrigation, railways, and important questions affecting the ryots and rural people of India, he had well-defined views of his own, and strove, with some degree of success, to give effect to them. He considered personal acquaintance with the local administrators as an essential necessity in the good government of India; and this acquaintance he made by the exercise of princely hospitality

towards all men of influence who came near him, and, like Lord Dalhousie, by a well-organised system of tours, in which he acquired more knowledge of India during his short term of office than many men could acquire in a lifetime.

"We all labour hard in India," said he, in one of his public speeches, "and no one knows better than I the intensity with which heads of departments and the members of the secretariat work. Wherever I have gone it is all the same. Under the snows of the Himalayas, in the feverish jungles, on burning plains, I have always found the same class of men doing the same good work. I believe that in history no sovereign was ever served by a body of men engaged in more arduous or more useful and more successful work, than are the servants of the Queen in India."

It was a sense of this that led him to strengthen the position and increase the authority of all district officers. A well-directed liberality in turf matters, added to his genial address and native love of field-sports, increased his popularity among these officials. His Indian tours amounted to more than 21,760 miles; and no one, says his biographer, can realise the risks he ran by rapid riding over hard roads, or along precipices in the hill tracts.

The ex-king of Oude never visited any governor-general, deeming it would be too great a condescension to do so; he always held sullenly and proudly aloof from the viceregal court, and he could scarcely be blamed for the position he adopted; but Lord Mayo, in his kindness of heart, went in state to see the fallen monarch. His palace is on the banks of the Hooghley, a few miles below Calcutta, and within its walls no majesty was more potent, save in the matter of life or death. The Resident at his court was Lieutenant-Colonel Mowbray Thompson, one of the few—eventually reduced to two officers and two privates—who escaped the massacre at Cawnpore.

The ex-king, says a journalist in 1875, has three great houses, and several small ones, and each of the former has a pet name. He has 141 ladies in his zenana, "of whom thirty-nine are called *Mahuls*—persons who bear children—and 102 *Begums*; we do not profess to understand wherein the difference lies, but it is some Eastern etiquette, of course." He draws, paints, writes sonnets, which are popular in all the bazaars, and are favourites with the Nautch girls. Every night he has dancing and singing in the palace; but the Resident never enters the grounds after the lamps are lighted; and it would be perilous to any who ventured to do so, as every avenue is guarded by men, whose tulwars

* Life of Lord Mayo, vol. II.

† Ibid.

would cut down any intruder. His three palaces are inhabited by his favourite wives, with whom he spends his time in rotation, and he has thirty-one sons and twenty-five daughters. He possesses, also, a marvellous menagerie, said, in some respects, to be the finest in the world. "Winding walks," continues this writer, "bring you to pond after pond, with one large lake, all literally filled with rare fish, and brought, regardless of cost, from all tropical lands. The pigeons, of which the ex-king is particularly fond, number no fewer than 18,000. On the banks of the lake and ponds are the ostrich, the pelican, the swan, and every other fresh-water bird native to warm climates. Then there are wild animals caged, monkeys partly free, goats, sheep, ibis, dromedaries, camels, &c. &c. The king has a 'snake mountain,' which he watches for hours. It is a dome of earth with a stone facing, and perforated in every part with holes, out of which, and into which, the snakes come and go at pleasure. But behind all this, in a room, are jars containing fine specimens of the deadly cobra, and these only the snake-keeper dare touch. His power and daring are wonderful. Of course, he is of the caste of snake-charmers. Such is the life of the dethroned king."

The imposition of an income tax in India had been one of the principal steps taken by the Right Hon. James Wilson, after the Mutiny, to restore the finances, which had been impaired by that event. The state of matters in 1870-71 convinced Lord Mayo that the solvency of our Indian Empire was quite secured; and aware that he had only to pursue his adopted course of rigid economy to prevent the recurrence of any deficit, in 1871-72 he reduced the income tax to one-third, or $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. Even then the finances showed such an upward tendency, that during the last month of his life his mind was full of hope that he might be able to abolish it altogether. An obnoxious impost at all times, it was deemed particularly so in India; and the difference of the financial situation in that country and Britain may be seen from the circumstances, that although the British income tax is supposed, in theory, to be a temporary measure, it is, nevertheless, quietly submitted to year after year; but in India, the fact of its not being resolutely adopted as part of the permanent revenue acted as an encouragement for universal opposition and reprobation, as an intrusion into private affairs.

From the salt duty in India a revenue of about five and a quarter millions sterling is raised, and to this subject of financial interest Lord Mayo gave his special care and attention; for, as it falls

chiefly on the masses of the people, it naturally forms a subject for much consideration and controversy. The salt of India comes from four great sources: these are the vast salt range in the remoter Punjaub; the salt-lakes and saline deposits in Rajpootana and Central India; from Britain and other places beyond the sea, whence it comes at a low freight to Bengal; and, lastly, from the salt pans along the coast of Madras, Orissa, and the maritime shallows that lie north of Bombay.

The duty imposed on this simple necessary of life exceeded by many times its value, while the preventive restrictions necessary to secure the revenue from it hampered trade and enhanced its prime cost, apart from the duty levied. The restrictions imposed by our salt duty crushed all local manufacturers, especially in the annexed kingdom of Oude, which, when under its native princes, manufactured its own salt, and at a very cheap rate. Aware of all this, the Earl of Mayo, though certain that the salt duty could not be remitted, resolved that no effort on his part should be wanting to reduce the evils attending the impost, which varied from a rupee on every 40lbs. in Bombay and Madras, to a rupee on every 25lbs. in Lower Bengal. Hence the different rates interfered with trade, and were a source of perpetual annoyance to the people. These variations were not due to the British Government, but to the misrule which India inherited from the time of the Mogul Emperors, when it was divided into so many territorial entities, the centralisation of which was a difficult task to our governors-general in succession. And even now, though British power has merged all the provinces of India into one empire, and though the same code of laws rules the land, each presidency has still its own legislative council, and retains certain features of the separate systems, handed down to us by the native Governments, Hindoo and Mohammedan.

The Earl of Mayo, after a patient consideration of the variations of incidence with regard to the salt duty, did not think it wise to attempt any radical remedy; though he resolved to remove, or reduce to a minimum, the checks which the existing system placed upon trade. He set on foot inquiries regarding the line between Bengal and Madras, and these resulted in the abolition of "the cordon of revenue harpies who had so long preyed upon the free interchange of commerce between the two presidencies. The credit of this reform belongs, however, to Mr. George Batten, the Commissioner of Inland Customs, acting under Lord Mayo's successor, rather than to Lord Mayo. Mr. Batten found that, by graduating

the difference in the duty across the intermediate province of Orissa, he could render smuggling unprofitable, without a preventive line."

To carry out a change in the railway policy of India, according to a scheme sketched by Lord Lawrence, was one of the tasks to which Lord Mayo applied himself; and in this he had, like his predecessor, the valuable advice of one to whom much of the reform is due, General Richard Strachey. Under the former system the money was raised on the credit and authority of the State, with a guarantee of five per cent., thus involving no risk to the shareholders, and sacrificing, on the part of Government, every chance of profit, while risking every chance of loss.

Under the new system which was inaugurated, the Indian Government borrows its railway capital at four per cent., thus saving £100,000 yearly on every ten millions. The old system involved double management, with a cost of construction that averaged £17,000 for every mile; under the new there is but one controlling power—Government has the work done by contract, and hence the cost of construction, on the narrow gauge state lines, is less than £6,000 per mile. While Lord Mayo thus inaugurated a new railway system for India, he carried out with vigour the schemes which had been formed by such predecessors as the Marquis of Dalhousie and Lord Lawrence.

"The comparison between the cost of guaranteed and of State railways, as above given, is not, however, quite a fair one," says his biographer. "For although it accurately states the expense of the two systems to the Indian Government, it compares lines of different intrinsic value. The guaranteed railways were made on the five-feet-six-inch gauge, or nearly a foot broader than that of the English lines. Several of the State railways have been made on a narrower gauge of three feet three inches. Their permanent way is less solid, their rails and their rolling-stock lighter, and a large part of the saving is due to these causes, irrespective of their more economical construction."

Indian traffic is of much lighter nature than what we find in Britain, while the ample river and canal facilities compel the railways to carry passengers and goods at moderate rates.

"The alternative, as regards India," wrote Lord Mayo, "is this, cheap railways or none; and I would rather do without railways altogether than incur the future risk of that annual increase of expenditure, and consequently of taxation, which I have stopped, and which is our only real danger in India. It is true that the people are lightly taxed; and so they ought to be. We are an alien

power, ruling at enormous disadvantages, principally by the force of character and by administrative skill. As long as the natives of Hindostan believe that whatever power might follow us, native or European, will tax them more heavily than we do, we are safe. Should the other feeling prevail, we will lose our hold on the country. There is no real patriotism in India. The great mass of the Hindoos have always been accustomed to be ruled by a foreign power. If the foreign power is just and wise, it is the form of government that suits them best. In our circumstances in India, we cannot therefore dig deeply into the people's pockets. Therefore, I say, let us have railways that will pay, or nearly pay; or no railways at all, if their effect will be to add £100,000 or £150,000 every year to the permanent burdens of the State. But we can make railways that will add little or nothing to the burdens of the State; and we can also make railways at £5,000 a mile that will not only pay, but do all we want. . . . With regard to the breadth of gauge, we adhere to our former opinion. We do not believe that for many years we can hope to obtain any amount of traffic that would justify the extra outlay of £2,000 a mile for standard gauge; and further, we feel that if we do not adopt a narrow gauge now, all hope of getting cheap railways for India would be closed for ever. I believe the evils of the breadth of gauge on long lines, where light traffic can only be anticipated, are exaggerated; that as far as native passenger traffic is concerned, no evil whatever will result; and that as regards corn, oil-seeds, coal, and salt, the inconvenience will be small, and the expense of transhipment will hardly exceed the cost of twelve miles of haulage. For the carriage of soldiers and horses there will be no difficulty, as after long railway journeys they must eat and rest, which they can always do at the change. There will undoubtedly be some difficulty as to munitions of war and all military stores; but it will be absurd to suggest that we should spend two millions of money for this object only. What we should aim at is the provision of such railway communication as will provide for present wants, with a power of such increase as will give facility for considerable augmentation, if it is hereafter found necessary. This, I believe, we have done, and more than this we ought not to do."

The chief aim of the Viceroy was to form a distinct system of narrow-gauge lines, that would all work in connection with each other, penetrating into the heart of the greater provinces within the trilateral formed by the broad-gauge lines. Bombay,

* "Life of the Earl of Mayo."

Calcutta, and Lahore, were the three extremities of this trilateral; and Lord Mayo's object was, that the less expensive lines should form a subsidiary railway system, intersecting the comparatively poor districts of Ajmere, of Rajpootana, and Central India—a system to be complete in itself, but touching at convenient points the great triangle formed by broad-gauge lines.

Besides the railways, another great branch of the public works in India is that which has to deal with the husbandry and diffusion of a supply of water; and for this purpose, Lord Mayo considered with earnestness the plans bequeathed to him by Lord Lawrence, whose measures he carried out actively to their full development.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CANALS AND CANAL CESS.—EDUCATION.—AGRICULTURE AND MINERALS.

IN 1872, the Earl of Mayo turned his attention to the Ganges Canal, which was extended, and, after a deficit for seventeen years, ceased to be a burden to the State. He also inaugurated a new system of irrigation, starting from the Ganges near Alighur, to water the whole lower quarters of the Doab, from Futteghur to Allahabad. At the same time, by the waters of the Sardah Canal, the eastern half of Rohilcund and the western quarters of Oude were placed alike beyond the perils of drought and consequent famine. He had plans prepared to water the arid tracts westward of Delhi from the resources of the Jumna, while the Lower Jumna Canal was carried into those districts which are eastward of the city. With a view to a complete system of irrigation, works of equal importance were carried from the Soane river through the province of Behar; and the seaboard of Orissa, which had been so seriously stricken by famine in 1866, was placed beyond all chance of a recurrence of that evil, by a splendid system of canals and other means of communication with adjacent districts. Further to the south, the works on the Godavery, a noble and magnificent river (computed to be 900 miles in length), were in full progress; and in the remote west, he had projects formed for the irrigation of "the drought-stricken districts of Scinde." Upon the single item of canals for Orissa, the Government, from December, 1868, to December, 1871, laid out a sum equal to the total revenue derived during the same period from the entire province.*

It was clear that, however necessary to prevent the recurrence of famine, unless these vast works were made to pay interest for the cost of their construction, they would seriously embarrass the

exchequer. Lord Mayo thought to prevent this by a compulsory water-rate. In common with his chief advisers, he maintained that a local community, for whose local welfare a canal had been found an absolute necessity, should not be permitted to throw the cost of its construction on the uninterested ratepayers of a distant province; and that, whether the said local community delayed to use the water—as the Indian peasant has an obstinate antagonism to innovation, he might delay to use it for years—it should, nevertheless, be compelled to pay the yearly interest on that which is, in the strictest sense of the term, a local public work; just as a householder would have to pay the municipal water-rate, whether he used the water or not. To obviate irritation, Lord Mayo carefully adjusted the burden of the canal cess, providing that it should not be levied on the husbandman until he had neglected to use the water during five complete years after it had been brought to his fields, and only in places where it could be proved that the cultivator's net profits would be increased by the canal, after paying the irrigation-rates. He insisted that there should be a clear gain to the ryot from taking the water before the Government should be permitted to charge him for it. "So liberal a condition," says Dr. Hunter, "was never attached to a similar work intended for the local protection of a town against natural calamities. Science can only presume a benefit to the general body of citizens from water-works, for which municipal rates are charged; but before Lord Mayo would give the Government power to levy the canal-rate at all, he insisted that the benefit to each individual should be absolutely ascertained."

The Canal Act for the Punjab reduced these principles to the form of law.

* Hunter's "Orissa," vol. ii.

By that enactment, money could be levied for the defrayment of the cost of local irrigation by compulsory cess upon the ryots and landowners to whose fields the water, so needful in time of drought, was conveyed. "Everybody," wrote the Earl, "seems to wish for irrigation, but many appear to desire that somebody else should pay for it. We must take such measures as will oblige the people, whose lives

protection of the peasantry from famine, compelled Lord Mayo to deal with such undertakings as public works as an entirely distinct branch of the Indian finance, desiring that the whole charge of such works should be kept apart from other charges, and that the whole profit derived from them should be applied to the liquidation of the debt so incurred. To this end, he desired to constitute a special body



RAILWAY TRAVELLING IN INDIA.

are preserved and whose wealth is augmented by these works, to contribute in fair proportion to the cost of their construction. . . . I ask, is it right or fair that works constructed for the exclusive benefit of the Punjab or the North-west should be paid for out of the pockets of the people of Madras and Bombay? It was this early adoption of the principles which I now advocate that has led to the successful administration of the enormous sums borrowed from the State, or on municipal security, for agricultural, civic, maritime, and other undertakings in Britain."

The great accumulation of debt, consequent to

of Commissioners, "at least one of whom should not be an officer of the Government," whose duty it would be to certify, as an independent Board of Audit, with the public as witnesses, that the sum raised for the construction of the public works had been applied in accordance with the conditions under which loans for them were made.

Mere material development was not the only problem Lord Mayo had before him in India. Like all his predecessors, and every European in general, he found how hard it was to grapple with the formidable barriers erected by *caste*, originating in one of the most ancient fictions of Hindoo



PASSAGE OF AN INDIAN RIVER.

mythology, to which, as a classification, the Portuguese first gave that name. According to Menu, the Brahmin, since he sprang from the mouth of the Deity—the most excellent part—is, by right, chief of the whole creation. Next in order, but at a vast distance, stands the Cshatriya, whose descent marks him out as a soldier and a defender of the people. The Vaisya represents the industrial class, herdsmen, and others; while to the Sudra, the supreme ruler, it is said, is assigned the duty of serving, but without derogation, the before-mentioned classes. In time, caste became more fully and firmly identified with professions and trades. To every caste a particular occupation is exclusively assigned; thus, all are regarded as hereditary, and are transmitted from father to son in the same tribes and families: thus, it is easy to see that, the number of castes being as unlimited as that of the modes of employment, enumeration of them would be equally difficult and superfluous. Hence, the horror at losing caste is an almost insuperable obstacle to the spread of the Christian religion. The barriers of caste have conduced to exclude one class from the sympathy or regard of another—even to preventing, in many instances, inter-marriage—and to cripple the growth “of that local public opinion which, more than any written law, regulates an Englishman's conduct to his neighbours.”

From long before the days of Mahmoud of Ghizni, the powerful have oppressed the weak in India. In every village the capitalist and the usurer have been hated from time immemorial, and their lives and properties have been at the mercy of any sudden ebullition of popular wrath. The British District Officer does not now permit such outbreaks, or prevents them if he can. “He brings to trial the slayers of a Bombay *soukar*,” says Dr. Hunter, “a North-western *baniga*, or a Bengalee *mahajan*, as ordinary murderers, and hangs them. On the other hand, the British District Officer will not allow the native landholder to recover his rent by the summary process of imprisoning defaulting tenants in his vaults, or by tying them on tip-toe by their thumbs to the wall. For the old processes of *agrestis justitia*, whether carried out by the rich or by the poor, we have substituted uniform codes of procedure for both. The powerful now oppress by due course of law; and the weak now evade oppression, or combine to ruin their oppressors, by a dexterous use of our courts. The husbandmen of Lower Bengal have, more than once, shown that two can play at going to law, and that in a country of *petite culture* no landholder can stand against a sustained conspiracy of his innumerable tenantry to withhold their rent. . . . In the ordinary course

of rural life, our system of regular justice has immensely strengthened the hands of the educated and wealthy classes in the struggle which goes on, in a densely-populated country, between the rich and poor. At the same time, our system of public instruction had, in some parts of India, supplied an excellent education to the opulent and upper middle classes at the cost of the State, and made scarcely any provision for the education of the masses.”

The educational differences which he found between the different provinces of our Indian Empire attracted the attention of Lord Mayo soon after his arrival. For example, we are told, that in Bombay he found schools in plenitude, and public instruction sown on an ample and popular scale; while in the provinces of the North-west the native village seminaries were flourishing under the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., whose administration encouraged and developed the character of their teaching. In Lower Bengal the system was different. The University of Calcutta had set the fashion for the whole schools of the province, and the influence of its able and high-class professors prescribed the mode of teaching therein; hence the wealthy and titled classes of the Indian community had educational facilities afforded them such as no other part of India enjoyed; but this was a triumph effected by the Bengal system at the cost of the primary education of the humbler and poorer masses.

The upper-class schools had risen, but upon the ruins of the old native village schools. If the parents of children were in good circumstances, and able to pay for their education, the State came forward and saved them the expense; while the old native schools received no encouragement whatever; and “the village teacher, who from generation to generation had gathered the children of the hamlet into his mat hut, and taught them to trace their letters on the mud floor, found himself deserted by his paying pupils. He and his fathers had been accustomed to teach their little stock of knowledge to all comers of decent caste, and to live by the offerings of a few of their wealthier disciples. They had looked upon the instruction of youth as a religious duty, and regarded their office as a priestly one.”

But now, under the new *régime* with its paid district schools, the youths who could pay were swept away to the classes opened by Government, and the old village *gurumahasay*, or schoolmaster, found his occupation well-nigh gone—a sore trial to temper and to faith, especially when he could see but too well that the practical result of the

Feringhee system was to arm the rich and titled with the powerful weapon of European knowledge, while burdening the poor with the weight of impenetrable ignorance in the struggle for life.

To this subject Lord Mayo turned his attention at an early period of his administration. The authorities of Bengal had not adopted their school system without careful thought, and they were prepared to defend it on the descending or "filtration theory of education," believing that eventually knowledge must filtrate downward from the upper and middle—the *babus*, or gentlemen—to the lower and rural classes; but to this system Lord Mayo was averse.

"In Bengal," he wrote to a legal friend, "we are educating in English a few hundred *babus*, at great expense to the State. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employ. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the million. The *babus* will never do it. The more education you give them the more they will try to keep it to themselves, and make their increased knowledge a means of tyranny. If you wait till the bad English, which the four hundred *babus* learn in Calcutta, filters down into the forty millions of Bengal, you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retired judge. Let the *babus* learn English, by all means; but let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to 'rural Bengal.'"^{*}

To Sir George Campbell, of Edenwood, K.C.S.I., nephew of the first Lord Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during the chief part of Lord Mayo's administration, belongs the credit of giving full effect to the views of the latter, who gave him all the requisite political and financial support to effect the necessary educational reforms. The whole Bengal system was thoroughly analysed by Sir George, and its defects pointed out, and the Government expressed a readiness to hear his views on the subject; and the necessary changes which were inaugurated formed a new epoch in the annals of that vast province: and the result is thus given by the author already quoted.

In 1870-71, the Department of Public Instruction was educating 163,854 children in Lower Bengal, at a cost of £186,598 to the State. In 1874, when Sir George Campbell, in consequence of ill-health, resigned the lieutenant-governorship, he left 400,721 children being educated, at a cost to the Government of £228,151; and while sowing Bengal broadcast with primary schools, he had

revived and given better life than ever to the old native institutions for rural instruction.

As the Mussulmans of Bengal failed to partake of the educational benefits thus offered to them, they rapidly declined in importance, and dropped out from among the more intelligent classes as being unfit for any employment under the State, which, like the lucrative professions, passed into the hands of the Hindoos. Vague discontent among them speedily took the form of active disaffection, and the horizon became clouded by the signs of a probable revolt or civil war.

On the north-western border of India there was formed a standing camp of fanatical Mohammedans, whose numbers were augmented by recruits, as their finances were, by mysterious remittances from Lower Bengal. A permanent menace to European authority, this camp had more than one expedition sent against it, till eventually Lord Mayo was compelled to strike with a strong hand at the root of the disaffection wherever it became visible; and hence, ultimately, the movement, which originated chiefly among the Wahabees, was subjected less to warlike operations than the steady and stern action of the courts of law. Many prisoners were captured. A series of criminal trials ensued; but Lord Mayo's Government wisely did not permit any fanatic to fan the religious flame by achieving the glories of martyrdom: for all were transported as rebels beyond the seas, without one being put to death, as many might have been, in pursuance of a sentence from the courts; but the Mussulman fanaticism found a terrible culmination in the barbarous assassination of the Chief Justice of Bengal.

This partial disaffection among the Mohammedans led Lord Mayo earnestly to consider the educational requirements of those people, and he came to the conclusion that it was not impossible for them to learn under our system, and yet retain their religious sentiments and peculiar traditions of race. Returns proved that in Bengal there were only 14,000 Mohammedan scholars, against 100,000 Hindoos; and experience showed that the former would not submit to Hindoo teachers. Hence Lord Mayo suggested that as no Mohammedan is deemed a gentleman until he has acquired a certain knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Oordoo learning, we should aid these by open classes and scholarships in the colleges for the Mohammedans, who till recently had been the most powerful race in India, and in every way to give them more equal chances of competing for those positions which the Hindoos, whom they detested, were fast monopolising.

^{*} "Life of the Earl of Mayo."

His Excellency in Council desired "to call the attention of local governments and administrations to this subject, and he directs that this resolution be communicated to them, and to the three Universities of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and the Punjab, with a view of eliciting their opinions as to whether, without infringing the fundamental principles of our educational system, some general measures in regard to Mohammedan education might not be inaugurated, and whether more encouragement might not be given in the university course to Arabic and Persian literature. A resolution of this kind would be justified by the circumstances of the case, and would have an excellent effect on the feelings of the Mohammedan population at this moment."

These reforms were all carried out in the end, and were hailed by the latter with gratitude, as a boon of the highest value.

Among other matters for the good of British India, Lord Mayo resolved, if possible, to accomplish that which the most eminent of his predecessors in office had longed to achieve—a great department of knowledge, practically organised.

Under this new internal arrangement, he concentrated every branch of inquiry into India and the nature of its people—the revenue survey of its districts, the topography of its provinces and coasts, its mineral wealth, its commercial capabilities, agricultural productions, and meteorological phenomena, which, with the details of rural life and other solitary branches of inquiry, he concentrated into one combined office of general registration. From this department papers of vast importance to India have from time to time been prepared and made public on that ample class of its products yet to be more fully developed—the reha fibre, silk and cotton, tobacco, gold, silver, lace, &c. The development of the commerce and general products of the country he held to be the proper duty of administration; but for the ultimate fruits of his efforts and inquiries in trade and agriculture, he looked to private enterprise, when the duty of Government would cease to be initiative. Manchester was now demanding a larger supply of cotton; the tea-planters on the north-eastern frontier were fast acquiring importance, while jute and oil-seeds were yearly covering more and more of the soil of Bengal; the population was fast increasing, and with it the demands for rice and other grains. Before the administration proposals were coming for the improvement of the native breeds of cattle, the introduction of more scientific agriculture, with European implements, and, as a natural result, better crops, to such an

extent that it began to be speculated whether the application of capital to land would be profitable in Bengal; and on the subject of having an agricultural department in the administration of India, with branches in the provinces, Lord Mayo consulted with Lord Napier of Ettrick, then Governor of Madras. He was anxious, among many other things, for the adoption of improved pumps, steam ploughs, and certain manures, by the Indian husbandmen, who were somewhat too content with the old-fashioned implements and notions, that had been in use and unchanged for centuries.

"For generations to come," runs one of his official dispatches given by Dr. Hunter, "the progress of India in wealth and civilisation must be directly dependent on her progress in agriculture. Agricultural products must long continue the most important of her exports, and the future development of Indian commerce will mainly depend upon the improvement in the quantity and quality of existing agricultural staples, or on the introduction of new products which shall serve as materials for manufacture and for use in the industrial arts. The efforts of the Government of India and of British enterprise have doubtless been beneficial. Thus, important progress has been made in regard to cotton. Large sums of money were spent in former years in attempts to improve its cultivation, with but little results, owing to the mistaken system under which they were made. It has become manifest that its improvement by the introduction of exotic seed can only be secured by careful and prolonged experimental cultivation. Renewed attention has been recently given to this subject with much better effect. The success of our tea, coffee, and cinchona plantations shows what has been, and may be, done in introducing into India new and valuable products. Jute, which not long ago was hardly used, has become an article of first-rate commercial interest. The world derives from India nearly the whole of its supply of indigo, a staple which was promoted by the Company's example in the last century, as the Calcutta manuscript-records abundantly attest. We have within the last few months taken special measures for improving and facilitating the preparation of the reha fibre. There is, perhaps, no country in the world in which the State has so immediate and direct an interest in such questions. The Government of India is not only a government, but the chief landlord. The land revenue, which yields twenty millions sterling of the annual income, is derived from that proportion of the rent which belongs to the State, and not to individual proprietors. Throughout the greater

part of India every measure for the improvement of the land enhances the value of the property of the State. The duties which in Britain are performed by a good landlord, fall in India, in a great measure, upon the Government. Speaking generally, the only Indian landlord who can command the requisite knowledge and capital is the State."

Through his new department the Viceroy believed that much might be achieved in improving the breeds of cattle and horses, as the Government studs had hitherto done little in that respect for the country generally, having been maintained chiefly for military purposes. Measures were also required most urgently for the prevention, if possible, of those murrains which frequently proved so ruinous to the Indian agriculturist; but to Lord Mayo it was evident that the work generally which is performed in Europe by great agricultural societies must in India be performed by the Government, or not at all; and to the latter the introduction of the tea and cinchona cultivation was almost entirely due.

The vast forests of India had been handed over to the care of the Public Works Department, as there was no other special branch of the administration to supervise them; and in these primeval tracts a wasteful and destructive form of cultivation was resorted to by ancient wandering tribes, who clung to a primitive mode of husbandry, which consisted in burning down a forest here and there, and after exhausting the unmanured soil by a rapid succession of crops, deserting it, at the end of a brief term, for a new clearing.

The Government of India, in addition to being principal landholder, is also a great mineral proprietor. Hence, to the labours of the Geological Survey the Viceroy devoted the closest attention, supplementing them by special investigations, to the end that the marketable value and commercial capabilities of the ores and coal-fields might be fully ascertained, for India was now at the dawn of a new future, with her three great elements of enterprise—coal, iron, and lime; though since the opening of the Suez Canal the turn-out of the first-named of these minerals has somewhat decreased, according to one of Sir George Campbell's last administrative reports.

In 1872 the total out-turn in Bengal was 322,443 tons, as against 564,933 tons in 1868; but then the imports of coal also had fallen from 54,461 tons in 1868–9 to 48,714 tons in 1872–3; so that the fact seemed rather to indicate a general depression of trade instead of the influence of the Suez Canal.

Of Raneeungee and the division of Chota Nagpore, a hill pergunnah of Bengal, Sir George Camp-

bell says, "There are now forty-four coal-mines at work, of which nineteen mines turn out more than 10,000 tons of coal apiece per annum. In the larger and better mines, coal is raised by steam from pits and galleries. In the smaller mines and workings coal is raised by hand-labour from open quarries. In the Raneeungee coal-field alone sixty-one steam-engines, with an aggregate of 867 horsepower, are at work. Only one seam—or set of seams—of a less thickness than $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet is worked, and the average thickness of the seams at the Raneeungee mines is about 15 or 16 feet;" and he adds that in many places iron ore is as plentiful as coal.

This report refers exclusively to Bengal; but everywhere the mineral resources of India are great, and the scarcity of manual labour in some districts alone prevents the full development of many extensive fields; and thus the population who have been compelled to live by nearly the sole industry of India—tillage—will, in a generation or two, have new and vast outlets given to them by the mineral resources of their teeming land.

Lord Mayo, we are told, saw this; but he saw also that such enterprise in India is surrounded by a set of problems unknown in Great Britain, and which debarred the Anglo-Indian speculator from entering the arena. In Britain, lime, iron, and coal are usually found sufficiently near each other to encourage the erection by the capitalist of smelting-furnaces on an ample scale. But the manufacture of iron in India, with few exceptions, is still greatly in the hands of the half-barbarous tribes of the jungle, who scratch for their ore in the stony nullahs, get their flux in handfuls of lumps or nodules, and for fuel make charcoal in the nearest forest. Carriage between place and place was the first difficulty to be surmounted; the Viceroy therefore applied himself to the development of mineral lines, roads, and canals, and insisted that the mineral railway rates should be on the lowest possible scale—and thus limestone could be brought from the great valley of the Soane, which rises in Gundwana, to the mines of iron and coal, referred to by Sir George Campbell, at Raneeungee. The return freight to Britain pays for an Indian voyage, so that metals come out from such ports as Liverpool at low rates; and the European ironmaster now enters the Indian market "as lightly weighted, with regard to carriage, as an Indian iron-smelter would have found himself a few years ago, before he got his ore and flux into his furnace." By a short branch line, Lord Mayo opened up the beds of Chanda, and thus supplied coal to Central and Western India.

CHAPTER LXV.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.—THE WHITE PARIAHS.—THE CONVICT COLONY.—ASSASSINATION OF LORD MAYO.

FROM this most active Viceroy the other ores of India, its gold and silver, copper, tin, lead, and nickel, received less attention than coal and iron; as he thought they might, for development, be left with perfect safety to the enterprise of private individuals. "What he laboured at through his

new department was to help towards the solution of the special problems connected with the coal and iron ores of India, and to provide a basis of knowledge from which private enterprise might start. Western India is thus, at this moment, being covered with steam-power mills, destined yet to derive their whole fuel from the Indian coal measures; and efforts are now being made by private capitalists in Bengal to commercially solve the problem of iron manufacture on a large scale."*

During the Irish political career of Lord Mayo, prison discipline had been a favourite subject with him; and during his tenure of office he made a careful inspection of all the local gaols—not a very attractive duty at any time. A writer, who visited a number of these prisons, records that he was especially struck with the strange characteristics of the prisoners. "Some terribly rough fellow turned out to be a forger, who never gives trouble. Some extraordinary gentle person in appearance is a *dacoit*, a murderer, who could only be mastered by hunger and the treadmill. Lads of ten or twelve had committed murder, cut off fingers and ankles for the rings on them; torn rings from the noses of girls, and done all manner of sad things. The



A GUNDWANA TALOOKDAR.

prison life of India was at one time dreadful to think of, when the superintendence of the system in Bengal fell into the hands of an able, practical man, Dr. Mouatt, and he literally transformed it. He resolved to send the less culpable prisoners out with the knowledge of trades. He made them

work, and offered them inducements to work; and soon his prisoners came to build, weave, and plant."

Sir George Campbell came, however, with different views, though also an able and practical man. He urged that punishment was intended to be punitive; and he made it so to a greater extent. It is a curious feature in Indian prison reports how far and closely a native constable will track—like a bloodhound—a criminal through all India perhaps, and secure him at last; for the native criminal is always shrewd up to a certain point, and then fails. The executions have one

strange feature. The European official, as a rule, has neither pity nor bitterness towards the culprit who is about to die, whatever his crime. It is the decree of justice: the medical officer simply sees the criminal executed, and rides home to breakfast; and the complete apathy of the criminal infuses apathy in the minds of the beholders.

Among other points concerning prison life in India, Lord Mayo made up his mind that European convicts "should cease to be the formidable difficulty they had hitherto proved; and that a sentence by an Indian court should not be a device for obtaining a comfortable journey home." To this end it would be necessary to provide in India a

* Dr. W. W. Hunter.

prison wherein European convicts could undergo penal servitude with as much rigour, but at the same time as little risk to health, as in Britain, as detention in a disease-stricken gaol would be equal at all times to a sentence of death. In this matter a struggle had always taken place in India between the district officer on one hand and the medical officer on the other, the former being resolved that

the erection of schools and asylums for the poorer Indo-British and Eurasian children; but these still failed to achieve all he wished, and a local newspaper, about the time of the Prince of Wales's Indian visit, drew attention to the fact that in many of the native villages near Calcutta numbers of abandoned English children were running about "waif and stray," homeless and friendless, so far as



RICE AND CORN MERCHANTS OF PATNA.

a prison should be an eminently uncomfortable place for culprits, and the latter as persistently urging his desire to show a low death-rate in the establishment he attended; and during Lord Mayo's administration much would seem to have been done to ameliorate the condition of prisoners in such a climate, for generally a gaol in India is worse than death to a white man.

There was another class of unfortunates who came under the humane consideration of Lord Mayo—the poor whites, or Europeans—for whom he provided a Vagrancy Act, while labouring to keep down the numbers of that hapless class by

their own country-people were concerned, and dependent for their subsistence upon a handful of rice given them now and then by the pitying natives.*

These English children, in some cases of misfortune (from the death of parents), in others of sin, grow up as utter pariahs. The familiar term "loafer" is applied in India to all men who are without any means of subsistence; and it is said that "the civil officer, be he who he may, would almost rather have to do with a mad elephant or a man-eating tiger." They are bold, rapacious, and

* *Indian Daily News.*

difficult people to deal with, all the more so as it is almost useless asking a native constable to apprehend a white man.

The institutions formed by Lord Mayo to prevent the growth or increase of this class received but scanty aid from the State, and he did not live to see them fully developed; so the poorer class of the British community are still but indifferently looked after by the administration.

Lord Mayo's policy, in general, was essentially his own; but it derived several strong features from a rare combination of secretariat talent and practical experience, which he found in the two leaders of the Home Department, and placed in charge of the new one which he developed out of it.*

These were Sir John Strachey and Sir Barrow Helbert Ellis. The former had been in the van of progress in India, like most of his family (since his grandfather went out as private secretary to Lord Clive), and he had made for himself a high reputation in Bengal, as a district officer, before he obtained his important post in the Central Government. Sir Barrow Ellis had for many years held a high place under the Governor of Bombay, and, by his knowledge of local administration, contributed largely to Lord Mayo's general success.

It came to the knowledge of the Viceroy, who was daily in the habit of perusing carefully the printed proceedings of the local administrations, that a very barbarous and mysterious assassination had taken place in the Andaman Isles, which we have already described as the penal settlement of British India; but the mode in which the event was reported led him to consider the whole management of that dangerous and peculiar community, as he thought it, required a full inquiry; and subsequent investigation revealed a state of things that required immediate reform, while the disclosures that were made public acquired greater importance from the severe comments made thereon, at Calcutta, by the Supreme Court.

The great number of life-prisoners left on the hands of Government since the Mutiny had led, in 1858, to the formation of the more ample convict colony in the Andaman Islands, where the settlement certainly had a hard struggle for life.

"But the natives were the least terrible of the enemies of the colony," says the learned Dr. Hunter, of the Bengal Civil Service. "The islands were buried under jungle to the water's edge; pestilent mangrove swamps fringed the creeks; evergreen foliage, and a lush growth of climbing plants thatched out the fresh air from the forest,

and allowed malaria to gather in deadliest force below. The colony, in the last century, had been practically exterminated by fever, and for ten years after its re-establishment, in 1858, the settlers were exactly decimated each twelvemonth. In 1867, the mortality was returned at over 101 per 1,000. In only one previous year had the deaths fallen below that rate; in many they had exceeded it. The malaria-smitten gangs depended on the distant mainland for their food. A small pig, a rat with spiny hair, and a fruit-eating bat had been found on the islands; a wild cat, also, was reported to have been seen. Fish and roots were the immemorial food of the inhabitants. Even the coco-palms, so plentiful on the Nicobars, did not exist. In the daily battle against disease and death, the British officers found their hands burdened by a convict population conservative beyond any people on the earth as to what they eat, and depending for each meal on supplies brought seven hundred miles across the sea."

As the rank vegetation was cut down the malaria lessened, and in 1870 the mortality among the convicts had sunk to ten per thousand; but the result of the daily struggle for existence was a looseness of discipline that produced scandalous results; while, to a few British officials, with a small party of soldiers, was committed the perilous task of guarding and holding down, in those remote and isolated isles, eight thousand of the most finished rascals of Northern India.

Instead of strict discipline, clear regulations, and firm subordination, the inquiries of Lord Mayo disclosed, in 1871, that there were quarrels and disobedience among the authorities, and a laxity of good order, which permitted the convicts to acquire too much liquor, and that consequently it was after a general debauch that the assassination in question occurred. This led him to reconsider the organisation of the penal colony, and during the spring of 1871 this occupied much of his thoughts, when at Simla, the Government sanitarium of India, among the hills.

He calculated that, as the Andaman Islands were for life-prisoners alone, the number sent there might ultimately amount to 20,000 convicts, who would require a stronger safeguard than the few isolated Britons scattered among them; and he resolved to enforce stricter discipline, and that, while the terrors of transportation should be increased on one hand, on the other, to afford eventually a chance of a new career to those who might prove industrious and well-disposed—to raise them into the position of settlers—and, "as it were, to open up a new citizenship, with local

* Dr. Hunter.

ambitions and interests, to the exiles whose crimes had cut them off alike from the future and the past."

With his own hand he drew up a code of regulations for the re-organisation of the whole settlement, and chose a general officer of approved courage, talent, and administrative skill to put them in force, and sent him to his post in the summer of 1871. The charge of the colony to the exchequer of India had averaged £150,000 yearly; but Lord Mayo conceived that, by the local cultivation of rice and pulse, the breeding of goats, by the adoption of goal-manufactured clothing, the substitution of a sepoy guard for native police, and other measures, a saving might be effected of £30,000 per annum.

Admirable though the scheme, the new superintendent soon discovered that a severe task had been imposed upon him, by attempting both the moral and material reformation of the desperadoes in his care—a sullen and degraded community, who, from the day of their arrival, had been accustomed to live on supplies that were brought from the continent of India, and for which they had neither sown nor dug. The reports of the superintendent were so discouraging, that Lord Mayo resolved to proceed to the Andamans in person, and see what could be done, and accordingly these isles were to be the turning-point of the cold weather tour, on which he left Calcutta on the 24th of January, 1872, after visiting the great camp of exercise at Delhi, and receiving in state the King of Siam.

Though the Viceroy could scarcely have had any foreboding of the fatality that was before him, it was remarked that as he took leave of Sir George Campbell, the lieutenant-governor, and other Bengal authorities, his face wore a particularly anxious expression; but this arose from his uneasiness concerning the affairs of Khelat, on our north-western frontier, and regarding the safety of the Queen's representative, then on his way to Sistan; and he mentioned, that if any evil tidings came from thence, and reached him at Burmah, he would relinquish his visit to the Andamans, and instantly return to Calcutta.

His intention was first to visit Burmah, then to visit the Penal Isles on the return passage across the Bay of Bengal, and inspect the province of Orissa. A brilliant party of guests accompanied him and the Countess of Mayo, on board H.M. frigate, *Glasgow*, of twenty-eight guns and 600 horse-power, and in the steamship, *Dacca*, which the British India Steam Navigation Company had placed at his disposal for the tour. Among those

who went with him were the Marquis and Marchioness of Drogheda, the Earl of Donoughmore, Count Waldstein, Sir Barrow H. Ellis, Colonels Jervais, C.B., Thuillier, and Rundall, and several other persons of distinction.

At Rangoon he received a reassuring telegram from Calcutta, and after paying two thoroughly practical visits to the principal seats of Burmese commerce, he sailed from Moulmein at dawn on the 5th of February, for the Andamans, and for Orissa, which he was doomed not to see. The *Glasgow* came to anchor off Hopetown, at the Andamans, three days after, at eight in the morning, and the Viceroy, delighted with the speed she had made, resolved to begin the work of inspection at once. When the superintendent came on board, the private secretary inquired of him what precautions had been taken for the safety of His Excellency among a population so eminently dangerous. The superintendent informed him that the convicts were to be all kept at their daily work, as usual, to the end that the Viceroy might see the penal colony in its usual state of routine, and that the warders had strict orders to keep every man in his place. In front and rear, and on both flanks of the Earl's party, were to be escorts of police, with their rifles loaded, and on Ross and Viper Islands, where the most desperate characters were cantoned, detachments of native infantry had been placed to support the police, who had everywhere strict injunctions to prevent any one approaching His Excellency on any pretext whatever.

After the party landed from the *Glasgow*, the forenoon was passed on Ross Island, where the head-quarter establishments, the convicts' abode, and the European barracks were visited. Lord Mayo noted several points for improvement, and more than once expressed surprise and impatience to find his movements so hampered by the escort on every side of him. After luncheon on board the frigate, where he pleasantly apologised to the officers for lining the gangway, and having the marine guard under arms to receive him, he landed again, to inspect Viper Island, accompanied, as before, by his staff within arm's length of him, and the police, with their loaded rifles; nor were the precautions altogether without reason.

"Many months had elapsed since, in far-off Simla, the authorities received hints that the Viceroy's life was in danger," says his biographer—"a warning to which the assassination of the Lord Chief Justice of Bengal gave a terrible significance. Lord Mayo had sternly trampled out the Wahabee disaffection, and in doing so made bitter enemies of a small fanatical gang. One of them struck

down the chief justice, who had given decision, in appeal, against their ringleaders; but Lord Mayo's immense popularity among the natives of all ranks and creeds led to timely warnings being sent to those who were accountable for his safety. During the following months a heavy responsibility devolved on Lord Mayo's staff. They had strengthened the guards round Government House, dexterously managed the relays on the Viceroy's progress through the hill states, so as to prevent him changing horses in any village, altered his route at the last moment, and without his knowledge, through the thronged streets of the northern cities where any danger was supposed to lie. All this had somewhat annoyed Lord Mayo, an utterly fearless man, with a spirit and courage as infectious to those about him as his untiring energy in work, or his happy laugh. He always maintained that such precautions were of small use. As a matter of fact, they had proved ample against whatever perils threatened him in India, from the traitors and fanatics whose wrath he had personally directed to himself by his stern scattering of their leaders. Only a couple of days before reaching the Andamans, he had said, in connection with the chief justice's murder, that 'these things, when done at all, are done in a moment, and no number of guards would stop a resolute man's blow.' However, to satisfy his brother (Major the Hon. Edward Bourke, then military secretary) and his private secretary, he accepted from them a weighted stick, which he had carried for several months, and which he was swinging in his hand as he now walked down to the beach."

The danger was deemed over then in Viper Island, though the worst of the bad characters are selected for quarters there, and inspection of the saw-mills, and other works on Chatham Island brought the sultry day's duty to a close. One or two convicts who wished to present petitions, though not permitted to approach the Viceroy, gave them to an officer of his staff. The general emotion among them seemed to be that indulgences, and perhaps some pardons, might be given in honour of a visit so unexpected; and as the party descended towards the boats of the frigate, all felt a sense of relief, and Lord Mayo said, with a smile, that the precautions of the superintendent had proved "more than enough," adding, "we have still an hour of daylight, let us do Mount Harriet." But, by the advice of the private secretary, who was always averse to the Viceroy being out after nightfall, the visit was postponed till the morrow.

On Mount Harriet, which is a hill 1,116 feet in

height, distant about a mile and a half from Hoptown Pier, he was anxious to found a sanitarium to rescue fever patients from the deadly malaria of the islands; and though none but convicts of approved conduct are at Hoptown, the superintendent had an armed guard in attendance, when in the evening he began to ascend the height to enjoy the prospect of a sunset in the sea. He attained the summit, and carefully surveyed the capabilities of the hill as a sanitarium, and expressed his pleasure at the beauty of the evening scene; but darkness set in with tropical rapidity, and the descent, for security to his person, was made in the closest order, though none could dream that an assassin, knife in hand, was then, as he had been the livelong day, dogging the footsteps of the Earl.

Midway down Mount Harriet, a party of torch-bearers from Hoptown met him and his group of staff officers and escorting police, and the weird gleam of the flambeaux could be seen from where the *Glasgow*, the *Scotia*, the *Dacca*, and the *Nemesis* lay at anchor, with their long lines of lights glittering on the water.

Their bells had just rung seven; the state launch, with steam up, awaited the party of Lord Mayo, whose tall figure, clad in a grey tussar-silk coat, could be seen by the glare of two torches borne in front of him, though the darkness seemed almost opaque now. Stepping before the rest, he was about to descend into the boat, when a noise was heard—a noise described by those who were present as like the rush of some wild animal—and a descending hand and knife were suddenly seen in the torchlight; a blow next was heard, and the Viceroy fell over the pier into the water alongside, while at the same moment the torches went out.

A dozen of men grasped the assassin, and would have torn him to pieces, but an officer drew his sword, and pressed them back with the hilt, after which the culprit was properly secured. The torches were relighted, and then the unfortunate Lord Mayo was seen to stagger up, knee-deep in the water, and clear the hair from off his brow with an air of bewilderment. His secretary, Major Owen Burne, leaped down to his assistance. "Burne," said he, faintly, "they've hit me!" adding in a louder voice to those on the pier, "It is all right—I don't think I am much hurt."

But it was otherwise. When lifted up, a gout of crimson blood was visible on the back of his grey silk coat. The torrent came streaming forth, and men mechanically strove to staunch it with their handkerchiefs. In their hands the Earl fell heavily back. "Lift up my head," said he faintly,

and then expired. Many would not believe that he was really gone, and they cut away his coat and vest, and strove to stop the wound with hastily-torn bandages; while, tied hand and foot, the assassin, stunned by a hundred blows, lay still and well-nigh breathless, within a few yards of him.

Eight bells now clanged from the ships, and as the launch sheered alongside the *Glasgow*, where the guests were waiting for dinner in the state cabin, and the voices of the ladies were heard merrily jesting, the lights in the launch were suddenly extinguished to hide the catastrophe, and unknown to all save a few, the dead Earl was borne gently to his cabin, and laid on the bed there. "To all on board," says Dr. Hunter, "that night stands out from among all other nights in their lives. A silence, which seemed as if it would never again be broken, suddenly fell on the holiday ship, with its six hundred souls. The doctors held their interview with the dead—two stabs from the same knife on the shoulder had penetrated the cavity of the chest, either of them sufficient to cause death. On the guest steamer there were hysterics and weeping; but in the ship where the Viceroy lay dead it was too deep for any expression, while the anguish of her who received back her dead was not, and is not, for words."

When day dawned, the *Glasgow* was in mourning, with her ensign half-hoisted at the peak, the yards topped up in every direction, and the running rigging thrown loose in bights and disorder. The chief officers of the Indian Government on board, Sir Barrow H. Ellis (Member of Council), Mr. C. Umpherston Aitchison, C.S.I., Foreign Secretary, and others, assembled to adopt steps for a temporary successor to the administration; and a few hours after, while one steamer bore away to the north with the Member of Council to Bengal, another was on its way to bring up the Governor of Madras, Lord Napier of Ettrick, to act as viceroy at Calcutta; and that night the partially-embalmed body was placed in a coffin on the quarter-deck, covered with a Union Jack.

The assassin was a mountaineer from the north-western frontier, who had served in the Punjaub mounted police, and been condemned to death at Peshawur for a murder, but, from some extenuating circumstance, his sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life in the Andaman Isles. He was a man of enormous muscular strength, and of considerable beauty of person; so great was the former, that when heavily ironed in the condemned cell, he knocked over the lamp with his fettered ankles, beat down the soldier who stood sentry over him, and, though handcuffed, wrenched his bayonet away.

The man slain in Peshawur had been his hereditary foe, hence the deed was no crime in his eyes; and when convicted for it in 1869 he had vowed to revenge himself by taking the life of some European of high rank. Though silent, sullen, dogged, and grim, he was well-behaved; gained a ticket-of-leave, and, while working among the convicts at Hopetown, for three years watched and waited the coming of some prey worthy of his dagger; and he sharpened it when a royal salute announced the arrival of the Viceroy, for now he knew that the time and the man had come.

The close watch kept around Lord Mayo had repeatedly baffled his attempts; but he had dogged him in the jungle, up and down Mount Harriet, and was beginning to lose all hope, when the simple circumstance of Lord Mayo stepping before his party at the jetty gave the assassin, at the last moment, the opportunity that he so fiercely longed for.

He received the usual trial and punishment due to his crime. In the launch, Mr. Aitchison asked him why he had done this dreadful thing. "By the order of God," he replied quietly. He was then asked whether he had any accomplices. "Among men," said he, "I have none—God is my accomplice." He was tried next afternoon, the superintendent officiating as chief judge of the settlement. The culprit pleaded "Not guilty." He was sentenced to be hanged, and the proceedings were forwarded to the High Court at Calcutta in the regular way. Pending their return the prisoner showed no sign of penitence, and was childishly vain of being photographed; and, believing himself a species of martyr, hoped that odes in his honour or memory would be sung among his tribe in the north-west.

On the 20th of February, 1872, the supreme tribunal confirmed the sentence; and on the 11th of March the assassin met his doom, with coolness and courage, at the usual place of execution on Viper Island.

Such was the mournful fate of the Earl of Mayo, who during his brief tenure of office had done so much, and so well, for the good of India. "In offices of secondary rank at home," said the leading journal, "he had acquired the reputation of a man of business; but the selection of Lord Mayo as Viceroy of India excited general surprise. It was soon found that Mr. Disraeli had formed an accurate judgment of his friend and colleague. With his new opportunities, Lord Mayo displayed the qualities of a statesman and ruler. Indefatigable in business, considerate to his subordinates, anxious to profit by their special knowledge, Lord



ASSASSINATION OF LORD MAYO.



PLOUGHING IN TURKESTAN.

Mayo, by his character and demeanour, exercised a strong personal influence over British officials and over natives. His maintenance of the splendour and dignity of the viceregal court was generally approved; and in more important matters, as in the re-establishment of a financial equilibrium, he displayed vigour and decision.*

Solemn, indeed, was the ceremonial with which the people of Dublin received his remains, which were laid in the shady spot he had selected in the secluded little churchyard of Kildare, before that 13th of October, 1868, when he left Palmerstown, as he tells us, "amid tears and wailing, much leave-taking, and great sorrow."

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE INTERIM-VICEROY.—LORD NORTHBROOK VICEROY.—THE AFFAIR OF KHIVA.—THE FAMINE IN BENGAL AND BEHAR.

THE Right Hon. Francis Napier, Lord Napier and Ettrick, K.T., who was Governor of Madras from January, 1866, until 1872, and was then acting Viceroy of India *pro tempore*, during the absence of Lord Mayo, succeeded him temporarily in the administration. The descendant of an ancient Scottish family, famous alike in peace and war, Lord Napier was well skilled in politics. He was made Attaché to the Embassy at Vienna in 1840, in his twenty-first year, and held diplomatic posts at Teheran and Constantinople, to which place he returned as Secretary of Embassy in 1854, after

* *Times*, 1872.

having been Secretary of Legation at Naples and St. Petersburg. He had also been British Minister at Washington, the Hague, and Berlin; but the general government of India was a very short time in his hands, as Thomas George Baring, Lord Northbrook, long known to political fame as Sir Francis Baring, was appointed Governor-General and Viceroy in February, 1872.

Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, he had been successively private secretary to Mr. Labouchere at the Board of Trade, to Sir George Grey at the Home Office, to Sir Charles Wood at the India Board, and at the Admiralty till 1857, when he

was returned to the House of Commons for Penryn and Falmouth, which constituency he continued to represent in the Liberal interest till he succeeded his father, the first peer, in the Upper House, in 1866.

He was a Lord of the Admiralty from May, 1857, to February, 1858, and Under-Secretary of State for India from June, 1859, to January, 1861, and thus became initiated in the affairs of the East. From the latter date till June, 1866, he was Under-Secretary for War, and on the accession of Mr. Gladstone to office he received that appointment again, in December, 1868. On his accepting the viceroyalty, Lord Northbrook was in his forty-sixth year.

Though he had never sat in the Cabinet, he had acquired an almost unequalled official experience, as an under-secretary for the great departments of the State; almost without intermission, and from the moment of his arrival at Calcutta, he busied himself sedulously in the acquisition of that local knowledge which was so indispensable for one in his high position; and there was every prospect of his term of office being a successful and prosperous one.

At the same time it was evident to all who studied the matter, that additional demands on Indian statesmanship might soon be caused by the approach of Russia to the borders of those native states which cover our Indian frontier, especially as the Russian authorities had concluded a commercial treaty with the ruler of Eastern Turkestan—the place so lately visited by Mr. Forsyth, acting under orders from Lord Mayo.

As a Russian expedition was preparing against Khiva, the khan applied for the mediation of the Viceroy of India; but Lord Northbrook could only reply by advising that prince to comply with the just demands which a civilised power can always prefer against a barbarous, restless, and aggressive neighbour. This khanate of Central Asia comprehends the tract north of the Attruck River and the Elburz, to the Sea of Aral, all the east coast of the Caspian, and the desert extending eastward to the Oxus, including the fertile oasis of Khaurism—boundaries giving a mean length of about 750 miles, by a mean breadth of about 600. The standing force of the khanate was reckoned by Fraser at 30,000 cavalry; by Captain Abbott at 108,000 horse, of whom the Usbec Tartars, the dominant race, are accounted the best, though Kuzzilbashs, or Persians, are really the *élite*.

Whatever just cause of complaint Russia might have against the wild horsemen of Khiva for inroads and the kidnapping of her people, it was

impossible for Great Britain to undertake the protection of lawless tribes in the remote regions of Central Asia; and it is but too probable that the Russian grievances were real ones. In some of the journals of Moscow and St. Petersburg, Lord Northbrook's reception of the Khivan envoy was insolently described as an insult to "Holy Russia," though the same organs habitually avowed and exaggerated the aggressive tendency of the Russian conquests.

In the autumn of 1872, it was distinctly announced that an expedition would march against Khiva early in the ensuing year, and the luckless khan was informed he had nothing to expect from British intervention. Earl Granville, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, invited an explanation of the intentions of the Russian Government, and the emperor dispatched Count Schouvaloff, an officer who enjoyed his highest personal confidence, on a special mission to Britain, with solemn assurances that, after exacting retribution for the many offences committed by the Khan of Khiva and his predatory subjects, the armies of Russia would evacuate that territory.

About the same time, the negotiation, which had been commenced by Lord Clarendon, when Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was concluded, in correspondence with Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, who undertook to abstain from interference in Afghanistan or any of its dependencies; the Russians accepting our demarcation of the Afghan State.

Prince Gortchakoff assumed, with some skill, in his closing dispatch, that the treaty involved a pledge against any encroachment by the ameer, Shere Ali, and his successors, on their neighbours to the north; and a remarkable disclaimer to the whole engagement by Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, was interpreted by many Russian journals as a vitiation of the whole treaty; but it was evident that, so long as neither Britain nor Russia wished to provoke a collision in these remote parts of Asia, they would abide by the understanding of 1873.

All the preliminary arrangements that were made by Russia for the invasion of Khiva were complete and also of the most perfect kind. The command of the army was given to General Kauffmann, one of those soldiers who owe their advancement to natural talent and force of character. A distinguished officer of engineers, and experienced in mountain campaigning, it was he who settled with General Williams the capitulation of Kars during the Crimean war, and after the campaign in Asia Minor the Grand Duke Nicholas appointed him Inspector-

General of the Imperial Engineers and Chief of his Staff. In 1865 he was Governor of Lithuania. On the 1st of February, 1873, he left St. Petersburg for Tashkend, a town of Independent Tartary, formerly an independent state, but now forming part of Kokand, and began his march upon Khiva in six columns, by six separate roads, and one only failed in making its way to the capital, which is situated in a fine plain near the Oxus, and consists of only about fifteen hundred houses, arranged in narrow lanes within a mud wall and ditch, measuring half a mile each way. It contained a palace, but so mean and wretched, that the khan generally preferred to use his black tent.

The remainder of the Russian army passed the desert, through extremes of cold, amid the snowy steppes of Khiva, and also of heat subsequently; and, as in the case of our singular expedition to Magdala, the peril and difficulty were overcome as soon as the goal was attained. The troops of Khiva scarcely made any serious resistance, and on the 15th of July, the capital, with its population of about ten thousand souls, was occupied without the trouble of a siege, and a fine of 2,200,000 roubles was imposed upon the Khan, who had fled before the invaders, but returned and surrendered himself to the Russian general.*

The first and most satisfactory result of the conquest was the restoration of numbers of Russian and other foreign slaves, who had been lawlessly taken by the Tartars, and slavery, at the same time, was declared formally to be abolished.

A portion of the war indemnity was sharply imposed upon a tribe of Turkomans, who had fought against the former expedition from Orenburg to Khiva, in 1839, when the Russian troops did not get much beyond the Emba, a river which formed the nominal Russian frontier, or not much more than a third of the distance, having lost all its camels by the intense cold during a five months' campaign. They were only nominally Khivan subjects, and for a month after General Kauffmann's conquest of Khiva they had been on friendly terms with the officers of the victorious army, many of whom had been sent out for the purpose of making military surveys of the mountains, rivers, and positions, and, while on this duty, had passed several days and nights peacefully in the Turkoman encampment. But it would seem that the column of the Russian army to which they belonged had not seen enough of battle and slaughter, so General Kauffmann sent for the elders of the tribe, and demanded a part of the indemnity within fourteen days, and a promise for this was extorted.

* "Campaigning on the Oxus and the Fall of Khiva, &c.," 1874.

"The Russian Commander-in-chief was in a hurry," says Captain Burnaby, in his descriptive volume of adventures in the East, "and sent out Golovatcheff to ascertain what chance there was of the payment being made. This general, in order to discover the intentions of the Turkomans, gave an order to his soldiery not to spare either sex or age. Men, women, and children at the breast, were slain with ruthless barbarity. Houses with bed-ridden inmates were given up to the fiery element; women—aye, and prattling babes—were burned alive amidst the flames. Hell was let loose in Turkoman! And this, the Russians would have us believe, was done to further Christianity and civilisation. This is the sort of Christianity which some people wish to see established in Constantinople."†

Russia did not comply with the understanding that the khanate should be maintained in its integrity. By a treaty dictated by General Kauffmann, the khan was compelled to acknowledge himself the serf and vassal of the Czar of all the Russias; to consent to the establishment of fortresses, garrisoned by Russians, in any part of his dominions, and in all respects to obey his new lord and master, after which General Kauffmann evacuated Khiva on the 12th of August, 1873.

A design for placing a strong Russian garrison in the delta of the Oxus was only relinquished because it was found to be, from various local causes, impracticable; it was therefore resolved to erect the fortress farther south, on the right bank of the river, and at the same time to annex the large portion of the territory of Khiva which lies between the Oxus and Russian Turkestan; and a treaty, published at the end of the year, fully supplemented that of Khiva, dictated by General Kauffmann.

"It is easier," says the *Times* on this, "to understand General Kauffmann's policy than to reconcile the Khiva treaty with the assurances which were conveyed through Count Schouvaloff. The interests, however, of Britain in the East, could only be affected by the partial or total annexation of Khiva, if the aggrandisement of Russia in that part of Central Asia should affect the relations between England and Russia."

The readiness of Russian suspicion with regard to Britain is shown in the volume of Captain Burnaby, published three years subsequent to these affairs. He relates a very interesting conversation with the khan, who reiterated the prevailing opinion that Russia was advancing, by degrees, on India. Captain Burnaby assured him that the

† "A Ride to Khiva:" Cassell Pether & Galpin.

statement that Britain feared Russia was as ridiculous as it was false; that Britain had beaten Russia before, and could easily do so again; "but that we were a peaceable nation, and never wished to interfere with our neighbours, so long as they did not interfere with us." After a pause, the khan, through his interpreter, suddenly asked, "Why did not England help me when I sent a mission to Lord Northbrook?"

This was a question which, under all the circumstances, made Captain Burnaby feel uncomfortable, but he answered diplomatically, that he was only a traveller, and not in the secrets of his Government. Two days after, the Russians, much to the chagrin of the khan, desired Captain Burnaby to go to Petro-Alexandrovsk, as soon as they discovered he was in Khiva; and there he found an official telegram awaiting him from the Duke of Cambridge, requiring his immediate return to European Russia.

This telegram had been waiting for him several days, so that if he had gone to the fort of Petro-Alexandrovsk, he would never have seen Khiva or its Khan.*

In the year 1873, the Shah of Persia, Nasser-ed-Deen, paid his well-known visit to Europe and to Britain, thus breaking through all Eastern tradition; and it is a strong argument as to the popularity and moderation of his rule, that although he was absent from his kingdom from the 12th of May to the 6th of September, political calm reigned there undisturbed by suspicion of intrigue or the breath of sedition. In four months he crossed the Caspian to Astrakhan, and ascended the Volga to St. Petersburg, and passed through Germany and Belgium to Ostend, from whence he crossed to Dover; and though but remotely connected with Indian history, it cannot be forgotten that if ceremonies and public demonstration of regard are of political import and value, Persia would seem to be thereby connected by the most friendly ties with Britain and with British India.

Fortunately his arrival in London was timed so that he should reach it when the metropolis was at its fullest, and when the millions of its population were most ready for amusement and variety. He was lodged in Buckingham Palace, and royally feasted at the Guildhall; a military review was held in his honour at Windsor, and a naval one at Spithead. After visiting Liverpool and Manchester, he was entertained with princely splendour at Trentham by the Duke of Sutherland, and wherever he went good-humoured multitudes repaid the novel spectacle of a Shah of Persia on British soil with full and

ready applause, so that he and his suite had ample opportunities for appreciating to the full the might, the population, and the wealth of Great Britain.

He was received with less enthusiasm in France and Italy, and after passing through Vienna, he visited the great head of the Mohammedan schism, the Sultan of Constantinople. During all this remarkable journey, the Shah kept a diary, a verbatim translation of which appeared at London in 1874.

When, in 1873, it was determined to send an envoy once more to Yarkand and the ruler of Eastern Turkestan, Mr. Forsyth was again selected to that post, and, after an arduous journey across the gigantic mountain-ranges which separate India from Kashgar, he succeeded, while acting in the name of Her Majesty, then named officially in his commission as "Empress of Hindostan," in getting a treaty signed, which is likely to produce important advantages, by opening up commercial intercourse with the most flourishing country of Central Asia. For this service it was that he received the honour of knighthood, and was made Knight Commander of the Star of India.

This treaty was signed on the 2nd of February, 1874, at Yarkand. All political impediments to the trans-Himalayan route were now completely removed, and the trade has rapidly developed (within its limited capabilities) ever since; even in 1873 it amounted to close on £60,000, and our merchants have found themselves respected and well treated throughout the distant dominions of the Ataligh Ghazee and Eastern Turkestan. The latter is, thanks to Sir Douglas's diplomacy, a recognised and most profitable market for British goods.

Lord Northbrook arrived in India when the painful circumstance of Lord Mayo's death was fresh in all men's minds, and no doubt he had considerable difficulties to confront. He had to grapple with finance, with new questions of the administration, civil and military, with frontier disputes, and, ere long, with a famine. Though he indulged but little in pageants or viceregal tours, he worked hard at his duties, and it was said that "his viceregal throne-room was his office, which he preferred to any room of state;" and he soon won the sympathies of the people, by convincing them that his word was not a plaything of policy, but represented a verity, and that what it represented would endure.

In grappling with finance, he promptly achieved the repeal of the Indian Income Tax, an impost which arose from native agencies and exigencies.

India has no poor law, properly so-called, but

* "A Ride to Khiva:" Cassell Pether & Galpin.

she has a great deal of charity, and in times of scarcity it is often very severely tested. That the calamity of famine was impending became pretty apparent in 1873. The failure of summer and autumn rains had destroyed or reduced the rice and other crops in Bengal and Behar to an extent that seemed to render great scarcity certain.

When the ordinary provision fails, a dense population, such as that of British India, living on the cheapest and most simple of food, has no resources within its own reach; and a whisper of famine always brings terror with it. In that which had occurred a century before, the deaths from starvation alone were reckoned by millions, and the sufferings of Orissa in 1866 were fresh in the recollection of all. Timely warning was given now, and our highest authorities on Indian affairs had ample opportunities given them for discussing the necessary measures, and suggesting the means of relief.

Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, together with Lord Northbrook, with indefatigable industry and great prudence took the necessary initiative, and the Duke of Argyll, as Secretary of State for India, on behalf of the Home Government, approved fully, by anticipation, of any expenditure they might deem necessary for saving human life.

In an address to the municipality of Agra, towards the end of 1873, Lord Northbrook expressed a hope that it would be possible to avert the calamity, or at least ameliorate it; and he sanctioned the request of Sir George Campbell for the purchase of vast quantities of rice and other native food; then relief works on a great scale were at once commenced, and it was thought that when the pressure came, even the most secluded districts might be reached by railway, by road, or by water communication.

Rice is the staple food of the poorer classes of India, and, so far as Bengal is concerned, Backergunge is the great rice-producing district. It is in the Eastern Sunderbunds, and is a territory, notwithstanding its proximity to the sea, remarkable for its fertility, being periodically overflowed by the waters of the Ganges, and enriched by their alluvium; it produces annually two rice crops, in such abundance as to render it the granary of Calcutta, both for exportation and consumption.

Most simple is the repast of the Hindoos in general, and of the peasant in particular. It is pretty well known that the rice is put into one dish, round which the people sit, and eat with the fingers of the right hand; but then it must be remembered that it is almost—but not quite—a

matter of religion with a Hindoo never to soil or pollute that hand. If he has aught to touch that is unclean—even to picking up anything that lies in his way—he uses the left hand; but the right never.

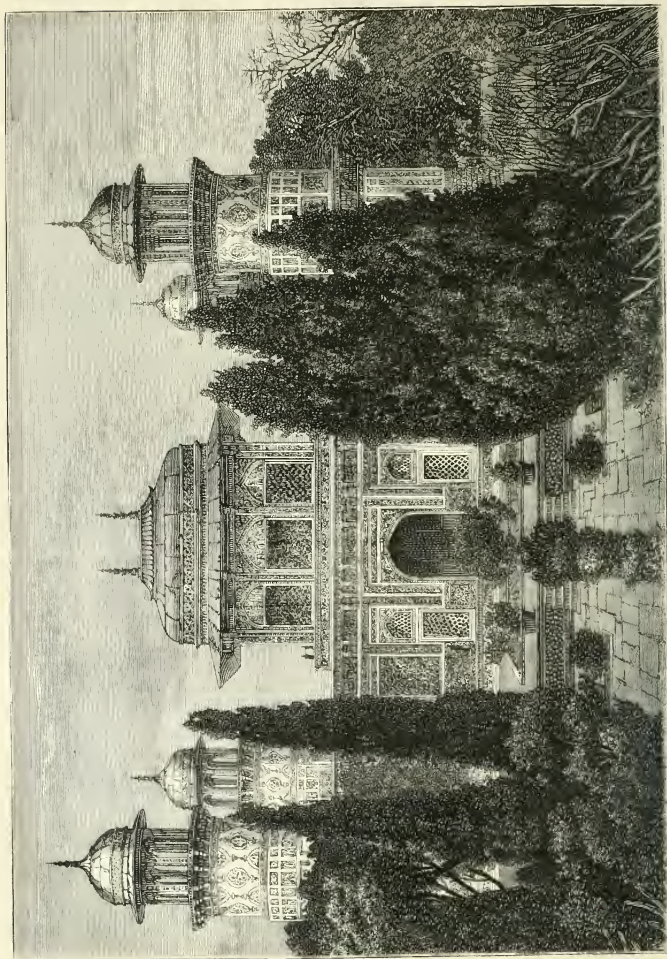
A Brahmin would not eat with any other caste for any consideration whatever, though any caste may follow a Brahmin, and partake of the food he has touched or left. He alone, by the supposed purity of his descent, defiles nothing.

The boiled rice is termed *bhat*; it is eaten with *ghee*, a kind of clarified butter—the same with which the holy idols are smeared—and one good meal of rice per day is all that is usually taken by the poor. In addition to rice there are peas, Indian corn, the plantain fruit, and the guava, which even the poorest can generally obtain; and there are in India about fifty-eight varieties of trees and herbs, all of which are cooked and eaten in some form, and eaten either alone or with some other food.

Before the calamity of famine became imminent, the condition of India was tranquil and generally prosperous; and fortunate it was that Lord Northbrook and Sir George Campbell were impressed with the necessity for taking timely and ample precautions, though they differed somewhat in points of detail, and especially on the question of prohibiting or permitting the export of rice. The Viceroy believed that, even in the actual crisis, it was inexpedient to disturb the ordinary course of commerce; while the Lieutenant-Governor maintained that it was an anomaly that food should be sent abroad when it was certain to be urgently required in the distressed districts.

Both the Duke of Argyll and his successor in office, the Marquis of Salisbury, who became Secretary of State for India in February, 1874, on Mr. Disraeli becoming premier, approved the judgment of the Viceroy; and there was not at any subsequent time much deficiency of food, though great difficulties were encountered, and great outlay incurred, in the distribution of the accumulated Government stores, by sale, in the form of wages, and frequently as gifts among the distressed population.

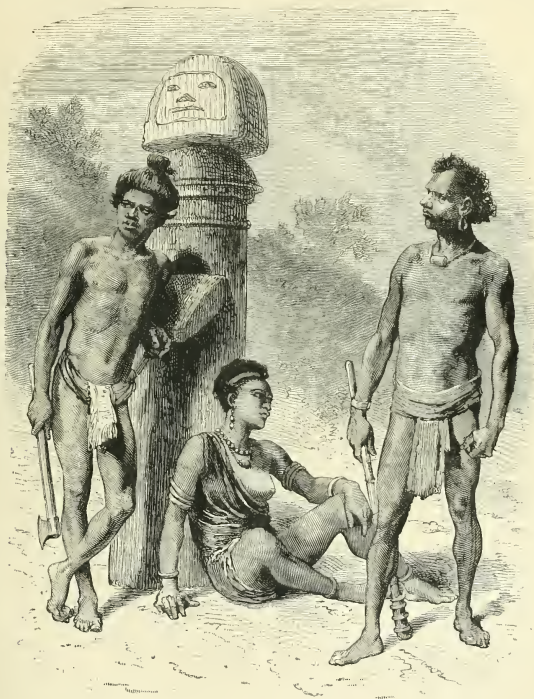
Sir George Campbell, who was charged with the organisation of the system of relief, displayed a faculty of administration and an indefatigable industry which placed him in the first class of Indian statesmen, till he was unwillingly compelled to resign his post by illness to Sir Richard Temple. They had to establish relief works on a vast scale, and to provide other means for those classes which, according to caste and the customs of the country, could not be expected to work.



VIEW OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF THE ETMATDOWLAH, AGRA.

They had, moreover, to stimulate the native gentry and landholders, who generally responded satisfactorily to their appeals, and they had also to control the enormous expenditure which was

Government to 2,190,000 persons in Tirhoot alone—in the province of Behar, where the land is usually well cultivated, the soil drier, and the climate healthier, than in Bengal, and where the



GROUP OF SÔNTALS, NATIVES OF THE RAJMAHAL MOUNTAINS (BENGAL).

requisite for the purchase of food, for its conveyance to the various points of pressure, and for its distribution when there; while it was found necessary to supply with food, not only British subjects in distressed districts, but the starving inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces of Nepal.

Among a few items connected with this anticipated famine we may also mention, that in the last week of April, 1874, assistance was given by

population are in the proportion of three Hindoos to one Mohammedan. Up to the end of that month the consumption of grain from the Government stores, in the famine districts of Bengal, had come below the estimate by 50,000 tons; though so early as February the administration had arranged for a supply of 342,000 tons of rice to be in the distressed districts by the middle of May, at a cost of three millions sterling.

In May it was announced that Government was supporting 2,750,000 persons in the famine districts. The Government and trade supplies then amounted to 674,000 tons of grain. In May the Viceroy telegraphed to the Home authorities, on the 9th, that there had been no material change in the weather, though a minor rainfall had facilitated sowing; that the general upward tendency of prices continued, and the transport of grain was complete everywhere except in Eastern Tirhoot and Brahmapootra. Everything, he added, was progressing favourably, and that the total number of deaths from famine was, as yet, only twenty-two.

Though there was some amelioration in the worst parts of Tirhoot by the 23rd of May, early in the month the distress was great in the southern portion of that province and in Singhbhoom, a district of Bengal, in the province of Orissa, which is thinly populated, and being mountainous and woody, is ill-cultivated.

By the middle of May, in Maunbhoon, relief was urgently required, in districts that were previously considered safe; and the landless classes had consumed the last of their stock, and even the seed-grain; while small-pox and cholera came to augment the sufferings of the people. The early rice was promising in Dinagepore, a hilly part of Bengal (where the rainy season usually extends from the middle of June to the middle of October), and also in Purneah, which adjoins it; but in Rungpore it was perishing fast. At Moorsheadabad and Rajeshaye, the level surface of which is always under rice cultivation, the land was burned up, panting for rain, and hopelessly scorched by the intense heat.

In the same month, May, a despatch from Calcutta announced that hope was returning, with rain, to Durbungah, a Mohammedan district some fifty miles north-east of Patna, and that "according to the latest reports from the famine districts, 1,34,200 persons are employed on the relief works, 200,000 are receiving charitable relief, and 450,200 are supported by advance or sales of grain. Piece-work is being gradually enforced for able-bodied individuals. The condition of the people generally is better than in February, in consequence of the active measures of relief. Severe distress, however, occasionally breaks out, requiring constant vigilance on the part of the authorities, upon whom the natives generally depend for all deficiencies. The rainfall has been generally beneficial, in North Behar, although insufficient to allay native anxieties respecting the next crop. Three hundred thousand tons of grain have been carried to the north from the banks of the Ganges; 50,000

now remain to be conveyed. Village inspection and relief are completely organised in the worst districts, and are being extended where required."

The efforts of Lord Northbrook and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal were vigorously seconded by officers of all ranks; and though the provision against famine imposed a heavy burden on the finances of India, it prevented a disastrous mortality such as ensued during the same calamity in past years. "The British Government," says a journalist, writing on the subject of charity, or a poor law for India, "is, perhaps, out of all comparison the most desirous of any Government India ever had to meet great social evils: *teste*, Lord Northbrook's glorious famine campaign. But the subject is so vast that the people must unite if the desired end is to be attained, and to effect a real union the sympathies of the wealthy men of India must be won. One pound gained by good will is worth five gained by social coercion. We do not, of course, term anything coercion that is carrying out of a law. The writer saw the inspection of the Famine Relief people at Monghyr (the capital of a hilly district of Behar), and from all he could ascertain the cases were in no way exceptional, but had merely been brought together from all parts by the rumours of relief. Such a mass of humanity though, can never be conceived without being seen—leprosy, elephantiasis, and a host of other diseases made the very air rank. The applicants had crawled out from their huts—feeble old people, emaciated children, persons stricken with diseases of which Britain knows nothing, for the daily dole of rice. The officers were all kind; but they saw what none of them would care to see again."

It is impossible to apportion the comparative operation of the scarcity, and of other causes that produced disease and death; but it was confidently believed that in Bengal and Behar fewer persons died of actual starvation, during the continuation of the relief system, than in an ordinary year.*

By July the Tirhoot autumn crops were successfully sown, the winter crop was reported to be well forward, and famine operations were suspended in Bengal, Behar, and other places.

It was a costly triumph to a beneficent administration, "the famine campaign" of Lord Northbrook; but to certain gloomy casteists it suggested grave doubts whether the Supreme Government confers an unmixed benefit on India by counteracting the checks given them by Nature to an excess of population, by scourges in the shape of famine and even slaughter.

* *Times*, 1874.

In an empire so great and varied, fresh anxieties for the administration are always coming to the surface, and the famine among the peasantry had barely been grappled with and subdued when symptoms of uneasiness began to be detected

among the most warlike of the Hindoo races; and thoughts were entertained that the Mahratta princes were combining secretly for defence against some danger yet unknown, or the development of some suspicious intrigues.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE HINDOOS OF BRITISH INDIA.—BRIEF RÉSUMÉ OF THEIR HABITS AND CHARACTER.

Many features that appertain to the manners and customs of the Hindoos and Mohammedans of British India have been already referred to incidentally in preceding parts of this work; hence it is only necessary now to give a few detached particulars concerning them. "Of all ancient nations," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "the Egyptians are the one whom the Hindoos seem most to have resembled; but our knowledge of that people is too limited to reflect light on any other with which they might be compared. It might be easier to compare the Hindoos with the Greeks, as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with the compilation of the first Hindoo code; and therefore inferior in spirit and energy, as well as in elegance, to that heroic race; yet on contrasting their laws and forms of administration, the state of the arts of life, and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the Eastern nation seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society."

But from whence these remarkable people came, what were their race and lineage, or where their original home, ere they spread themselves over Hindostan and the Deccan, are questions easier asked than answered. The Persians gave to the peninsula the name of Hindostan, from being the land of the Hindoos; but in earlier ages it was called by themselves Bharata; and Sir William Jones traces the foundation of the Indian Empire back to above 3,800 years from the present time.

Many have imagined that the Hindoos, in some unknown age, had wandered from a more western climate, and located themselves first on the banks of the Indus. Others have supposed that the first settlers were a company of priests, from whom are descended the powerful order, or caste, of Brahmins, who established their religion with a form of government, constituting themselves superior in ascendancy over the barbarous natives, by the

influence of superior learning. But this theory will not hold; for if the first settlers were warrior-priests, they must have brought with them people of their own race—the only race over which they established a government.

Be all this as it may, it is in the upper basin of the Ganges that we now find the best physical type of the Hindoo. There he is of good stature, fairly formed, and of a complexion that, though dark, is removed by many degrees from black. There, too, he surpasses in those gifts which are, in a great measure, the result of physical constitution, and is by nature bolder and more manly than his countrymen elsewhere; for there the climate is better adapted to fully develop the human form; and by intimate relations with his conquerors from the West, his martial spirit has been rather stimulated than crushed, even amid the loss of his independence.

But in descending into the lower basin of the Ganges, towards the vast plains of Bengal proper, we find the Bengalee, though undoubtedly belonging to the same race just described, inferior in stature and physique, darker in skin, and more effeminate, more cunning and timid; while the Hindoo of the Deccan varies according to the locality in which he has been born, sometimes approaching the higher order of his singular race, but more frequently exhibiting the inferior type, and without the mental subtlety and activity of the Bengalee.

The principal food in the north is wheaten bread unleavened; in Bengal it is rice or pulse; and in the Deccan, when there is less of the former, pulse and ragree, with other inferior grains. In the north the turban is worn, and the dress is somewhat Mohammedan in fashion, and this "seems to separate the inhabitants from the great body of their Hindoo countrymen, who, leaving the rest of the body uncovered, think it sufficient for comfort and decency to wrap one scarf round the body, and throw another over the shoulders."

The dwellings of all the divisions are arranged upon nearly the same plan. Each, for the most part, contains but one apartment, with the addition of a cooking-shed, and if a shop is required, it is simply another shed open in front for the exhibition of wares to the passer. Generally, the chief aperture for both light and air is the doorway, which is seldom provided with a hinged door, and is generally closed by a species of hurdle. A few mats and hurdles supply the place of beds and bedsteads, while a few indifferent utensils, some of brass—among them the inevitable *lotah*—but most of earthenware, answer every other domestic purpose.

Such is, in general, the abode of the great body of the lower-class Hindoos; but in many parts of the country, when one who is possessed of some means deems it necessary to increase his accommodation, he seldom builds a larger house, but contents himself by adding more cottages, each consisting, as usual, of one apartment, with a separate entrance. Hence, as there is no internal communication between them by doorways, they cannot be reached—though occupied by the same family—without passing into the open air. So apparent are the inconveniences of such a system as this, that in other instances, the Hindoo whose means enable him to aspire to something better than a hut, accomplishes his object as people do in the Western world, by building a larger and more commodious edifice. In the north of India, the walls are formed of clay or unburned bricks, and the sloping roofs are tiled; but in the Deccan, where good stone is abundant, the humblest dwellings are substantially built, though exhibiting but little taste, and having roofs which, being flat, are quite invisible.

In the more southern parts of Hindostan, an aspect of neatness and cleanness is imparted to these dwellings by the practice of painting the walls alternately with broad vertical bands of red and white. The cottages in Bengal are chiefly built with flimsy cane walls and a thatched roof. Hence they are very liable to be destroyed by fire, or swept away by a tempest. Yet they are the most tastefully constructed cottages in India, and they have so far taken the fancy of the European residents, that the name of this kind of dwelling, "*banggolo*," said to have been given to it from its being peculiar to Bengal, has by them been corrupted into *bungalow*, and applied indiscriminately to all their buildings in the cottage style."

The Hindoos were, in early ages, a commercial people; and in the first of their sacred law-tracts, which they suppose to have been revealed by

Menou many millions of years ago, there is a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to adventures at sea—an exception which the sense of man approves, though it was not before the reign of Charles I. that our jurisprudence admitted it in respect to maritime contracts.*

But the great mass of the Hindoo people have ever been devoted to agriculture, and even when the manufacture of muslins and silks was most flourishing, the weavers divided their time equally between the loom and the plough, and now that the foreign demand for the former productions has somewhat lessened, a greater proportion of the population have become dependent on the produce of the soil; but in Hindostan the eye of the European looks for a farm or homestead in vain, and sees only towns and villages, and these generally surrounded by old walls.

Next to the institution of caste, the most interesting feature of Hindoo government was the establishment of townships, and those village communities exist in the present day and in many parts of India nearly in the same state as they did in very remote times of antiquity. From the nature of the townships, it is supposed that when the people were separated into classes the agriculturists were settled in villages, to each of which land was apportioned, to be cultivated by that community, each family of which had to furnish its quota of labour.

The agriculturists were, for the most part, free-men—not vassals of any master—and paid for their lands a rental amounting to about one-fourth of the produce, collected by the headman, in those primitive times appointed by a superior, but whose office, in course of time, appears to have become hereditary. There would seem at one period to have existed in India a species of feudal system (if it can so be termed), since there were lords of large districts, containing, perhaps, a thousand townships or communities, subordinate to whom were the governors of ten of these: but though the many revolutions and invasions that have rent the country at various times have occasioned great changes in this system, every village has still its headman, and many of them are in the same state of simplicity which distinguished them in former days—even, perhaps, when Mahmoud bore away the holy gates of Somnath.

In the north these villages occupy open ground, and are closely built in compact groups, but in Bengal the houses are apart, and often scattered

* Sir William Jones.

loosely in a grove of palms or bamboo, or other trees, concerning some of which, such as the cocoa-nut, the mango, and the banyan, or Indian fig-trees, they have various superstitions. Legends tell us that, in the first age of the world, the cocoa-nut-tree produced children, till Brahma ordered it to bear nuts only; that in the days of Ram a monkey brought the mango first into India; and the banyan is a sacred tree, and worshipped especially by those who have children.*

In many localities the villages are walled, and provided with more effectual means of defence, such as a small fort or citadel; in others they are open, or merely closed by a cattle-fence; but all are provided with a general bazaar, where the ordinary articles of consumption are sold; and most of them have one or more temples, together with a *choultry*, or shed, with a broad verandah, for the reception of travellers. This edifice serves also as a sort of town-hall, though business transactions generally take place in the open air, under a pleasant and shady tree. "Each village possesses many of the powers of self-government, and has a regular gradation of officers for the superintendence of its affairs. First in order is the headman, designated in the Deccan, and in the west and centre of Hindostan, by the name of *patel*, and in Bengal by that of *mandi*. Though regarded as an officer of Government, and usually appointed by it, the selection is made from some family which claims it as a hereditary right. Sometimes the villages are permitted to select the particular individual of the family—a privilege the more readily conceded to them because a headman not enjoying their confidence would be incapable of performing the duties of his office. These are numerous, and include all parts of municipal authority. He settles with the Government the whole amount of revenue for the whole land belonging to the village, apportions among its inhabitants according to the extent and value of the lands occupied by them, regulates the supplies of water for irrigation, settles disputes, and apprehends offenders."

Holding his simple court under a tree, this father of the village administers justice like the ancient patriarchs, and for the settlement of private disputes avails himself of the assistance of a *punchayet*—a species of jury, composed of men who act as his assessors when chosen by himself, and as arbitrators if they have been selected among the parties by mutual agreement.

Though this onerous office requires several special qualifications, it is, singular to say, saleable; and in addition to the local importance conferred

by it, the temptations as regard emolument are not small.

These consist of a pension from the Exchequer, a considerable amount yearly, exigible from the villagers in regular and casual fees, with an addition to the land which he may hold by hereditary right. Subordinate to him are, the accountant, who keeps the village accounts and the register in which lands, and the rights thereto, with the burdens thereon, are duly entered, and who acts as a notary in the execution of all legal documents and deeds, and in all matters in which the use of the pen is required; the watchman, who has charge of the walls, fences, or boundaries, and is required alike to capture a thief or dacoit within his limits, or to trace him beyond them; the priest, who acts as a teacher in those village schools to which we have already referred under Lord Mayo's administration; the astrologer, who casts horoscopes, and determines those days which are lucky or otherwise; the money-changer, who acts also as assayer and silversmith; the minstrel, who, like the Celtic bard of old, composes verses and traces pedigrees; the barber, carpenter, and all other tradesmen, in their caste and degree.

A common fund is levied for religious and charitable purposes, and for the relief of wandering fakirs, or the celebration of public festivities; and thus, through a long succession of ages, the Hindoo village has preserved to our own time, within itself, the features of a miniature republic.

From this enumeration it may be seen that the aristocracy of the village are the headman and his assistant officials; but there are others to whom, as in the Western world, the possession of wealth gives distinction; though, with all their apparent advantages, the condition of the villagers generally is not a prosperous one. In some quarters wealth will be indicated by a dwelling two storeys in height, surrounded by a courtyard, or compound, thus aspiring above the surrounding huts; but as these edifices too often belong to the village money-lenders, to the prosperity of the latter much of the poverty of the former may be owing; for there, as elsewhere, the money-lenders acquire enormous profits by taking advantage of the necessities of those around them.

Frequently the tenants are unable to pay their rent and also to procure the necessary means of subsistence without borrowing, and giving their growing crop as security. Thus they become hopelessly involved in debt, and have either to endure cruel extortion, or, by seeking to resist it, become involved in those litigations which are sure to end in ruin. Many writhe in life-long bondage;

* The "Indo-Chinese Gleaner."

while the few who may free themselves are seldom able to profit long by the bitter experience won, as they are not able to avoid a similar recurrence of their monetary difficulties. By nature improvident, the event is committed to fate, and the passing day only is attended to; yet it is among these villages that we find the most pleasing samples of rural life in India.

"The husbandman rises with the earliest dawn," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "washes, and says a prayer, then sets out, with his cattle, to his distant field. After an hour or two, he eats some remnant of his yesterday's fare for breakfast, and goes on with his labour till noon, when his wife

The towns of the Hindoos differ but little from those of other Oriental countries. The mansions are of stone or brick, and possess little architectural merit. The windows are few, and, like those of the Moors, placed high in the walls. The streets are often long, but narrow, ill-paved with uneven stones, or not paved at all; and where the population is great, and the thoroughfare crowded, the passenger has no small difficulty in making his way among the carriages drawn by oxen, palanquins with their bearers, armed horsemen, running footmen, and perhaps a howdah-crowned elephant, with all the *suwarri* of a native prince around it.

The shops, which are always in the lower part of



HINDOO JEWELLER.

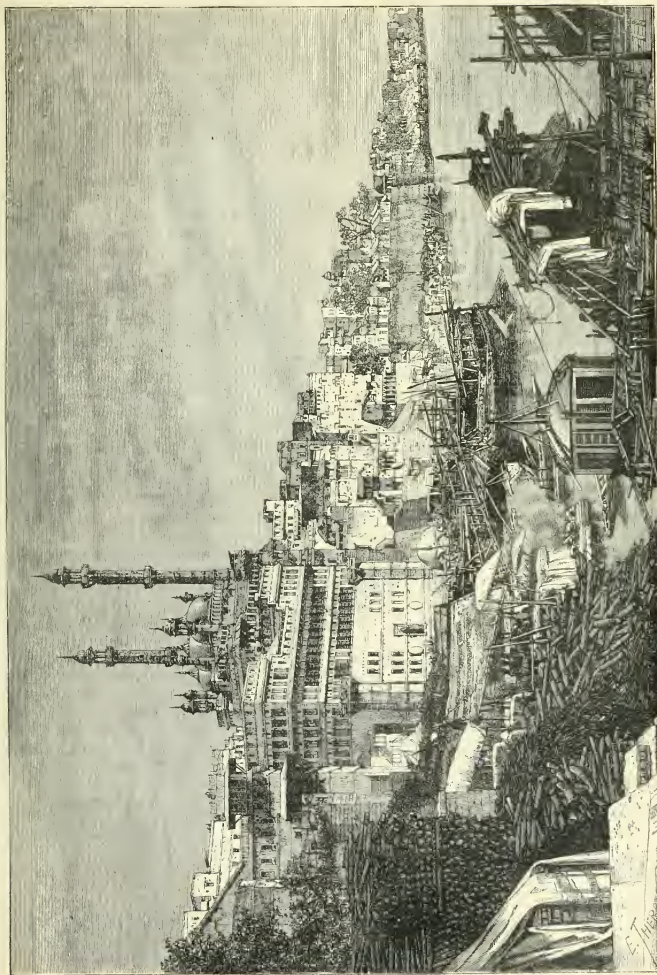
brings out his hot dinner; he eats by a brook, or under a tree, and sleeps till two o'clock, while his cattle also feed and repose. From two till sunset he labours again, then drives his cattle home, feeds them, bathes, eats some supper, smokes, and spends the rest of the evening with his wife and children, or neighbours."*

The domestic arts of the Hindoos are numerous and varied, for there is scarcely any trade that is not practised by them, even to the manufacture of leather, and almost every great city is noted for some particular branch of labour. Thus, Calcutta and Moorshedabad are famous for elegant and curious toys; Delhi surpasses all other cities for its jewellery and other goldsmith's work; Benares for its rich brocades; Monghyr for its steel and iron goods; Patna is the great emporium of opium, and is celebrated for its table-linen and wax candles.

* "History of India."

the house, or formed by a verandah before it, are left open for the display of goods, but make little show, as articles of great value are not exposed, and silks, cashmere shawls, and all costly stuffs are kept in bales. Each town has around it a district of which it is the capital, and is under a district officer or other Government official, whose jurisdiction extends to all matters of police and revenue. For these purposes he has the aid of native assistants, who, as usual with all manner of work in India, are more numerous than the duty requires, and are naturally so corrupt, that, instead of administering justice, they sell themselves for secret bribes to the perversion of it.

Among the inhabitants the lead is usually taken by bankers and merchants, who often act in both capacities, and in the former make loans on the security or assignment of revenue, and in transactions with private individuals stipulate for enormous



VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF AURUNGZEBE AND MAHURAY GIAT (QUAY) BENARES.

percentage, though, instead of fully obtaining it, and often being obliged to accept a compromise, so cunning is the Hindoo nature, that enough will still remain to enable them, through usury, to acquire immense riches. Meanwhile, their lives will be simple and frugal, nor will any extra outlay be indulged in, save on the occasion of a death or a marriage.

The lower-class Hindoos in towns seldom lead lives so simple and blameless as the villagers we have described. Around them are many temptations, which they have not been taught to resist, and amid which they give freedom to their passions, without restraint; and though drunkenness is nearly unknown to them, they use other stimulants, such as *bhang*, which may be quite as maddening as alcohol. Betel-leaf, with the areca-nut and chunam, forms the universal and respectable stimulant in India. It cheers the soul of the rajah on his throne, and the heart of the poor woman who carries a heavy burden on her head all day for a few annas. At the entertainments of the great it is handed round on a silver salver among the guests; and Hindoos converted to the Gospel do not lay aside this, "the eighth sensual delight," with the worship of their false gods, and abstinence from it is regarded by them as a fast, on occasions of great mourning.

Elphinstone tells us that among the Hindoos there is no set of people "so depraved as the dregs of our great towns;" but he did not write in the days of the great Mutiny. To those who have any interest in imposing upon them, the greatest facilities are given by their credulity and gross ignorance; and though alleged to be naturally submissive to authority, history has shown us, again and again, that beneath the fawning manner and exterior mildness of the Hindoo there lurk a savage temper and vindictive spirit, which will lead him to make the warmest protestations of faith and attachment at the very moment when he is planning such abominable crimes as those which were perpetrated at Delhi and Cawnpore.

In their domestic arrangements the Hindoos present peculiarities that are remarkable. Among these is the right and meaning of *adoption*, which has caused so many court intrigues, assassinations, and crimes, and an alleged interference with which brought upon us the wrath and hate of Nana Sahib of Bithoor. What chiefly adds to its importance is, that it is not a mere civil obligation, but a religious rite of the first order. A man may thus pass over the heirs of his own body and select the son of an alien race to bear his name, to inherit his property, and, finally, to close his eyes in death.

The last necessity is the chief consideration of all. It is the duty of every man to have at least one son, according to the great religion of the East. "We know a case of a comparatively poor man," says the late editor of the *Friend of India*, "who, having lost his only son (he had daughters, but daughters do not count in this matter), took his wife to Gya, a sacred city of Behar, and went himself to Benares to pray, and induce the Brahmins to pray, that he might have a son. He could not work, he said, had no enjoyment in life, could not keep his books (he was a clerk), nor think of any but the one thing—that *he had no son* to close his eyes at last, and, by taking his place in this world, secure him a fair chance of a home in the next. Of course, it is easy to laugh at all this; but let us remember that India thinks it has grounds upon which it can laugh at us."

Another domestic peculiarity is the early age at which matrimonial relations are effected. A mere boy and girl, who perhaps had never met before, are brought together as man and wife, without their own consent being asked or given, and by the arbitrary injunctions of their parents. Any previous attachment is impossible among the Hindoos; yet Lachmi is the goddess of beauty and love, who, like the Greek Aphrodite, sprang from the white froth of the ocean. Influenced by selfish motives or by family pride, the loveless wedding will be celebrated with a pomp and splendour which tax the family exchequer to the utmost, and perhaps leaves them all drowned in debt. The extreme youth in which the contracting parties are mated, together with local customs, renders it almost impossible that the affections of either can be otherwise engaged; hence there is no room for the discord occasioned by ill-assorted marriages in Europe. In accepting her husband for better or worse, without being consulted in the matter, the little Hindoo bride only follows the immemorial custom of her country, all unconscious that the least injustice is done her, and, if kindly treated by her husband, becomes reconciled to the routine of life, and will repay his kindness with a love that errs only in its excess.

Yet she is the slave, rather than the helpmate, of her husband: she dare not share his meals, but must stand in attendance on him when he eats, and, however harsh his usage, must endure it with patience and silent resignation, for "the law, so far from affording any legal relief, expressly declares that no degree of worthlessness on his part can either dissolve the marriage or justify her in refusing to yield him the utmost deference as her lord and master." Yet the marriage is not indis-

soluble, for, if the husband wishes for freedom, the most frivolous pretext may be seized for degrading, supplanting, and turning the luckless wife adrift; and polygamy being legal, the husband may select wife after wife so long as he pleases. Under such a system, virtue can neither flourish nor domestic happiness be understood, as the peace and purity of the Hindoo home are often destroyed by the natural jealousy of rival spouses, and the conflicting interests of their rival offspring. However, as we have elsewhere related, the suttee is abolished, female infanticide suppressed, and the free right to re-marry, instead of immolating herself on a funeral pile, has been granted to the Hindoo widow.

Yet, as elsewhere out of Christendom, women in India are regarded as an inferior part of the creation. The birth of a son is hailed with joy, but that of a daughter too often with undisguised disappointment. When the proper age is arrived at, the Hindoo parents seek to give their sons some kind of instruction—generally reading, writing, and arithmetic; but from these simple attainments the daughters are excluded, on the barbarous principle that the less a woman knows the better, as knowledge would only give her the means of doing mischief.

"Under this idea," says a writer, "it has even grown into a maxim that an educated wife is unlucky. The consequence is that even women who have received education are shy of owning it, and deem it necessary to protect their reputation by feigning ignorance. The degradation thus inflicted on the female sex carries its own punishment along with it, and all the more important domestic duties are often imperfectly performed. Mothers confined almost entirely to drudgery are unable to take an efficient part in the training of their offspring. The studied ignorance in which they have been brought up leaves them destitute of all the necessary qualifications; while the contemptuous treatment which they too often receive from the head of the family weakens the authority which they ought to possess over its younger members. For a time, Nature may assert her rights and give the mother the largest share in her children's affections; but the bad example set them will, sooner or later, be imitated, and they will cease to obey her commands on perceiving that she has no power to enforce them. A tyrannical father, a degraded mother, and ill-trained children, are thus the natural result and just punishment of the barbarism which Hindoos display in depriving woman of her proper place in the family."^{*}

^{*} Beveridge.

Yet, withal, the history of India affords us many examples of Hindoo women, who, by mental ascendancy won over both husbands and sons, have ruled great and populous kingdoms, though, by the laws, traditions, and customs of the Hindoo race, woman is in every way defrauded of her proper rights and true position.

Elphinstone, who knew India well, gives occasionally a brighter view of the Hindoo character, and tells us that all persons who have returned from Hindostan think better of the people they have left, after comparing them with others even of the justly esteemed nations; and that with the Hindoo women, "in spite of the low place assigned to them, natural affection and reason restore them to their rights; their husbands confide in them, and consult with them in their affairs, and are as often subject to their ascendancy as in any other country."

Elsewhere he tells us that, "though their character is altered since their mixture with foreigners, the Hindoos are still a mild and gentle people. . . . Their women have a large share of beauty and grace, set off by feminine reserve and simplicity."

Among the Nairs, on the coast of Malabar, a custom more degrading than polygamy is still to be found in its fullest extent; for marriage cannot be said to exist, even in name. Hence, when Tippoo Sahib was among them, he said, in a proclamation, "It is the practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters so unconstrained that all are born in adultery;" and Colonel Wilks asserts that it is no uncommon thing for a woman, by a semblance of a marriage form, to become the wife of a whole family of brothers, one or all of whom she may displease, more especially in Southern Malabar; and yet, adds the colonel, "the Nairs, or military class, are, perhaps, not exceeded by any nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour."^{*}

Among the Hindoos, prior to the establishment of European courts of law, there were modes of trying offenders by an appeal to the Deity; and of these an account was drawn up by Ali Ibrahim Khan, chief magistrate of Benares, and translated by Warren Hastings.[†]

These modes are described at length in the "*Mitacthera*: or, Comment on the Dherma Shashtra in the Chapter of Oaths," and other ancient books of Hindoo law. These ordeals were nine in number: by the balance, fire, water, poison, *casha*,

^{*} "Historical Account of India."

[†] "Asiatic Researches," vol. i.

or water in which an idol had been dipped, rice, boiling oil, red-hot iron, and, lastly, by images.

In the ordeal by balance, the scales were adjusted and set perfectly even. The accused and a Pundit, after fasting a whole day, and the former bathing in sacred water and presenting an oblation of Fire, is carefully weighed, and when he is taken out of the scale, the accusation, written upon paper, is bound to his head. If he then weighs more than before, he is held guilty; if less, innocent; if exactly the same, he must be weighed a third time, when, as it is written, there must be a difference in his weight. Should the balance break down, it would be undoubted proof of guilt.

The fire ordeal was a small excavation in the ground, filled with flaming peepul-wood, through which if the accused walked unhurt with feet bare he was held guiltless.

The water ordeal was performed by placing the accused nearly to the hip in water, with a brahmin by his side holding a staff in his hand. Three arrows were then shot from a bow. Each of these were brought back by a man in succession, while the accused, during the time stooped with his head under water; "for if he raise his head or body above the surface before the arrows be brought back his guilt is considered as fully proved."

There were two ordeals by poison: one consisted in taking, without injury, seven barleycorns, poisoned with *visha-naga*, a dangerous root; the other of drawing, without being bitten, a hooded cobra, or *naga*, from a deep earthen pot.

The trial by *cosha* compelled the accused to drink three of the waters in which the image of Deva and other deities had been solemnly dipped, and if he had any illness within fourteen days thereafter, his guilt was proved.

A suspected thief was compelled to chew some rice, weighed with a sacred stone called Salgram, and if it came from his mouth dry, and unstained with blood, he was acquitted.

The ordeal by hot oil compelled him to dip his hand into it uninjured; and that by hot iron was to grasp the head of a lance, or an iron ball, when in a white heat.

In the ninth ordeal, either an image, named Dharma, or the Genius of Justice, which is made of silver, and another of clay or iron, called Adharma, are put into a large earthen jar, "and the accused having thrust his hand into it, is acquitted if he bring out the silver image, but condemned if he draw forth the iron."

In the year 1783 the ordeal by the red-hot ball was tried at Benares, according to the authority quoted, and preparations were made by the officers

of Ibrahim Khan's court, in presence of Captain Hogan's battalion of Native Infantry and the chief inhabitants of the city. After prayers, "they made the iron ball red-hot, and taking it up with tongs, placed it in the hands of the accused: he walked with it, step by step, the space of three *gaz* and a half, through each of the seven intermediate rings, and threw the ball into the ninth, when it burned the grass that had been left in it. He next, to prove his veracity, rubbed some rice in the husk between his hands, which were afterwards examined, and were so far from being burned that not even a blister was raised on either of them."*

The Hindoos of British India, partly from the enervating influence of the climate and the peculiarity of their physical temperament, are generally indolent and listless. They are most unwilling to labour; and thus every species of it is portioned out, as if for the express purpose of employing the greatest number of hands possible, leaving very little for each to do. Hence the vast hordes of camp-followers attendant upon our troops, whether in the field or cantonments, and the vast number of servants maintained by European residents for household duties; the absurd, yet immovable, distinctions of caste prohibiting one individual from taking part in that which is regarded as the hereditary occupation of another caste, from the days perhaps of Menou the Lawgiver.

It is told, however, of Lord Dalhousie that, having requested a servant to pour some water from a basin, he declined, on the plea that it was contrary to his caste. The marquis sternly drew out his watch and said, "It is now so-and-so o'clock; if before so-and-so I am not obeyed, I shall discharge not only you, but every man of your caste in Government House!" And this threat is said to have proved effectual; for in many cases the distinctions of caste among servants are carefully maintained because they favour avarice and sloth, or encourage in every way the disinclination to undergo fatigue. Thus wages are low, and it is only by the exercise of the most rigid care and frugality that the Hindoo workman or labourer and his family can live; and they certainly limit their wants to suit their means: and so, instead of seeking by harder work to better their circumstances, they are content to dwell in such huts as we have described in this chapter, to feed on pulse and chupaties, vegetables and ghee or oil, tobacco and betel-leaf being their only luxuries.

The food of the wealthier or upper classes, who also practise great frugality, differs but little from that of the lower, save that they have a greater

* "Asiatic Researches."

number of vegetables, fruits, sweetmeats, and spices—among which *assafetida* is deemed one; but when high entertainments are given, all frugality and economy are forgotten. The apartments are then gaily ornamented, and the floor—which, from the way the guests sit, cross-legged on carpets or low divans, is the table—is decorated with flower-patterns, formed of brilliantly-coloured sand; and when, after sunset, light becomes necessary, it is supplied in many instances by servants holding flaming links, on which, from time to time, they pour oil from bottles, with which they are provided for the purpose.

Without the introduction of the *nautch* dancing and singing girls (already described) these entertainments would be incomplete; and monotonous and insipid though such performances prove to the eye and ear of the European, they are, to the Hindoos, the most popular and attractive of all entertainments. The people are very punctilious; and at such social gatherings it is very difficult for the host to assign, without giving offence to some one, his place to each guest; and even when that is done, the intolerable nuisance of caste often intervenes to restrain friendly intercourse and mar enjoyment; and one of the heaviest items in the expense of such meetings is the number of jewels, or other valuable presents, to be bestowed upon the guests.

With regard to Hindoo festivals, Mountstuart Elphinstone says: "No concourse in England can give a notion of the lively effect produced by the prodigious concourse of people in white dresses and bright-coloured scarfs and turbans, so unlike the black head-dresses and dusky habits of the North." *

Among the festivals in which they delight most is one named the Holi, which we shall describe in Elphinstone's words. He tells us that it is "a festival in honour of the spring, at which the common people, especially the boys, dance round fires, sing licentious and satirical songs, and give vent to all sorts of ribaldry against their superiors, by whom it is always taken in good part. The great sport of the occasion, however, consists in sprinkling each other with a yellow liquid, and throwing crimson powder over each other's person. The liquid is also squirted through syringes, and the powder is sometimes made up in large balls covered with isinglass, which break as soon as they come in contact with the body. All ranks engage in this sport with enthusiasm, and get more and more into the spirit of the contest, till all parties are completely drenched with liquid, and so covered

with the red powder that they can scarcely be recognised. A grave prime minister will invite a foreign ambassador to play the Holi at his house, and will take his share in the most riotous parts of it with the ardour of a school-boy."

It is on the occasion of the Holi, or Hoolee, that drunkenness—that most rare vice among Hindoos—begins to show itself for a few days before the feast begins, and it often ends in wild orgies and riot. They take great delight in all manner of shows and merry-makings, especially in fairs, which are generally held once a year in most of the cities and villages. Of these, the most remarkable is the great fair at Hurdwar (*i.e.*, the Gate of Hurri, or Vishnu), a small and scattered town on the Ganges. There a handsome range of buildings backs an esplanade which runs along the western bank of the holy river, and deep dense woods extend to the vast forests far behind. Many of the temples are beautiful, and present choice examples of ancient Hindoo sculpture. Hurdwar is one of the most famous places for Hindoo purification; and in April the pilgrims flock thither from every part of India, from China, Tartary, Persia, and Bokhara; and every sixth and twelfth year the concourse is so vast that at one festival there were more than 2,000,000 present. The country around presented the appearance of one great camp, swarming with Arabs, Cingalese, Tartars, Persians, Sikhs, Chinese, and Europeans.

The sum accumulated by the brahmins at the fair of 1814 exceeded two lacs of rupees, as fees for bathing; and on that occasion, Mr. Chamberlain, an Anabaptist clergyman in the service of the Begum Sumroo, had the courage to preach the Christian doctrine boldly, and, singular to say, met with applause and cries of "May the Padre live for ever!" *

Endless and countless as are the religious superstitions of the Hindoo, perhaps the most singular sample was that presented to the Indian public in 1868, when a girl was publicly married to an idol. In that year, an old brahmin of the Deccan arrived with his family in the town of Muttra, where he was greatly patronised by Rungacharee, the high priest of the Ramanoojee sect. The brahmin had two daughters—one a grown-up girl, the other in her ninth year. While residing at Muttra, the latter announced that Krishnaje (one of the incarnations of Vishnu) had appeared to her in a dream and proposed marriage. Next day the girl was conveyed, amid much pomp and more mummary, to the temple, and there wedded to the hideous bronze idol. The ignorant people, says

* Elphinstone's "India."

* "Sketches of India," 1811-14: Parbury & Allan.

the Indian journal from which we quote, began to venerate the bride as an inspired being; and adds that both girls have learned by ear 18,000 couplets (*sic*) of the *Bhagwat*—a work in the Sanscrit language. "Both girls consider themselves as dedicated to the services of the god Krishna, and after their daily recitations are concluded, they make no hesitation in accepting such presents of money and sweetmeats as their hearers may choose to give them."*

The Doorga-pooja festival of worship is held about the end of September, and as, during its continuance, there is no work done, the European generally goes away to the hills, if he can, for a fortnight. It is held chiefly

in honour of Kali, the goddess of blood, and in all the temples there are idols of her, gaily adorned with flowers, and her presence is invoked during days of dancing, singing, and prayer.

The car of Juggernaut (*i.e.*, Lord of the World), an immense car or moving tower, preserved in the temple of that name on the coast of Orissa, is yearly dragged from thence by pilgrims to the Gonduhannour, country house of the god Vishnu, and back again to the temple; and it was during this procession that, before British rule came, devotees used to sacrifice life by throwing themselves under its ponderous wheels. A pilgrim tax of three to ten rupees was levied by the British Government till 1840, when it was abolished. The



BUDDHIST FUNERAL URN, FROM THE TOPE OF SANCHI.

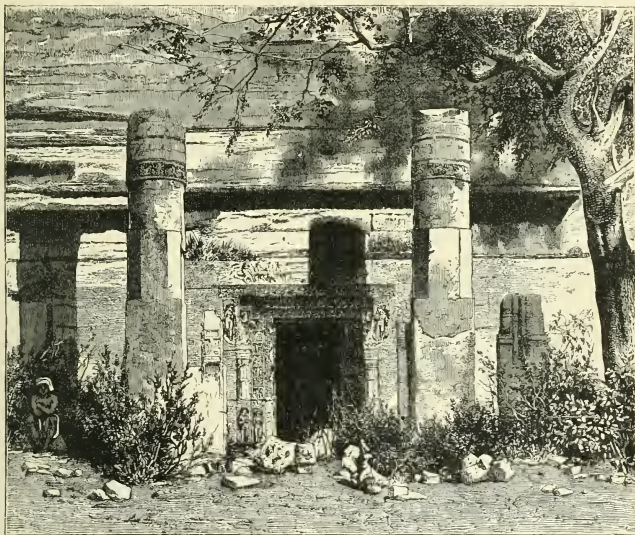
* *Oude Gazette*, 1868.



IDOL OF MANDAR, NEAR BHAGULPORE.

shrine they visit at Juggernaut, the Hindoos deem the most sacred spot in the world. The temple of the idol stands in the centre of the town, within an enclosure, 620 feet by 600 feet, surrounded by a wall twenty feet high. On each side of the enclosure is an entrance, the most celebrated of which is the eastern portal, flanked by colossal figures of lions, and thence called the *Singh Dwar*, or "Lion's Gate." Within the sacred

excitement intense; while the danger is not small, for when once the monstrous machine is in motion, it can only be stopped with difficulty. The festival is a fair, with merry-go-rounds and all the features one usually finds at a fair anywhere. The vast tides of men and women from all parts—the latter bearing flowers to strew the way—show the intensity of the popular feeling, though, unless by accident, none perish under the wheels of the mighty car now.



VIEW OF THE SUBTERRANEAN TEMPLE OF MAHADEVA, OUDGHIRY.

area are fifty great temples, dedicated to the principal deities of the Hindoo Pantheon, but the most conspicuous building is a lofty stone tower, 200 feet high and forty-two feet square, called the Chief Temple. The idol is of wood, with a black and frightful visage, and a distended mouth smeared with blood. The deity is supposed to be enclosed in some substance deposited within the cavity of the idol's heart. When placed in the car, and the latter is started by hundreds of people bearing on the drag-ropes, the shouting of the multitude is astounding and the

With regard to the domestic arrangements of the Hindoos: though polygamy is permitted, as we have said, it is too expensive a system, perhaps found too hazardous, moreover, to be a common practice. Hence, in a well-regulated and religious Hindoo family, marriage is just what it is among the Europeans—the union of a single pair. A good Hindoo husband will treat his wife with kindness and delicacy, even at times admit an equality, and often carries the love of his children beyond all bounds. Frequently, when the business of the day is done, he may, if he has the skill, become their

teacher, to save the small fees paid, in either money, grain, or uncooked vegetables, to the village school-master. In such a Hindoo household domestic peace and happiness might exist without much alloy; but sooner or later, says a writer who has studied the subject well, something for the worse is sure to supervene.

"In respect both of mental and physical qualities, the Hindoo appears to most advantage in the first stage of his life. As a child or boy he is often remarkably handsome, and in quickness of intellect is usually superior to Europeans of his own age. Unfortunately, his passions are also more precocious, and are fostered by native customs, which force on him a premature manhood. He is married when a mere boy, and, becoming his own master before he can have learned the art of self-restraint, too often gives way to vicious indulgence. The promise of his boyhood is thus belied. The enervating influence to which he is thus subjected suddenly arrests all further progress, and he settles down to take part in the ordinary duties of life while destitute of the qualifications necessary to perform them aright. It is probable that for a time at least, even after he has become the head of a family, he may continue to reside under the paternal roof; but his position is entirely changed, and new interests arise by which the former peace of the family is broken up. He was previously treated as a child, and could repay all his father's fondness; whereas he is now a man, possessed of rights which he is desirous to maintain, or, it may be, to overstretch. The father sees a rival in his son—the mother in her daughter-in-law; and what was formerly a peaceful home becomes a scene of brawling and intrigue; while the grown-up son insists on his legal right of control over the family property, and the father resents an interference which, if legal, does not seem the less harsh and ungrateful, it is well if the alienation is not carried so far as to hurry one or other of them into crime."

And, doubtless, it was this state of things in royal households that caused so many of the deep intrigues, dissensions, assassinations, and civil wars, to which we have had occasion to refer in this work.

In the early period of Hindoo history, the intermixture of the invading Mohammedans produced some changes in the manners of the former in those provinces which were overrun. Many natives were converted to the faith of their new rulers; mixed marriages created ties and the adoption of new customs, especially with regard to women, who in more remote times enjoyed

more freedom and greater privileges. The introduction in so many places of a species of Turkish costume was one of the changes effected by Mohammedan conquest. It became very general in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and was adopted in most parts of Hindostan by the upper classes; but the brahmins, however, stoutly refused to accept the new style of dress, and even unto this day all strict members of their caste clothe themselves in the ancient Hindoo fashion.

The Hindoos were at all times liable to be roughly treated by their conquerors; and Aurungzebe, in particular, adopted a very harsh line of conduct with regard to them. They were prohibited from worshipping their idols with fairs and festivals, according to immemorial custom; they were excluded from all public offices; and edicts were issued against all their dancing and singing girls, who were attached to the temples. Astrologers, and even poets, were forbidden to exercise their vocations; and though these orders were but little attended to, they revived keenly the half-forgotten hatred of the Hindoos to their conquerors, with whom they never acted cordially till the epoch of the great Mutiny; but as most of Aurungzebe's rules could be evaded, none of them caused such universal discontent as the revival of the capitation tax, which was the more obnoxious as it made an invidious distinction between the Mohammedans and Hindoos, thus marking the latter as a conquered people: and at this hour, when we have conquered both, there is, perhaps, in secret not much cordiality at heart between them.

The Hindoo subject of Queen Victoria does not vary much from persons of his class in other lands in his general mode of conducting business, and in the ordinary intercourse of life with his fellow-men; though the natural timidity of his nature, combined with much of native and inborn subtlety, while disposing him to gain his ends peacefully, also leads him to do so by secret, strange, and tortuous means: and one of these is known as the *dherma*.

The Hindoo prefers persuasion to force if he has an object to effect, but if the former mode proves unavailing, he will resort unscrupulously to any sly or treacherous mode which may prove effectual; and the chief of these is the *dherma*, a superstition founded upon the sacredness supposed to be attached to the person of a brahmin, and the consequent guilt, shame, and future punishment to being accessory in any way to the death of one: for, when born over again, the slayer or insulter bears in his second life some mark or ailment, which can be discerned by a pretended science called *kurrembeypak*; for it is supposed that men,

"for sins committed in this life, and for bad actions in a *preceding* state, suffer a morbid change in their bodies."

When the Hindoo finds that his demand for money, or anything else, is not complied with within a given time, he hires a brahmin—either because he is a party personally interested in the claim, or because he is paid for the purpose—to seat himself before the door of the person upon whom it is made, justly or otherwise. He has a cup of poison and a poniard in his hand, and thereby intimates his firm resolution to put himself to death if the offending party tastes a single morsel of food before he has settled the claim in question.

The unfortunate debtor has thus no resource left him but either to comply, perhaps with gross extortion, or commence a very unpleasant course of fasting and abstinence. If the brahmin puts his strange threat in execution—and, from the character of these people, and the little value they set on life, there is every probability to think he might do so—he would be honoured and revered as a martyr, while the debtor would be covered with obloquy as his murderer. Hence, as the double risks, present and *future*, are too great to run, the brahmin and his employer invariably gain their purpose in the end.

Another mode of enforcing payment of some simple debt is for the creditor to plant himself before the door of the debtor, and vow that he means to remain there, without food, until his money is paid. "As a point of honour, which it is deemed impossible to violate, the debtor must, in like manner, remain without food; and if payment is not made, the parties immediately begin to put their mutual power of enduring hunger to the test. This trial might sometimes prove illusory, and, therefore, the creditor usually makes sure that the fasting of the debtor is real by cutting off his supplies. This kind of *dherma*, employed by troops against their paymaster, or the prime minister, or the sovereign himself, has often been effectual in obtaining their arrears of pay."

In the spirit of litigation the Hindoo is, perhaps, second to none; and from the manner in which he carries on an action at law, a legal writer has declared it to be "little better than a public nuisance." The whole process becomes a web of the merest rascality, as witnesses are readily found who, for the most pitiful bribes, will swear by their salt, by the Ganges' water, or anything else, with the most daring effrontery and cool plausibility, in favour of whoever pays them best; and even when evidence is not corrupt, it is so crooked and per-

plexed that the European can place no dependence upon it.

Though falsehood and perjury are borne often in the face of all that is adduced, the opposing parties are prepared with details the most ample and circumstantial, all showing that the element of truth is but little known to the Hindoo, as any temptation, however small, will lead him readily to trample it under foot. This great tendency to lying is scarcely deemed a reproach among them; but the utterer of the greatest falsehood will, at the same moment, perhaps, ask, with assumed dignity, "Why he should tell a lie, who would shed blood for what he regarded as the slightest infringement of his honour?"*

The falsehood of the Hindoo is engendered by his timidity and cunning, and it is the most glaring national defect among them. According to the Institutes of Menou—which, next to the Vedas, form the great source of Hindoo religious information, and are alleged to have been compiled 1,280 years before the birth of our Saviour—a moderate amount of lying is permitted, and even false evidence, too, if the giver does so "from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, he shall not lose a place in heaven."

This rather loose teaching, together with the duplicity forming the plot of the adventures of many a popular god and goddess (like the immorality of those of the Greeks), have not failed to instil a great amount of cunning and propensity to double-dealing in the Hindoo character. Add to this the many changes of rulers he has had—every form of government in succession being despotic, save our own—the rapacity of talookdars, rajahs, and emperors, the savage revolutions, and the venality of native judges generally, with the general insecurity of all property in the past time, and it is not difficult to find a cause for the dissimulation, perfidy, and slavish vices so often exhibited by the Hindoo.

Naturally, he is neither boisterous nor captious, neither is he prone to engage in quarrels; but he is acutely alive to all his own interests, and, when once roused to the suspicion that they are in danger, he is slow neither in speaking nor in acting. Cunning and prudence will lead to a concealment of his ire, if the encroacher on his rights is of a rank superior to his own, and also to his seeking redress by a fawning appeal to pity and to justice. But with an equal, still more with an inferior, if he deems himself wronged or insulted, vituperation and invective are his favourite resorts, and in these, together with violent gesticulation, he will

* Mountstuart Elphinstone.

indulge without limit, and in the fierce war of words generally finds his enemy his equal. "A spectator, unacquainted with native habits, would expect it to terminate in blows; but this is a mode of settlement not suited to the taste of the combatants, and they separate, each probably satisfied that his volubility has given him the victory. If the ground of quarrel involves some interest of which the law takes cognisance, vituperation is only a preliminary to a more serious contest, and a course of obstinate litigation ensues. In the mode of conducting it, all the worst passions are brought into play, and too often everything like honour and honesty is thrown aside. The spirit of litigiousness, once evoked, gathers strength by continuance; and when, at last, the paltry question at issue has been decided, one or, probably, both parties find that, partly by the expense incurred, and partly by the neglect of their proper business, they are hopelessly involved in debt."

The Hindoo, says another writer, while destitute of that grand and pure patriotism which makes men love their native land, irrespective of all its merits or demerits, just because it is their native land, has an intense admiration of India, as the most beautiful and delicious of all lands; while all its charms—its mighty rivers, and the luxuriance of its forests, fruits, and flowers—are associated with its mythology, and are deemed the direct gifts of its millions of gods.*

The loose morals of the Hindoo gods and goddesses are as familiar to their worshippers as were those of old on Olympus to the Greeks; and their literature has its Lucian in an ancient Tamil poet, whose pen was severe upon their frailties, which he made the subject of much satirical writing: for, like the Greeks of old, they believe that their gods scolded, hated, junketed, and cheated each other as mortals do on earth.

One of the great peculiarities of the Hindoo creed, in regard to a future state, is its belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis, or the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, after death, into the body of some other animal or some other body—even into a vegetable; and that the future state will be happy or miserable according to a man's conduct in his present body. This was borrowed from them by the Greeks, and was the doctrine taught by Pythagoras. According to this idea, the Hindoo believes implicitly that every form of life now existing around him must be animated by a being who, though utterly unconscious of the circumstance, previously animated some other form, and owed its present place in

the scale of existence to the tenor of its conduct in the *past*. The penalty of previous sins and crimes is paid for by degrading or defective forms in this present state; hence poverty, misfortune, and disease are all regarded as divine dispensations from the gods, and designed for the ultimate moral improvement of the sufferer and of those who behold what he endures. The Institutes of Menou established the doctrine of sufferings for sins committed in a former state, and they describe both the personal signs by which those sins may be discovered, and the expiations which must be made for them; "since they who have not expiated their sins will again spring to birth with disgraceful marks."

The Hindoo identifies misfortune with crime—committed in the present life, or in the former by the twice-born man—and declines to relieve it, on the plea that to do so would thwart the designs of the divinity by whom the penalty is inflicted; hence even the most violent death is regarded with comparative apathy, in the belief that it is fully deserved. Thus, mutual sympathy is destroyed by this terrible and absurd creed, which steels the hearts of men against each other's sufferings, and inspires indifference as to fate. Life becomes to the Hindoo but a chapter in general existence—one of a series of metamorphoses, which have been preceded and will be followed by others—affording no incentive to genuine piety or high virtue in the hope of a final and eternal reward. Yet this apparently endless repetition of existence has, even to the Hindoo, some vague limit assigned it, but at a period distant and remote indeed.

"A rational creature," according to the twelfth chapter of the Institutes, "has a reward or a punishment for mental acts of his mind, for verbal acts in his organs of speech, and for corporeal acts in his bodily frame. For sinful acts corporeal, a man shall assume a vegetable or mineral form; for acts verbal, the form of a bird or beast; for acts mental, the lowest of human conditions."

The remote period when, after the lapse of ages upon ages, the course of transmigration is to end, and the purified soul is to enter the Hindoo heaven, gives the hope that is denied to none. Hence the Hindoo deems, says Elphinstone, that "the most wicked man, after being purged of his crimes by repeated transmigrations, may ascend in the scale of being until he may enter into heaven, and even attain the highest reward of all the good, which is incorporation in the essence of God."*

But according to the creed of the luckless Hindoo, even his heaven is a defective one; nor

* "Scenes and Sights in the East."

* "History of India."

is it eternal: for after a period, the length of which is fixed to an hour, a new cycle begins; and the spirits there, even amid their enjoyments, cannot become oblivious of the fact that one day they must quit them to enter on some new state of being, in which it may be their lot to be infinitely miserable and degraded. After a sojourn in their hell—the description of which somewhat resembles that of the Mohammedan faith—a hell of unspeakable tortures for thousands of years will be followed by re-appearance in the world under some very minor form, as one of the lower animals, a stone, or a tree, and this is a doom which the majority of worshippers anticipate; and even that distant doom is not beyond the possibility of a change, in which there may be a hope of something better. “But the truth of the case would be more accurately expressed,” says a writer, “by saying that, to all professing Hindoos, with the exception of a comparatively small number to whom peculiar favour is shown, the natural tendency of their creed is not to cherish hope, but to produce indifference or despair.”

Another writer, who has travelled among them and studied their character, takes a different view. “It is just the reverse of truth,” says Bruce, “that the Hindoo religion is to the millions who believe in it a cheerless faith; and it is the truth that the people of India are a remarkably cheerful, as they are a sweet-tempered, people, and that their religion is to them a perpetual source of pleasure and amusement, as polytheism is in its very nature a glad some faith.”*

According to the rules of their religion, the Hindoo ought to pray thrice daily—in the morning, at noon, and in the evening—with his face turned towards the East. He should, at the same time, perform his ablutions, and, when he has an opportunity, should prefer a running stream to standing water; and to wash before a meal is indispensable.

At the hours of public worship the Hindoos resort to the temples, and begin by the performance of ablutions at the tank, which is always to be found, either in front of the sacred edifice or in the centre of the first court of the greater temples. After leaving their slippers or sandals by the side of the tank, they are admitted to a vestibule opposite to the building that contains the idols, all of which are monstrous in form and conception, but before which they observe the greatest reverence and devotion, while the brahmins perform the ceremonies of the *poofa*, and the nautch girls dance in the court, singing the praises of the divinity to the sound of various musical instru-

ments. According to rule, the four angles of a temple ought to face the four cardinal points; and in addition to the tank—which a temple is seldom or never without—there is frequently a white marble fountain, in style not unlike those erected in Spain by the Moors.

The *poofa*, or act of prayer, may be performed before household images at home. Those who assist at it must first wash themselves and also the room destined for the ceremony, for which a new mat or carpet is spread, and used once only for that purpose. On this is placed the throne, generally made of wood carved and gilded, or it may be, of gold and silver. On it is placed the idol, and on the mat are placed a bell of metal, a conch-shell to blow on, a censer filled with sugar, benzoin, ral, and other articles, which are constantly kept burning. Around are scattered fresh flowers. The idol is bathed and wiped; rice, fruit, and other offerings are laid before it; and certain prayers, or *ashlocks*, in its praise are repeated by the worshippers.

The bell is rung and the shell blown occasionally by the officiating brahmin, who gives the *tiluk*, or mark on the idol's forehead, after dipping his thumb in sandal-wood. He also marks all present in the same manner; but the colour, size, and shape of the *tiluk* depend upon what tribe the worshippers may be of: as some are marked with vermilion, some with turmeric, and others with white chalk. At the end, the idol is carefully wrapped up.

A veneration for the sun, and for fire as one of its essences, has been common to all early nations of the East. Hence, at sunrise daily the Hindoo priests go to some stream or temple-tank and perform the Sandivané, or worship to Brahma the Supreme.

After bathing, they take water in the palm of the right hand, and throw the sparkling drops in the air, before and behind them, invoking the god, and chanting thanksgiving and praise. Water is then thrown towards the sun, as an expression of gratitude for his having appeared again to dispel the darkness of the night. These priests are also enjoined to light up a fire at certain times, the flame to be procured by the friction of two pieces of wood of a particular nature; and with the natural fire thus procured all sacrifices are burned, the nuptial altars and the funeral piles lighted.

The offerings to the altars consist of money, fruits, flowers, spices, made at the temples, and incense. The offering on account of the dead is a cake, called *punda*, offered on the days of the new and full moon. The Hindoos consume the bodies of their dead by fire—all, at least, save those

* “History of India.”

of the religious orders, which are interred in a sitting posture, with their legs crossed in the fashion of the idols. As it is deemed a misfortune to die indoors, when the time of dissolution draws near, the Hindoo is usually borne forth and laid on a bed of grass: if possible, by a stream—the holy Ganges, if within reach, being always preferred.

Immediately after death the funeral rites are

means of the family—though pride, and the necessity in India, as elsewhere, of living for appearances, often lead to an excess of expense on such occasions.

Save for those who are slain in battle and famous, tombs are seldom erected by the Hindoo. In former times they were erected, after a suttee, to the memory of widows who had devoted them-

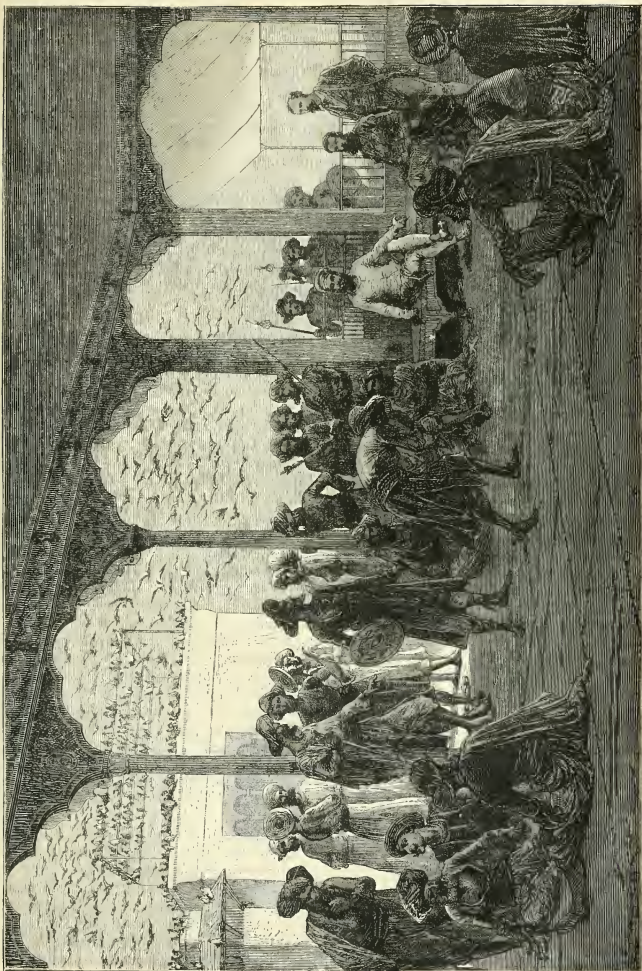


HORSEMEN OF THE GUICOWAR'S BODYGUARD AT BARODA.

performed. A pyre is raised, decorated with flowers, and the deceased, after having been bathed—if possible in Ganges water—perfumed, and adorned with freshly-gathered flowers, is laid upon it with due reverence, after having been borne thither to the sound of music.

The nearest relation then lights the pile, on which scented oils and clarified butter are poured, while the flames ascend, and friends and kinsmen sit around, mourning and watching the burning. On these solemn occasions, as at other religious ceremonies and rites, alms are given to the poor and gifts to the brahmins, in accordance with the

selves to death. But rites for the dead are wont to be performed every month by the bank of any stream, a tributary of the Ganges always being preferred; in any lonely grove; or under the banyan tree—the famous tree which proves the rich adornment of any landscape, and is so great in size, by the multiplicity of its shoots, that it might shelter a whole village: and to these memorial ceremonies the relatives of the departed bring offerings of rich rice cakes, of clarified butter, and beautiful flowers, which they place by the margin of the water, and tenderly invoke the manes of those they loved to come and partake of them.



THE COURT OF THE GUICOWAR OF BARODA.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

OF THE COOLIE SYSTEM.—TRIAL OF THE GUICOWAR OF BARODA.—SUPPOSED CAPTURE OF
NANA SAHIB.

IN the preceding chapter special reference has been made to *caste*, that great barrier to progress in British India, where now the system of coolie emigration is already beginning to effect a social revolution, in a certain degree, by breaking caste down, by enfranchising women, and opening up new fields for the children of the coolie, which is an East-Indian word for a porter or labourer; and this newly-developed trade in emigration forms one of the most remarkable features in the current life of India, extending even to China, where its features and details are less pleasing.

While the men, women, and children are being collected at the Coolie Dépôt, Calcutta, by the emigration agents from all parts of India, the scenes around them are all peculiar to the country, and the poor people have not the most vague idea of that to which they are about to depart. On all the operations of the agents the commissioner, or European magistrate of the district, keeps a special eye, taking care that there shall be no entrapping, intimidation, or improper influence at work: for the poor coolies are, when brought from their native villages, as helpless and bewildered as their children. Accustomed from infancy to the daily routine of labour among the paddy-fields, and so forth, that never took them more than a mile or two from home, each subsisting daily on a little rice or pulse, they regard with dread the shadowy terrors of the *Kala Pawnee*—the great Black Water—they have undertaken to cross in search of fortune, and herded together at the dépôts like sheep in a fold; but when once these are reached, the scene changes. "The dépôt of Trinidad is under one of the quickest-witted and most intelligent of officers," says a journalist in 1875; "you find there three or more long rows of buildings, shaded with trees, possessing the inevitable large tank for bathing and other purposes; native shops, in which rice is sold (the plan has here been adopted not to serve out food, but to give so much money a day, and enable the emigrant to begin, even before the voyage, on his own account); a medical store; an invalid shed, &c. The new-comers stare when they are first brought into the dépôt and confronted with earlier arrivals, and with *returned* men and women, who have acquired all the dash and experience of travel. Gradually all this becomes less noticeable. The

scared look passes away. The men and women alike find their way into a new being, and the latter often acquire a saucy independent look, which comes from the knowing that their earnings henceforth will be their own—beyond even the reach of the husband, if the woman wishes it. The *returned* people, who went out poor, are now in many cases wealthy, and are waiting to go up country to see their friends, before, it may be, going back to the colony and immovable property they left there. The women, in all cases, wear costly ornaments—the main pride of a woman in India. The men are no longer to be mistaken for poor people: they have money."

Many of these may be brahmins even of the highest caste, who have utterly lost it by crossing the sea, and defiling themselves by eating of the sacred cow in other lands; and many thus, on leaving India, never more return. From Oude, Allahabad, Benares, Dacca, and elsewhere, they go to the West Indies, to South America, and other lands. "The total earnings of four thousand five hundred odd coolies who returned to India since 1851 in Government bills and cash, in gold and silver—but exclusive of their ornaments, which may be safely taken at a quarter more—was nearly £122,000: a prodigious sum, seeing," says the writer quoted, "that some 1,200 of the number were women and children."

And all these people returned with a new knowledge of other lands, and also with fresh ideas of civilisation, progress, and personal independence. Many who leave India penniless become owners of extensive stores in Trinidad and Jamaica, where the sober, frugal, and patient character of the Hindoo speedily enables him to rise above those among whom his new lot is cast; and those who return are succeeding, by their minor influence, "in breaking into the most conservative of countries as with a magical wand."

Of course, the coolie emigration is not without danger, privation, and even loss of life; but the mode in which it is conducted in India differs very much from the coolie trade in the Indo-China seas. In the former instance the vessels are rigorously examined before the voyage: they are overhauled in a dry dock, the berths must be of a regulation size, the stores good and ample, the ventilation

complete. All this may fail to secure immunity from some deadly disease, after the vessel has had her pleasant run down the Hooghley, between the far extent of flat rice and paddy-fields; but after she rounds the Sand-heads into the stormy Bay of Bengal, then comes a temporary change of life, on which the up-country coolie scarcely reckoned, when the waves of the *Kala Pawnee* are rolling round him.

From China the coolies are, or were until very recently, enticed away in a very different manner. Hulks, says a print of 1867, are hired by contractors for coolies, and anchored in the harbours of China—at Shanghai, Canton, or Foo-chow—in connection with gambling-dens, music, and loose women, through which they are lured on board, and often, for small advances wherewith to gamble, the coolie signs a document that binds him to pitiless slavery for four years or more. Though built in the United States, these coolie-ships carry indifferently the Italian, Peruvian, and Portuguese flags. Crowded on board, often to the number of a thousand, they endure the hardships of slavery. "If a rising is attempted, a few volleys of musketry do the work of quelling 'the mutiny' effectually. The poor creatures are not allowed to come on deck at all in a body, so that the officers and crew have them at their mercy. . . . On landing in Peru, the (Chinese) coolie is sold to a sugar planter, or to the guano contractors, and goes to work like a slave, as he is." * But in British India, as we have said, the agents can use no entrapping, enticing, or kidnapping: for there the coolie is a free man and a free emigrant.

In 1874 there was unveiled at Calcutta, on the parade-ground, and just outside the Chowringee Gate of Fort William, a noble equestrian statue of Sir James Outram, "the Bayard of India." The ceremony took place on the Queen's birthday, the 23rd of May, in presence of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and the whole garrison under Lord Napier of Magdala, the Commander-in-chief. A salute of fifteen guns was fired by the artillery. In the same month died his comrade, one of the most famous of our Indian soldiers, Sir Archdale Wilson, of the Bengal Artillery, who had been created a baronet, with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, for his services at the memorable siege and capture of Delhi in 1857.

In 1874, the Guicowar of Baroda was informed by the Indian administration that, in consequence of his barbarous cruelties and general misgovernment of his State, that he would be deprived of all authority therein, unless a thorough change took

* "Chicago Tribune," 1867.

place. A semi-independent king of the old Mahratta line, he held a city and district in Goojerat, having a population estimated, in 1818, at 100,000; and Sir John Malcolm, who visited it in 1830, reported the capital to be then one of the richest cities of its extent in India. In 1803 and 1806 its bankers advanced £1,500,000 in ready cash for the payment of our troops; yet there were then, and are now, few signs of external wealth about Baroda. The streets are wide but dirty, with high wooden houses roofed by tiles. The Guicowar's palace is a shabby building, yet his income amounted to eighty lacs, or £800,000.

The district is naturally rich and fertile, but much of its surface is wild, jungly, and peopled by the Bheels and coolies. The Guicowar referred to—Mulharao, a cruel and barbarous prince, who at times made sport of seeing his prisoners trampled to death by elephants, subsequent to the date of Lord Northbrook's warning—made an attempt to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, through whom the determination of the Viceroy was officially communicated, and for this and other crimes he was put under arrest on the 14th of January, 1875, at a time when it was greatly feared that the people of the Deccan might sympathise with him.

Firm in the consciousness of equity and duty, the Viceroy and his Council might have proceeded to deal summarily, in the old Indo-British fashion, with the offending prince; but certain sentimental counsels were permitted to prevail, and the Guicowar was arraigned before an extraordinary Court of Inquiry, composed of British officials and native magnates, at Baroda, on the 24th of the ensuing February.

Among these were Sir Richard Couch, who, in 1870, had succeeded Sir Barnes Peacock as Chief Justice of the High Court at Calcutta, and who had for many years practised on the Norfolk circuit; the Maharajahs Scindia and Jeypore; General Sir Richard Meade, Sir Dinker Rao, and Mr. Melville. The consequence of this rash innovation was to perplex justice with cumbrous pleadings suited only to English juries, and confer on a debauched tyrant all the temporary advantages of a divided judgment: for the native commissioners were naturally loth, or feared, to condemn a prince of the Mahratta line.

The proceedings were opened by the Clerk of the Commission reading the royal proclamation, which was translated into Mahrathi and Hindoostanee by an interpreter. Mr. A. R. Scoble, the Queen's Advocate, opened the case for the crown, and Serjeant Ballantine, well known as one of the most eminent barristers, was retained for the defence.

There were four serious charges against Mulharao, Guicowar, but these were eventually reduced to two. The first was that, through his servants, he tampered with those of the Residency; "and secondly, that he directly and by his servants instigated them to commit the serious crime of attempting to poison their master, Colonel Phayre, the British Resident." The ayah of Mrs. Phayre was one of the first persons to whom these insidious communications were made; and after that lady left Baroda, this woman, named Ameena, remained in the service of her daughter, Mrs. Boevey, and, enjoying the perfect confidence of her mistresses, any visits she paid to the palace of the Guicowar were without suspicion.

It was proved that this menial had done so at least three times: first, in November and December, 1873, with Faizoo Ramzan, when she was asked by the Maharajah to use her influence with Mrs. Phayre in his favour, and report all she said; secondly, in June, 1874, with Cureem, a Residency peon, when she informed the prince that Mrs. Phayre had gone to Europe, and was asked to influence Mr. Boevey, the Assistant-Resident, in his favour, and was presented with 100 rupees; thirdly, towards the end of October, 1874 (month of Ramazan—12th October to 10th November), accompanied by a boy named Chotoo, when it was suggested to her whether a *charm* might not be used to soften Colonel Phayre's heart; after which, she found fifty rupees mysteriously laid under her cot next day; and then rumours were heard in the bazaar that Colonel Phayre had been poisoned.

Among the mass of evidence adduced were four letters—two addressed by Ameena to her husband, and two by the latter to her—pointing conclusively to the establishment of a correspondence between the ayah and the Guicowar, by means of a person named Salim.* There were other private servants of the Resident who received presents of money from the prince for the assistance they were expected to give. Another class of evidence brought forward by the prosecution was that, connected with attempts to obtain information of what was going on at the Residency, there was the attempt that was afterwards made to take away Colonel Phayre's life.

The first of these was discovered on the 9th of November, and there were strong suspicions that two similar attempts had been made previously. The agency employed in these attempts was Hower Ramjee, an officer of peons attached to the Residency, with whom communication had been opened so far back as September, 1873. He was taken to

the palace by Salim, and there agreed to execute the wish of the Guicowar. According to his own statements, he paid three visits to the palace during the sitting of the first commission ordered to inquire into the prince's conduct, and on each occasion had a conversation with His Highness, and received large bribes, in common with one Jugga, a punkawallah, who had excellent opportunities for over-hearing and committing to writing all that went on officially at the Residency; and the results of his espionage were produced in court.

Then came the deliberate attempt to poison. "That attempt was discovered by Colonel Phayre on the 9th of November, 1874, although it appears (as stated) that two previous attempts had been made on the 6th and 7th of the same month. The person by whom the poison was to be administered was Ramjee, the havildar, and the method for administering the poison was this: Colonel Phayre was in the habit every morning either of walking or riding directly he rose. On his return he used to proceed to his office, adjoining the main building of the Residency. In this he had dressing accommodation, washstand, dressing-table, &c. It was the duty of Abdullah, one of his servants, to prepare a tumbler of sherbet made from pomegranates. . . . He used to place it on a table in an inner room, and leave it there. On the morning in question—the 9th of November—Abdullah prepared this sherbet as usual. Although the havildar had no immediate occupation in the small room, yet he was in the habit of going in to purloin a pen or piece of paper, or to make some minor arrangements. The position which he occupied at the hall of Colonel Phayre was on the verandah, outside the private office, where there was a bench for him, and from which position he could see so much of the inner room as was occupied by the table on which the sherbet was placed. Upon the morning in question, it will appear," continued Mr. Scoble, "from the havildar's own statement, he saw introduced the poison which was so nearly fatal to Colonel Phayre. The method adopted for securing the due administration of the poison was this: The arsenic was mixed with some water, and a solution made, and they were shaken well together, so that the poison would mix. He then poured it from a small bottle into the sherbet. That there was poison in this sherbet there cannot be the slightest doubt. Colonel Phayre came in from his walk, took two or three sips from it, but it seemed strange to him; possibly he thought the sherbet made from bad pomegranates, and threw a portion away."

The counsel for the prosecution then proceeded

* Mr. Scoble's opening speech at the trial.

to relate how the colonel felt unwell, and noticed some sediment in the remains of the sherbet, and this sediment, on being analysed by Dr. Seward, was proved to be "composed partly of arsenic, and partly of a glittering substance, which he supposed to be diamond-dust;" and this conclusion was further confirmed by Dr. Gray, the Government chemical analyst at Bombay. To connect the Guicowar and his servants with this attempt, it was proved that, on the morning of the 9th of November, Yeshvuntrao and Salim, who had been employed in all the secret communications, had gone to the Residency at an unusually early hour, when many persons saw them, and when they alleged they had been sent with a present of fruit; but the latter did not arrive until long after. They came in at six o'clock, the fruit at eight. On the poisonous qualities of the arsenic found in the sherbet it was unnecessary for the prosecution to dwell; but, as to the diamond-dust, it was shown that it is widely believed in India to be a poison quite as deadly as arsenic; and with this view Dr. Chever's work on Indian Medical Jurisprudence was quoted. Therein he says: "Although this material has no place in Taylor's 'Medical Jurisprudence,' it is widely believed in in India as a potent poison at the present day."

There was also adduced the evidence of a person named Dumodhur Punt—who held the position of private secretary, and had also charge of the treasury—that an application had been made by the Guicowar for arsenic, on the plea that it was wanted for a horse; and in regard to the diamond-dust, he further declared that it was obtained from a jeweller, named Futteychund, by order of His Highness, and given to Yeshvuntrao, one of the early visitors at the colonel's residence; and that, after being duly compounded, the two poisons were given, on two occasions, to Salim and Ramjee, whose first maladministrations of these, on the 6th and 7th of November, failed in effect.

After the affair of the 9th, suspicion fell on Ramjee; he was arrested; a belt was taken from him, and within it "a small packet was found, in which was a portion of the powder wrapped up in paper, and on being submitted for analysis, it was found to contain seven grains of arsenic. A full dose consists of two or three grains." On a promise of pardon, Ramjee confessed his guilt, as also did Dumodhur Punt. Payments made to the jeweller for the diamonds to be converted into dust were also proved—the sum being as much as 3,000 rupees. Before the result of the chemical analysis was reported to Colonel Phayre, and while the latter was still suffering from the effects of the

partial poisoning, he was visited in a friendly way by the Guicowar, who pretended that he, too, suffered in the same way, and added that there was much sickness about just then.

As nearly all the witnesses spoke in Hindostanee, the advocate-general asked if it would be necessary to translate their evidence into any other language than English; but Serjeant Ballantine, on the part of the Guicowar, intimated that he had no desire that the evidence should appear in any other language than English and Hindostanee.

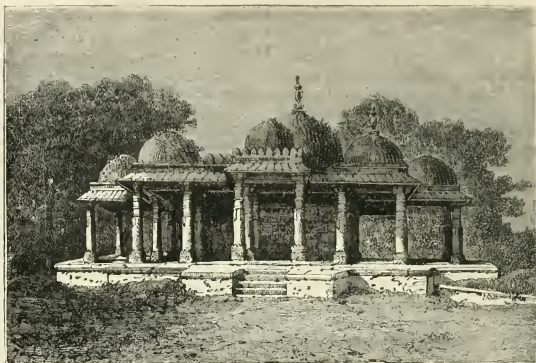
The chief witnesses examined were, Abdullah Mohammed, the servant who prepared the sherbet; Ameena, the ayah; Ackbar Ali, who felt the packet in Ramjee's belt, and tore it open; Ataram Ruggonath, who was employed in the jewel department, concerning the purchase of certain diamond-chips, which were to be entered in the books, "as the chips were to be returned;" Dattaria, concerning an "order granted for arsenic, endorsed with the Maharajah's permission;" Ramesha Mora, and others, concerning the payment of bribes, and bestowal of presents; and Dr. G. E. Seward, surgeon-major, Bombay Army, and residing-surgeon at Baroda, regarding the illness of Colonel Phayre, his mode of treating the case, and the results of the chemical analysis of the sediment found in the sherbet, made by himself and by Dr. Gray, of the Grant College, Bombay.*

"I have examined the powder," wrote the latter to Dr. Seward, "and find it to consist partly of common white arsenic and partly of finely-powdered silicious matter. This silicious matter, under the microscope, appeared to be either powdered glass or quartz, being most like the former. Some of the particles had a purplish or rose-coloured tinge, which fact may, perhaps, furnish you with a clue as to its source. If you wish an official reply in addition to the present, I shall send it."

When under examination, Ramjee contradicted himself many times, and his evidence in several points was contradicted by Nursoo, a jemadar, by Pedro de Souza, the butler; and, in such able legal hands, it may easily be supposed that the cross-examination of all the witnesses was long and searching. The defence made by Serjeant Ballantine was an able one, and occupied fully sixty-one columns of the *Times of India*; but, after a trial protracted over many days, owing to the mixed nature of the court, the guilty Guicowar had the temporary benefit, as we have said, of a divided judgment.

On this Lord Northbrook did at last what he might have done at first. After a careful perusal

* *Times of India*, 1875.



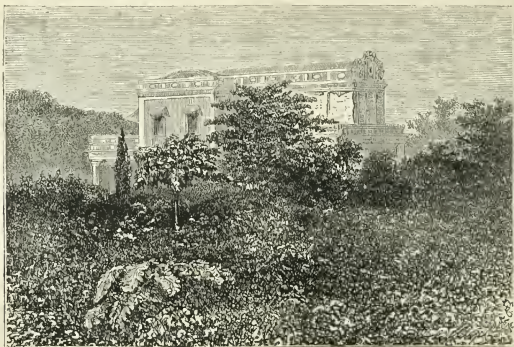
VIEW OF THE TOMB OF ALLUM SAYED, BARODA.

of the evidence, he banished the rapacious and murderous Mulharao to a distant spot, and enthroned on his musnud as Guicowar a young scion of the royal family, under the tutelage of Sir Madhava Rao; thus preserving to Baroda that which it might have lost—its administrative independence.

The new Guicowar was installed on the 27th of May. Served loyally by such men as Sir Lewis Pelly, Mr. James Richey, and their compatriots, the Viceroy and his Council, at this anxious crisis,

saw many perils averted, and the new *régime* quietly established. "Nor can any doubt remain," says a writer on the subject, "that, though the method of this State act was faulty, the motive was righteous, and the results most fortunate for Baroda and the paramount power."

But amid all the changes of fortune, it is pleasant to find that Mulharao had one good feature in his character, according to a journalist in January, 1877—his love for his wife, Luxmubyee. "He drives about Madras a little, under the yellow-flowering



VIEW OF THE SUMMER PALACE IN THE GARDEN OF PEARIS, BARODA.

porticos, and enjoys every evening to hear the band play on the beach, the surf thundering by, and the grey walls of St. George near. But his chief solace is found in the company of his child-wife. Mulharao is said to be extremely reserved and haughty now, but constantly peals of laughter are heard from behind the sacred curtain of his zenana."*

though it was with such dreadful crimes as those days at Cawnpore witnessed—would be spared; and the alleged culprit was given up to us. A secret and searching inquiry was instituted, which ended in proving that, for some unknown reason, the prisoner, whose name was Jumna Dass, had practised an imposition, under which lay more than was at that time suspected, as Scindia



A BUNGLOW AT AHMEDABAD, NEAR BARODA.

In the course of the autumn of 1874, Maharajah Scindia, at Gwalior, produced universal excitement throughout India by informing the Resident at his court that Dhoondoo Punt, the infamous Nana Sahib of Bithoor, had voluntarily surrendered himself into his custody, as one weary of the life of peril and uncertainty he led. It was at first understood that Scindia himself had identified the prisoner, and other native witnesses, with that facility to which we have had occasion to allude so frequently, professed to do so too.

A faint attempt was made to extort from the British authorities a pledge that his life—stained

retained him in his own hands to the end of his days. On this matter the leading English journal shrewdly remarked thus:—"The notorious Rajah of Bithoor was, as the adopted son of the late Peishwa of the Mahrattas, a pretender to the rank which was formerly associated with supreme power in the confederacy. The peishwas, who were, like many other Indian potentates, usurping Ministers, had superseded the authority of the descendants of Sevajee. Their sovereignty, though it was terminated by the British conquest, may perhaps still be respected by some of the descendants of their former subjects; and it is possible that Scindia and Holkar, both representing

* *The World.*

successful military adventurers, may regard with jealousy claims to a title once higher than their own. The two great Mahratta chiefs have since held a ceremonious interview on their common

frontier. If they were engaged in a conspiracy against the Imperial Government, they would probably not select the most ostentatious method of proclaiming the unity of their counsels.*

CHAPTER LXIX.

WAR WITH THE MALAYS.—REVOLT OF ISMAIL AND ZELA.—OPERATIONS OF THE TROOPS.— DEFEAT AND SURRENDER OF ISMAIL.

THE petty States of the Malay Peninsula have for several years had dealings with the British settlements at Singapore and Penang, and the Chinese immigrants, who have passed in great numbers from the islands to the mainland, have established various relations of friendship, and some, unfortunately, of enmity, with the native population. Among all the British possessions, especially in further India, none, perhaps, is more remarkable for its rapid growth and importance than Singapore. If its commerce were limited to the produce of the place, it would hardly give employment to three vessels; but it has become the London of Southern Asia and of the Indian Archipelago, and, together with Penang, by its rise, completed the commercial downfall of Malacca.*

The Malay chiefs were often at war with each other, and sometimes they had quarrels with the Chinese, who, in some places, were sufficiently numerous and strong to have bitter little civil wars of their own; and one result of this petty warfare was the prevalence of piracy, which it became the duty of the British ships-of-war on the station to repress; though our flag was perpetually suffering outrage under the old system, long persisted in, of non-intervention among the warring elements of the Malay States.

At last the Earl of Kimberley, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave the first indication to the Governor of the Straits Settlements to take decisive measures for the restoration of order in the Malay Peninsula—a name which, in its widest application, is given to that narrow strip of land extending from the broad mass of the Hindo-Chinese peninsula southwards, from the parallel of 13° 30' north latitude, to that of 1° 14', and between the meridians of 98° and 104° 17' east—a total of 83,000 square miles.

* Lieut. Newbold's "British Settlements in the States of Malacca," &c.

In a despatch to Sir Andrew Clarke, dated 3rd September, 1873, the earl wrote that "Her Majesty's Government find it incumbent to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, these fertile and productive countries from the ruin that must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked;" and he further instructed Sir Andrew to discover "whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of these States," in the old Indian fashion, to initiate the policy of annexation; but it by no means follows that, had Lord Kimberley abstained from placing Perak—a wild and outlying district of these Malay States—under "protection," that our ships would have escaped outrage. During that period of non-intervention, when, in the words of the governor, Sir Henry Ord, our policy towards Malacca was "unconnected, inconsistent, and incongruous," Perak was torn by an internal warfare, that ever and anon found its way into Wellesley Province, which is British territory, where our police-stations were frequently attacked by the Malay and Chinese combatants in Larut.

The boats of our men-of-war were also attacked when off the coast; and if the policy of non-intervention had been continued much longer, the Perak war of succession and the Chinese miners at Larut might eventually have fought their way into the streets of Penang, and perhaps those of Singapore. During our first Burmese war, the King of Siam invaded the Malay State of Queddah, from which, as related in its place, the East India Company had purchased Penang. As Britain greatly desired the neutrality of the Siamese potentate, a treaty was made with him, by which he was confirmed in all he had conquered, after committing indescribable atrocities upon the luckless Malays.

The latter became, from thenceforward, the bitter

* *Times*.

enemies of the Siamese, whom they harassed by sea in their war-boats. Both parties appealed to Great Britain, but it would seem that the rights of the Malays were ignored, themselves declared pirates, and their leader a rebel escaped from British surveillance. From that period the Malay pirates became the terror of all voyagers in the Indian waters; and fitting out their prahus in secluded creeks of the Sumatra coast, they have preyed upon merchant-vessels and made descents upon the peninsula, particularly that portion which belonged to the King of Siam.

When Captain Sherard Osborne was serving on board H.M.S. *Hyacinthe*, she was sent to warn the Malays, who had taken Queddah from the Siamese, to abstain from a course of procedure which would incur the hostility of the East India Company. In his narrative the captain said that "the chief made out a very good case, as seen from a Malay point of view, and nothing but a sense of duty could prevent one sympathising in the efforts made by these gallant sea-rovers to regain their own."*

He considered that the Malays should hold a higher place among Eastern nations than we assign them, and says, "There was not a single soul of our party who did not sincerely regret that political expediency should have set us against a race which can produce such men. . . . I would defy seamen of any nation to have excelled them in any quality which renders a sailor valuable. Restrain and bring the Malays under our rule gently, and they will serve us heartily and zealously in the hour of Britain's need. They are the best race of colonial sailors we possess. Grind them down, shoot them down, paddle over them, and they will join the first enemy, and be their own avengers."

In the case of the Sultan of Perak and other Malay princes, so long as we adopted the policy of non-interference our trade with this people was ruined, the merchants were outraged, and even our ships-of-war were assailed; but the moment we firmly intervened, a great tide of prosperity set in. Within a few months after we had established residencies at Perak and Larut, with the British colours floating over them, not less than 10,000 miners were to be seen at work in the latter place building huts and lines of streets, while the tillage of the interior began in places that had been hitherto desolate and wild; and even British capitalists were speculating as to whether they might with safety and good profit open up tobacco plantations, and compete in the market with those already established under the Dutch Resident on the opposite coast, in the Sumatran State of Delhi.

* "Journal in Malayan Waters, 1860."

The people of Perak were extremely anxious for a British protectorate (or Resident), which would put an end to the excessive local taxation under which they groaned, and also secure the produce of their industry from being taken by armed freebooters.

Perak, the scene of the outrage we are about to relate, is the capital of a State of the same name that extends seventy-five miles along the west coast of the peninsula, and is separated from Queddah by the Krian river. A chain of primitive mountains separates it from Tringano. In its southern part are fine alluvial plains and some very productive tin-mines; and it was ruled by its own hereditary sultan till disputed succession induced Lieut.-Colonel Sir William Drummond Jervois, C.B., Governor of the Straits Settlements, to accept a surrender of sovereignty from Ismail, the then sultan or pretender of Perak.

Mr. I. W. W. Birch, who was appointed British Resident, had been formerly Colonial Secretary at Singapore, and was in every way fitted well for his post. Matters remained quiet till suddenly, early in November, 1875, Ismail, who had been deposed in terms of the treaty of 1874, and who had professed to accept the settlement of the lawful sovereign, Sultan Abdullah, as loyally as the rest of the people and the nobles, rose suddenly in arms, and attacked the British Residency at the head of several freebooting chiefs and their men. Mr. Birch, who had been officially ordered to give notice of the change of rulers, had his placards torn down, and was barbarously murdered in his bath, mutilated, and his body was carried off. The document which caused the revolt was the following proclamation:—

"And whereas the Sultan of Perak and other chiefs of that country, with the view of reconciling opposing factions, and promoting order and good government in the country of Perak, have requested Her Britannic Majesty's Government to administer the government of Perak, in such way and manner as they may think most beneficial; now this is to make known to all people that, in compliance with the request of the said Sultan and chiefs of Perak, Her Britannic Majesty has determined to administer the government of Perak in the name of the Sultan; and to this end His Excellency the Governor of the Straits Settlements is about to appoint officers, who will be styled Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners of Her Majesty the Queen, to carry on the government of the State under His Excellency's instructions.

"Further, that the Sultan of Perak has invested such British officers as are or may be accredited to His Highness from time to time, as such commis-

sioners or assistant-commissioners as aforesaid, with powers to issue and enforce proclamations and orders, and generally to administer the government of Perak; and this is further to make known that a Malay council, consisting of rajahs of Perak of the highest rank, will be appointed by the aforesaid commissioners in matters touching the affairs of the government of Perak.—*Singapore, October 15th, 1875.*"*

All the native rajahs were suspected of complicity in the murder of Mr. Birch (whose assistant, Mr. Swettenham, escaped with safety to Salangore), and that the ultimate object of Sultan Ismail was to expel the British. To punish the outrage, Captain Innes, of the Royal Engineers, with 170 men—of whom only sixty were Europeans of H.M. 10th Regiment, with some armed police and the sepoy's of Mr. Birch's guard—attacked with musketry and rockets a stockade occupied by the Maharajah Lela, on the Perak river, but was repulsed, and in the conflict Innes was killed, while Lieutenants George Booth and Armstrong Elliot, with several men of the 10th, were wounded. The retreat was conducted in an orderly manner, and the stockade was then abandoned by the insurgent Lela, in whose village Mr. Birch had been murdered.

General Colborne, with 300 men of the 80th Regiment, left Singapore for Perak on the 11th of November; artillery were summoned from Bengal; and the *Modeste* (corvette), the *Ringsdove*, *Thistle*, and *Fly* (gun-boats) were ordered from the China station to Singapore. The residency on the Perak river was held secure, as, prior to Colborne's arrival, the governor had under his orders nearly 800 European troops, with eighty artillerymen, while the sultan offered to assist with men and war-boats. But the Malays became courageous and defiant when, after the repulse of Innes, they saw that our troops were slow in advancing against them.

On the 14th of November an important movement was made against the stockades of the insurgents by the troops and Commander Stirling. "On Sunday morning," says his despatch to Admiral Ryder at Hong-Kong, "all the available officers and men of H.M. ships *Thistle* and *Fly* were brought up the river and quartered in the residency, native boats were fitted to receive two twelve-pound howitzer field-pieces, one seven-pounder boat's gun, two twenty-four-pounder naval rocket-tubes, and a Cohorn mortar, and with much difficulty fifteen other native boats were obtained to transport the troops; and on the same evening, after reconnoitring as far as Qualla Truss, a place of disembarkation was determined on on the right bank of

the river, about a mile below the stockade, which was attacked on the 7th instant. On Monday morning the whole force moved up the river, and disembarked at the place determined on, without opposition. When about 600 yards from the first stockade at Qualla Biah, the enemy opened fire on our boats, which was at once replied to; but we were unable to silence them or drive them out of the stockade till our boats were within 300 yards of and enfilading it, and the artillery had brought their guns into play, when, after having received no reply to our fire for some time, the troops advanced, took possession, and found it abandoned. Two guns were captured here. Continuing our way up the river, I directed the rockets and shell to be thrown into the jungle at intervals, to clear the way for the troops (who burned the houses on their way as they advanced), and about a mile below Passir Sala the enemy again made a stand, and opened fire on us with their rifles, but with no effect, and they were soon dislodged. Nearing Passir Sala to about 1,000 yards, two guns were brought to bear on us, and also a fire of musketry on our flank; the latter, however, was quickly silenced by the advancing troops, while the boats shelled and rocketed the village of Passir Sala, taking up a position at 600 yards. The practice from the seven-pounder gun and rockets was excellent."

This expedition, which was carefully planned by Major Dunlop, the Queen's commissioner, Captain Stirling, of the *Thistle*, and Captain Whitla, of the 10th Regiment, proved a success. The resistance at Passir Sala, where Lela was supposed to be, was very brief. The troops took the place with a cheer, just as the blue-jackets landed. A stockade round Lela's house was beaten down by cannon-shot; the house itself bombarded, looted, and burned. The enemy gave way on every hand; but it was impossible to estimate their loss, as they carried off the killed and wounded. Six guns, a quantity of small arms, some ammunition, together with Mr. Birch's books, papers, and personal effects, were taken here. Our whole force ashore amounted to only 450 men. Of these 300 were Ghoorkas, the remainder being men of the 10th and artillery.

General Colborne, commanding at Perak, having received intelligence that Lela and Ismail had passed through a place called Blanja and marched to the Kinta, decided, on the 14th of December, with the concurrence of Captain Stirling and the Queen's commissioner, to advance without delay from the Perak river, through the jungle, to the bank of the Kinta, and get possession of the capital so named. At a turn of the road, three

* *Straits Observer*, 19th October.

miles from Blanja, the first opposition was encountered. A fire was opened on Colborne's advanced guard, led by Lieutenant Paton, of the 10th Regiment. It came from a stockade, concealed among the dense greenery of the jungle, at thirty yards' distance.

Our troops returned it with promptitude. A royal artillery gun and naval rocket-tube were brought to bear upon the work, which was speedily captured; but, among other casualties, Dr. Randall received a severe wound in the thigh. It was impossible to ascertain either the strength or the loss of the Malays; but after a further advance of ten miles, they opened fire upon us again from another stockade on rising ground in Colborne's front. It was captured by a rush, and on the following morning—the 15th—the troops and naval brigade again advanced, and reached the Papan mines without impediment. From that point a reconnoitring party of forty select men, under Mahmoud, a friendly rajah, went out, with Mr. Swettenham, and halted on open ground two miles from Kinta. On the 17th, the main body stormed another stockade, and pushed on to Kinta, which was taken after a brief resistance, as the enemy abandoned their defences, and fled to their boats in the river. General Colborne deemed it necessary to occupy that part of the country by a military force until matters were settled, the murderers of Mr. Birch given up, or satisfaction obtained.*

At this time the ex-Sultan Ismail and the Maharajah Lela were known to be in the jungle, though their exact position could not be discovered. Lela's followers had begun to desert him in numbers, and several Chinamen offered, for a consideration, to present the British Government with his head and the heads of all the other rebel chiefs—an offer that was, of course, rejected.

During the operations against these stockades, the Victoria Cross was won by Captain (afterwards Major) George Nicholas Channer, of the Bengal Staff Corps, and the following is the record of the act of bravery for which that officer was distinguished:—"For having, with the greatest gallantry, been the first to jump into the enemy's stockade, to which he had been detached with a small party of the 1st Ghoorka Light Infantry, on the afternoon of the 20th of December, 1875, by the officer commanding the Malacca Column, to procure intelligence as to its strength, position, &c., Major Channer got completely in rear of the enemy's position, and finding himself so close that he could hear the voices of the men inside—who were cooking at the time, and keeping no look-out

—he beckoned to his men, and the whole party stole quietly forward to within a few paces of the stockade. On jumping in he shot the first man dead with his revolver; his party then came up and entered the stockade, which was of a most formidable nature, surrounded by a bamboo palisade. About seven yards within was a log-house, loopholed, with two narrow entrances, and trees laid latitudinally to the thickness of two feet. The officer commanding reports that if Major Channer, by his foresight, coolness, and intrepidity, had not taken this stockade, a great loss of life must have occurred, from the fact of his being unable to bring guns to bear on it; from the steepness of the hill and density of the jungle, it must have been taken at the point of the bayonet."*

With regard to our policy in this part of Further India, Sir William Jervois, the governor of the Straits' Settlements, a distinguished officer of engineers, who had served in the Kaffir War, and had been Director of Fortifications under Sir John Burgoyne, in 1862, at a meeting of the Legislative Council, after alluding to the past circumstances, which rendered the Indian system of a Resident necessary at Perak, also announced that the chief cause of its failure there was the incompetency and misconduct of the Sultan Abdullah, whom we had established on the throne by the treaty of Pangkor.†

"I find," said the governor, "that Abdullah, contrary to the reports which had been previously made of him, and which represented him as vicious in character and feeble in health, spoke and acted in a manner which gave promise that he could well discharge his duties as a sultan. But, from all I can learn, this apparent improvement in his bearing and conduct was due to his having temporarily abandoned the pernicious use of opium. Shortly after his accession, he speedily relapsed into his old habits. He has, moreover, shown much duplicity, and this, combined with immorality, will account for his having become unpopular with the people, whilst the prevalent habit of opium-smoking, to which he is addicted, has been the great stumbling-block to the conduct of business."

Abdullah was obstinate, and disregarded all advice. He refused to ratify the scheme of taxation prepared by the Resident, to put an end to the black-mail levied by each chief on the river near which he dwelt; and instead of living within the income fixed by the treaty, he resorted to his old policy of "squeezing" his subjects. Mr.

* *London Gazette*, 14th of April, 1876.

† *States Times*.

* Despatches of Major-General Colborne.

Birch, in the governor's opinion, had adopted a most conciliatory tone towards Abdullah, and had exercised great patience with him.

"I have not much hope of ever making Ismail and Abdullah real friends," reported Mr. Birch, shortly before the revolt; "I doubt the ability of the latter to make friends, really and substantially. He is too selfish and too hollow. He merely cares about money, and if he can get that, and spend it, you may keep him quiet. . . . Every day Abdullah is doing some foolish thing, or saying some foolish thing."

Under these circumstances, little development took place in the resources of the province, though, as we have said, Larut prospered exceedingly, and there, particularly, Sir William Jervois found the British Government regarded virtually as the ruling power. He also came to the conclusion that the deposed Ismail was personally attached to the British Government, but, being swayed by the chiefs about him, was afraid lest this fact should become known; eventually he wrote Sir William a letter, professing that *he* should rule Perak by the advice of a Resident; but the former could not entertain the proposal.

"It would have been absurd to do so," he wrote. "We have deposed Ismail and put up Abdullah; and it would be absurd now to depose Abdullah and put up Ismail."

He then visited the former, and lectured him severely on his breach of engagements. He found that the representations as to his character had not been exaggerated. "His imbecility was manifest at every turn. As, however, I wished to give him a fair trial of the promises of amendment which he had made to me, I determined, if he would consent, to adopt a policy of ruling the State in his name. Under the proposed policy British officers will hold in their hands the control of the revenues, the imposition or removal of taxes, the appointment of officials, the superintendence of the police, the establishment of new stations, the formation of new roads and communications—in fact, everything connected with the administration of the country. In a word, my proposal is to govern the country, in the name of the Sultan, by British officers, to be styled Queen's Commissioners, aided by a Malay council."

Such was the wholesome system of innovation so fiercely resented by Ismail and the Maharajah Lela, and the proclamation of which led directly to the murder of Mr. Birch. In conclusion, in acting as he had done—very little removed from the actual annexation of Perak—Sir William reported that he was well aware of the grave

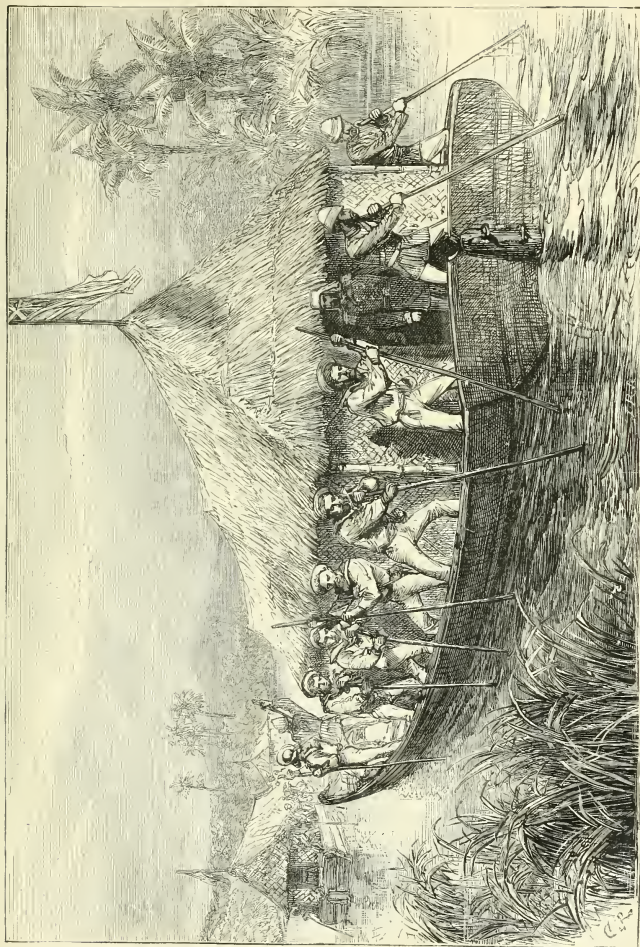
responsibility he incurred, especially as it had been taken without full instructions or authority.

"It appeared to me, however," he adds, "that the situation was one in which the longer action was postponed the more difficult it would be to deal with. I considered, moreover, that it was more difficult to show why the case should be deferred than that action should be forthwith taken. I felt that it was impossible to treat with Abdullah and the Perak chiefs, unless I spoke and acted as if charged with full authority. At the same time, I have endeavoured to avoid any system that may embarrass Her Majesty's Government; and should the policy not meet with their approval, retrogression or progression, according to the views which they may entertain, can without danger be effected."*

But the Earl of Carnarvon (who, upon the formation of Mr. Disraeli's Cabinet in February, 1874, had been for a second time appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies), together with the Government, endorsed fully the policy of Sir William Jervois at Perak.

The beginning of 1876 saw fresh operations inaugurated against the insurgents. On the 4th of January, Brigadier-General Ross attacked and captured Kota Lama, "the haunt of the worst disposed and most turbulent Malays," chiefly on the left bank of the Perak river. To effect this he moved along both sides of the stream, with a slender mixed force. On the left bank Lieutenant-Colonel Cox had a party of artillery, with one gun, and a few of the 3rd Buffs and 1st Ghoorah Light Infantry. On the right bank, under Captain Young, was another party of that regiment, with fifty men of the Buffs; and in three boats in the mid-channel was a detachment under Captain Gardiner. Lieutenant-Colonel Cox entered the village of Kota Lama, and sent word to the brigadier that he had disarmed the inhabitants. That officer then crossed with his staff to a landing-place near the centre of the village, when suddenly his small escort was nearly surrounded by a fierce crowd of Malays, armed with muskets and spears; and but for the steadiness of our seamen and marines, few or none might have escaped. "Just before this attack was made, several officers moved away in the direction of the river, two hundred yards distant. Major Hawkins was, it was supposed, following them, when he was fatally wounded with a spear. No one seems to have seen him fall; but Captain Garforth reports that William Sloper, A.B., came up to him on the ground, shot two Malays who were coming towards him, and stopped with him

* *States Times.*



BLUE-JACKETS AND MARINES POLING THE BRITISH EXPEDITION UP THE PERAK RIVER.

until he said, 'Save yourself— you can do me no good now.' ” *

Surgeon-Major Collis, of the 3rd Buffs, accompanying this expedition, reported : “ The severity of the spear wounds in all fatal cases, completely transfixing the body, and the fact of men having been wounded in several places, show the close quarters that the force fought at, and the determined resistance of the Malays.”

They made for the jungle, and Kota Lama, with its stores of rice, was given to the flames, after which Brigadier Ross marched back to Qualla Kangsa.

Early in January, Sir William Jervois having obtained reliable information that Ismail, with an armed force, was among the mountains that overlook the Perak river, sent in a body of armed police and some of the Sultan Abdullah's trusted Malays, under Superintendent Hewick, to communicate with Che Karim, a friendly chief, at a place called Solama, to obtain his co-operation in effecting a surprise. The little expedition proved eminently successful. Ismail was attacked on the 19th and routed with loss, having to fly and leave behind him all his baggage and seventeen elephants. Among the slain were Pandak Indut, the actual murderer of Mr. Birch, and the Rajah Kadda, who had been actively enlisting hostile Patani men against us from their State, which lies in the north of the peninsula, and is subject to the King of Siam.

Two days subsequently our troops attacked the village of Rathalma with artillery and rockets, and put the Malays there completely to flight, without loss on our side ; and after much wandering and misery, Sultan Ismail fell into our hands on the 22nd of March, and, in token of complete surrender, delivered his royal insignia to Major Anson at Penang. From thence he was sent to Singapore, together with a chief named Datu Sagor, who was treated as a civil prisoner ; but the ex-Sultan was released on his parole.

This petty war might have grown into one of great importance had there been a Burmese difficulty on the *tapis*, and still more if we had been seriously embroiled with the Chinese : for the Perak revolt was only crushed by the reinforcements which we poured in from Calcutta and Hong-Kong. Little as this conflict is known at home, we had no less than three naval brigades employed in it or attached to the different forces : that under Captain Alexander Butler, accompanied by Captain N. C. Singleton, of the *Ringdove*, and comprising officers and men of that ship and the *Modeste*, which co-operated with Major-General Col-

borne, on the Perak river ; that under Commander Edmund H. J. Garforth, of the *Philomel*, comprising officers and men of the *Modeste*, *Philomel*, and *Ringdove*, who co-operated with Brigadier-General Ross in the Larut Field Force (northern attack) ; and that under Commander Francis Stirling, of H.M.S. *Thistle*, which co-operated with Lieutenant-Colonel Hill in Sunghie Ujong and in the Sunghie and Lakut rivers.

In addition to this, a blockade of the north coast of the Perak river, to prevent the ingress of arms, ammunition, and other stores, was established, under the direction of Commander John Bruce, R.N. The services of these various brigades were highly appreciated by General Colborne, Brigadier Ross, and the colonels commanding the corps to which they were attached ; and the sailor-like qualities of the officers and men were tested to the utmost. The heavy work performed by them on the Perak river consisted in poling (as oars were of no use in such jungly waters) several boats, laden with guns, ammunition, and stores, for several days, against a strong current that ran at the rate of four knots an hour—the river being very shallow and full of deep holes—under a broiling sun, in latitude 3° north, and in carrying guns, rockets, and ammunition, in addition to their own accoutrements, through the dense dank jungle, over paths so nearly impassable that only seven miles could be gained in each day.*

“ The rapidity of the successes of the various expeditions was owing, I learn,” wrote the Admiral, “ from officers of rank who have reached Singapore from the front, mainly to the special and professional nature of the aid given by the naval brigades, as rocket and gun parties, and in fitting and managing the country boats, which alone could be used. It has been most gratifying to me to hear from all quarters but one opinion of the conduct of the blue-jackets and marines, their constant cheerfulness in undertaking the heavy daily work which fell to their share, their intelligence, and zeal.” †

For a month the brigade, under Captain Butler, was without vegetables or bread, and had no other food than preserved meat and the flesh of an occasional buffalo ; the men were frequently drenched by rain, and had to march through water and mud that rose above their waistbelts. For the three last days of their advance on Kinta they had to thread their way through a thick jungle, so dense that during that time not a vestige of the sky was visible ; and during the ten days' advance they had no cover of any kind, but slept in the “ open.”

* *London Gazette*, Feb., 1876.

† Despatch of Vice-Admiral Ryder, Singapore, Jan. 17.

* *London Gazette*, 18th February, 1876.

Captain Butler attributed their entire immunity from any disease, previous to the attack on Kinta, to his having been fortunately able to provide them with waterproof sheets, the great importance of which in tropical climates had been fully recognised. All the commanders of these brigades were promoted and decorated; nor were two blue-jackets forgotten—one who saved the life of Dr. Townshend, at Kota Lama, who cut down the Malays that were about to spear him; another who stood to the last by the body of Major Hawkins, and shot down two of the enemy who were about to mutilate it.

The Perak revolt, it was said, if it proved anything, proved that while practically annexing the country we had done so without a force to back up the old Indian policy. No outbreak, certainly, was anticipated, yet long before Mr. Birch began to carry out the orders of the Supreme Government at the Residency, he and the authorities at home knew that the freebooting chiefs, whose suppression was our object, not only objected to a British protectorate, far less an annexation, but had given him a very hostile reception at Blanja, during a tour through the country. Hence it was evident that the proclamation that ceded the administrative government of Perak to the British should have been delayed till Mr. Birch could have done so at the head of an overwhelming military force.

The Peninsula of Malacca has magnificent re-

sources, said a writer on this subject. "Whenever a strip of Perak was ceded to the British Crown, the Malays applied for thousands of acres in excess of what we had to allot. Again, the Dindings had no sooner come into our possession than the Malay population increased, in a few months, from what Sir Andrew Clarke described as 'a handful' to four hundred strong. Under British sway they have increased until they number 120; while in the States governed by native sovereigns they have dwindled down to about seven souls in the square mile. The chiefs cannot control their own subjects, far less Chinese emigrants from the Straits Settlements; and the question is, Who shall keep the peace in the Malay Peninsula? If it be not kept, then some of the richest and most fertile provinces in Asia will become what Sir Andrew Clarke found in Larut and Perak, when he went to the Straits—'huge cock-pits of slaughter.' The contagion of turmoil," the writer goes on to say, "as we have found from experience, will be ever in danger of spreading to our own territories, unless we defend them by a force which might be better employed in maintaining a just and orderly government all through the peninsula, protecting its trade with our colonies, and gradually evolving out of lands devastated by piracy, plunder, chronic wars of succession, and changeless misrule, a well-regulated, peaceful, industrious, and affluent confederation of States."

CHAPTER LXX.

THE NAGAS EXPEDITION.—THE SUEZ CANAL.

DURING the spring of the same year in which the revolt occurred at Perak (1875), we had some disturbances on the Assamese frontier.

In the sixth chapter of this volume a reference has been made to the Nagas, or Nagahs, as worshippers of the serpent. This is the general name borne by numerous tribes who inhabit the south-eastern hills of Assam.

They are the most barbarous of all the hill tribes, and go literally naked; and are to be found in the greatest number along the whole mountain ridges between the Sylhet plains and Assam. They are of dark complexion, with athletic and sinewy forms and wild faces, which they frightfully disfigure by tattooing them with the juice of a nut found in their native woods. They are reckless of human

life to a more than usually savage degree, and treacherously murder their neighbours without the least provocation; yet theft is so little known among them, or so detested when discovered, that they leave all they possess openly exposed in their huts, fields, or gardens.

If any person is detected in the act of thieving no mercy is shown them—the *Khonbaos* pronounce sentence of decapitation without a moment of hesitation. The Nagas bordering immediately on the plains are, for the most part, amicably disposed towards the British Government. Those residing on the hills most remote from the great valley of Assam are said to be fierce, stout, and athletic men, of fairer complexions, but, like all the rest, totally unencumbered by the smallest strip of covering for

any part of the body. They number some 50,000 persons, and all the men are warriors.

Some of their native-made swords, which were brought home by the Prince of Wales, attracted much notice, from the size of their brass guards and keen steel blades; and their method of using these deadly weapons is peculiar, as every male Naga possesses one and is quite master of it. Should it chance, says a writer, that a Naga has a spare hour and desires to be merry, he takes his sword and wanders forth in search of a neighbour, over whose head he flourishes the blade. If the neighbour be a good warrior, as most probably he is, he too will produce his sword, and a hand-to-hand duel ensues till blood is shed, and then they part.

During such encounters, "their friends gather round to witness the scuffle, cheer the combatants, and criticise their play; and thus a very cheerful afternoon is passed. Occasionally a gentleman who is not very skilful gets killed—but what of that? The Nagas think they can spare a man, and certainly nobody thinks that more Nagas are wanted."

These swordsmen dwell chiefly on the sandy hills just outside Jeypore, and are said to be, on the whole, a lively and merry people. They let their beards grow to a vast length, and tie their whiskers in knots. It had been the policy of our Indian Government towards these wild people, without actually ruling, to establish, at least, some control over them. During the years 1872 and 1873, Major Godwin-Austen and Captain Butler were engaged in settling a frontier-line at Muni-pore (or Mounnapura), in the Cassay territory, but under British protection, to determine the exact border of the Naga tribes.

The rajah of that place made himself so unpleasant as to obstruct for a whole year the plans of these officers, one of whom, Captain Butler, was eventually slain by the Naga swordsmen. During 1874 it was necessary for them to continue their operations, as the Burman frontier could not be traced with accuracy until the River Tellizo and its water-sheds had been accurately surveyed; and to achieve this end fresh expeditions were despatched from Calcutta. One of these was under Lieutenant Holcombe, our assistant political agent, who, with singular confidence and courage, at the head of only nineteen sepoy and fifty-four coolies, penetrated into an utterly uncivilised tract on the southern side of the great valley of Assam, among the Nagas who live there, and who come from the country of the Singphos, a warlike people of Indo-China, who have long bodies and short

legs, and are by nature savage and treacherous, and intermarry with the Nagas. Lieutenant Holcombe—who had been specially selected for the daring duty he had to do in consequence of the influence he was supposed to have among these mountain tribes—was quietly engaged in the work of surveying, when a skilfully-schemed attack was suddenly made upon him and his slender party, one morning when the surveyors had just begun breakfast.

Lieutenant Holcombe was standing on a little grassy eminence, showing a Naga chief the action of his breech-loader, when a native stole behind him, and with one stroke of a dagger slashed off his head. This was the signal for a general attack; and from the accounts that came to head-quarters, three Nagas had been set apart to attack each man of the party, as the few survivors agreed in asserting that they were each attacked by this number, and not one escaped without being more or less severely wounded by the formidable blades of the Nagas.

When the startling tidings reached Calcutta that Lieutenant Holcombe and seventy men had been thus treacherously massacred, no time was lost in seeking to retaliate. A strong detachment of the 44th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nuthall, with 500 men of the coolie corps, which had been originally detailed for service against the Dufflas, were despatched to the front from the fort of Debrooghur, and a week's march up the valley brought them to the scene of the outrage.

It is only during the months of winter that regular troops can penetrate into these miasmatic and wooded regions, that are covered with dank jungle, which forms the fastnesses of those Nagas who boast themselves as the *Nagshuk*, or snake-born race. The fighting that ensued was brief, and our casualties amounted to only twenty men; but ere Colonel Nuthall's column returned to the plains of Assam, he had utterly destroyed all the Naga villages that he could find south of the Dillee river—the abode of 10,000 persons. He shot down forty men, and carried off an immense stock of grain, cattle, and other property.*

In fighting with the Bheels, the Dufflas, but more especially the Nagas, it has been said that we are really waging the last of a strife "that has existed between the Aryan and the Scythic races since the solar and lunar dynasties. This fact may not console us for the loss of a gallant officer or a serious blow to British prestige, nor yet render less deplorable the burden cast upon the Indian finances by a new expedition into these difficult highlands; but even without the help of Huneyman, king of

* *Times of India.*

the monkeys—who did such good service for Rama against Ravana, lord of the ancient Nagas—we have, happily, the power to teach these wild men that their fever-haunted hills cannot protect them if they shed English blood.”

One of the most remarkable events of the year 1875, as connecting more closely the interests of Britain and India, was the large interest bought by the former in the Suez Canal—“a transaction not to be regarded as merely an investment by a nation in stock of a trading company, but a very important step, as signifying that for us a free short cut to India is a matter of imperious necessity.”

The purchase of the Khedive's interest in that great undertaking, with all the duties and rights appertaining thereto, is, and must remain, a grand commercial arrangement, full of high value to the trade of the world in general and of Great Britain in particular; and it was the legitimate result of the national wealth and that spirit of peace, combined with power, which it is her honest ambition to maintain and extend.

On this matter a leading London journal wrote thus:—“One single act of resolute prudence on the part of the Government has, in a moment, called forth such an universal chorus of approval as we do not remember to have followed any other public announcement. The instant acceptance of the policy as proper, just, pacific, and determined, awakened a prompt response throughout the realm. What does that mean, except a fact which every reasonable statesman abroad should take to heart—namely, that upon a question of even the remote

interests of this empire there is only one party within its confines? From Ireland to Australasia, and from the Orkneys to the Cape of Good Hope, Her Majesty's subjects, at home and abroad, were inspired with one feeling, because the Premier has let it quietly be seen that ‘the nation of shopkeepers’ knows its just claims, and will maintain them. And considering how absolutely that nation has at once sanctioned the policy adopted by the Government, how heartily it is applauded by M. Lesseps himself, and how no foreign hostility, open or covert, is worth a moment's consideration, the question raised in announcing the decision of the Ministry becomes still more apposite. The great measure now initiated should be carried to its legitimate climax, and the Suez Canal should, if such a result be possible in a business point of view, pass entirely into British hands.”*

Whether this desirable climax shall be attained remains for time to show. Apart from the economies or future profits of the great investment, the voice of the people endorsed the Government measure to the fullest extent. With good and useful rights against any enemy, it gave us a footing eastward that could offend none; it linked the interests of Britain and Egypt, without interfering with those of any other Power; it secured to the commercial world the maintenance of a noble work, now indispensable to modern traffic and intercourse; and, as it was happily said at the time, it quietly constituted Queen Victoria trustee of the high road that leads to her empire in the East.

CHAPTER LXXI.

MURDER OF MR. MARGARY AT MANWYNE.—ATTACK ON COLONEL BROWNE'S MISSION.—

CORRESPONDENCE THEREUPON.

DURING Lord Northbrook's administration difficulties arose with the King of Burmah in 1875, thus causing his Government to strengthen the forces in the British province; while attention was painfully directed to China by the murder of Mr. Margary and his attendants—an event almost concurrent with the attack made on Colonel Browne's party at Yunnan.

With a view to ascertain what probabilities there were of trade being developed between India and Western China, Sir Thomas Wade, our representative at the Court of Peking, obtained passports for

the expedition, and instructed Mr. Margary, of the British Consular Service in China, to pass from the eastern side and join the party from Burmah, that they might receive his special knowledge and assistance in the prosecution of their work.

“Augustus Raymond Margary,” says the *Times*, “was one of those young men of whom England may well be proud. Selected to perform a most responsible and perilous duty, he accomplished it with great success, and traversed regions hitherto untrodden by Europeans.” The son of General

* *Daily Telegraph*, November, 1875.

Margary, of the Royal Engineers, this enterprising envoy was only in his twenty-ninth year when he proved, by his life and death, that he was one of those Britons who have often in the East united the courage of the soldier to the training of the civilian; and had he survived the perils of his mission, he would assuredly have attained a high rank among explorers and diplomats.

Seven years before this period, in 1863, a mission, under Major (afterwards Colonel) E. B. Sladen, had crossed the Burmese frontier, and reached the city of Momien, in the Chinese province of Yunnan, from whence it was compelled to retrograde, being unable to advance further in consequence of the exclusive spirit, the ignorant jealousy, and hostile opposition of the Chinese authorities then combating for precedence

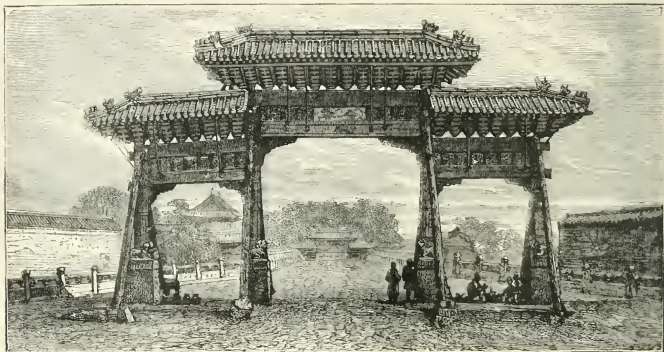
in Yunnan.* By the year 1874 this civil strife, which for nineteen years desolated the most fertile and beautiful of the western provinces of China, was ended by the overthrow of the Mohammedan insurgents, and the authority of the emperor was completely restored up to the borders of Burmah. The fresh opportunity which now arose to open up commercial and diplomatic relations was promptly taken by the Government of India; and to effect this Colonel Horace Browne was sent, with orders to cross China, from Burmah to Shanghai, furnished with promises of safe conduct, with the necessary passports to mandarins and other authorities having been previously gained from the Government at Peking; and, in order

to make it perfectly clear to the former that

* "Mandalay to Momien: a Narrative," &c.



A MANDARIN.



TRIUMPHAL ARCH IN THE GARDENS OF THE PALACE, PEKIN.

the colonel's mission belonged to the same nation as that whose flag was so familiar at all the treaty ports of the Pacific coast, Sir William Wade, as we have stated, sent Mr. Margary to meet it, as, by a six years' residence in China, he had thoroughly mastered the language, and made himself familiar with the habits and customs of that remarkable country. It was on the 9th of August, while at Shanghai, he received notice of

plan adopted," he records, "is to send me overland from this side to the western borders of the province of Yunnan, there to wait at one of the passes for four Indian officers, who are to come over from a place named Bhamò, near the upper sources of the Irawaddy. I am provided with huge Chinese despatches from the Tsungli-Yamen at Peking to three governor-generals, who rule the vast territories through which I shall pass. These letters direct



CHINESE PALANQUIN-BEARERS.

his appointment to cross China and meet Colonel Browne's party: thus affording him, as he exultingly stated in his diary, "a magnificent opportunity" for distinguishing himself, as it was the very duty for which he was longing, "to survey the new route for commerce;" though, he adds, "we have suggested to the Minister that it would save time and money to send me by sea to Mandalay to join the expedition at its starting-point, instead of toiling overland, some seven or eight hundred miles, through a new country untrodden by foreigners."*

On the 23rd of August he left Shanghai. "The

them to take every care of me, and to issue orders to all their magistrates and officers along my route to protect and help me on."

On the 4th of September, 1874, he left the British Consulate at Hangkow—at least, so much of his movements was known to the Government of India, but little more, as from that time, as he himself tells us, he had plunged into darkness for six months.

During all that time he was toiling through regions hitherto unknown to the European; sometimes on river or canal by long, narrow mandarin boat; or borne in chairs by coolies over high

* "Journey of A. R. Margary:" Macmillan, 1876.

mountain-ranges, when the weather was, as he tells us, "boiling hot," and he was ill for a month with fever, "and fifty other ailments;" now between vast fields of cotton and sesamum, and anon through scenes then recently desolated by the heavy hands of the "Long-haired Rebels," as the Taipings were called—the same insurgents who were defeated by the Chinese troops under Colonel Charles Gordon;* often perilously mobbed by peasantry, soldiers, and ruffians, who shrieked at him as a "Foreign devil;" far away from "all his fellow-kind," encountering innumerable perils, adventures, and discomforts.

By the end of November, 1874, he reached Yunnan Fu, a division and town of China, on the north bank of a great lake—a place celebrated for its carpets and silks, and containing many fine edifices defaced by the Tartar invaders.

On the 13th of January, 1875, he was at Manwyne, and four days after reached Bhamò, when, after being conducted by a guard of forty Burmese soldiers through the savage Kakhylen hills, with a joyful heart he came in sight of the British flag flying above the little town, and he received a warm welcome and congratulations on his splendid journey from Colonel Browne and the other officers, who had been sent to that point by Lord Northbrook. They had with them an officer's guard of about thirty Sikhs, with a host of baggage-animals and plenty of stores.

It had been greatly doubted whether Mr. Margary, even if he succeeded in traversing the perilous districts, would be able to reach the frontier in time; accordingly, as a precaution, another consular officer, Mr. Clement Allan, who could take his place as interpreter to the mission if so required, had been sent round by sea to Rangoon.

"It may easily be imagined," says Dr. John Anderson, F.R.S.E., who was attached to the mission of Colonel Browne, "with what feelings we congratulated the first Englishman who had succeeded in traversing the trade-route of the future, as he called it, and with what pleasant anticipations we heard of the accounts of his arduous but successful journey, and the reception accorded all along the route, crowned by the politeness shown by the dreaded Li-sich-tai (the warrior Viceroy of Yunnan, who extinguished the Mohammedan rebellion). The astonishment and admiration of the Burmese were even greater. In their own minds they had never realised the existence of British officials in China; and now there appeared a veritable Englishman, speaking Chinese fluently,

versed in the use of chopsticks and all other points of etiquette."*

In this spirit the Governor of Bhamò and all its people made entertainments in his honour; and for a few days before the mission started, Mr. Margary was the centre of attraction for the natives, and by his cheerful bearing and helpful nature won the entire esteem of Colonel Browne and his brother officers.

The mission started from Bhamò early in February, 1875, and on the morning of the 18th arrived, with their escort, at the last guard-house on the Burman frontier, in a deep narrow gorge, thickly covered with forest trees, festooned with creepers or baboon ropes. This is the valley of Nampoung, which separates Burnmah from China; and reports now met them of dangers impending.

The fierce hill-tribes, named the KakhyLens, who dwell on that wild frontier, were mustering in strength to oppose their passage or cut them off—a movement encouraged by the authorities of Seray, the principal town in that part of Yunnan. At a council of war which was held, Mr. Margary made light of the hostile rumours, as he had but recently traversed these hills in safety, and he was known to the mandarins of Manwyne and Seray. Thus, to ascertain the truth, this gallant young Englishman volunteered to go in advance, and to send back instructions for the guidance of Colonel Browne, who accepted his offer: though, on the very afternoon before he started, the echoes of the adjacent hills and woods were awakened by the din of gongs and cymbals, and the ferocious KakhyLens, with dark visages and gleaming eyes, were seen peering from amid the trees at the bivouac where the travellers were having their last dinner; which, however, the former did nothing to interrupt.

On the 19th of February, about dawn, Mr. Margary crossed the frontier of China, attended only by his Chinese secretary and servants, who had come with him from Shanghai, and a few Burmese muleteers. Colonel Browne received a letter next day reporting his safe arrival at Seray, where he had been well received, and from whence he was proceeding to Manwyne. The mission followed him to the former town on the 21st, and no further news came of Mr. Margary; but the colonel remarked that the chief of Seray and all his men were armed, and more rumours of hostility filled the air. On the 22nd his little camp was nearly surrounded by menacing bands of armed men; and letters from the Burmese agents at Manwyne to the chief in command of their escort

* "The Ever Victorious Army," by Wilson, 1868.

* "Mandalay to Momiën."

brought the startling tidings that Margary and his native servants had been savagely murdered on the previous day, by order of the Chinese Governor of Momiën.

But for the honourable fidelity of their Burmese escort—who repelled all the offered bribes of their assailants to draw off, and allow them only to slay “the foreign devils”—and the valour of the few Sikhs who formed their body-guard, Browne and his whole mission must have shared the fate of Margary. A hard day’s fighting ensued with a force sent from the same quarter to attack the colonel and his friends, who, though severely wounded, ere night fell, effected a retreat across the frontier with all their baggage, and at Bhamò sought particulars of the assassination, of which different accounts were given.

The most truthful was supposed to be that of a Burmese, who had seen Margary walking peacefully and confidently about Manwyne, at times with Chinese, at others alone, on the morning of the 21st. At the invitation of some of these, he went to visit a hot spring; but as soon as he had left the town they knocked him off his pony, and slew him with their spears; and thus barbarously ended the peaceful mission to open up a new commercial route between India and China.

That this cruel massacre of unoffending British subjects was executed without the connivance of the imperial authorities, no intelligent European in the East believed; but whether the empress-regent at Peking and the mandarins at Yunnan were, in any secret way, accessories to the outrage, it was difficult to determine; but the equivocating attitude of the Peking Government in dealing with Lord Northbrook’s demands for satisfaction led us to the brink of a fourth Chinese war, the withdrawal of the embassy, and blockade of the rivers, though, eventually, the protracted negotiations of our plenipotentiary with the imperial authorities to obtain reparation were brought to a successful issue.

The Foreign Office correspondence on this subject commenced on the 4th of March, 1875, and comprises some eighty letters, and details at considerable length the negotiations with reference to our demands for satisfaction.

Dissatisfied with the manner in which the Imperial Government seemed disposed to treat the outrages committed on the mission from India and that from Shanghai, Sir Thomas Wade at last addressed Prince Kung in the following decided terms:—

“In my reply, of the 30th September, to your Imperial Highness’s communication of the 29th, I had the honour to state that I should write at

greater length to your Imperial Highness in a day or two. It was my intention at the time to review what had passed since the 17th of September, the day on which I wrote to announce that I had decided on the withdrawal of the Legation and the Northern Port Communities. It appears to me, on reflection, unnecessary to repeat again what has been so often repeated. I have forwarded to Her Majesty’s Government copies of all correspondence and notes of all conferences, up to my departure from Tien-tsin on the 8th of September. Her Majesty’s Government will now be similarly informed of all that has passed, in speech or writing, since that date.

“Whether I am justified in asserting that I have been trifled with, Her Majesty’s Government will be well able to judge. I shall proceed at once to withdraw the Legation, and I shall instruct Her Majesty’s consuls at the ports of Tien-tsin and Newchang to give notice to the British community at these ports that they must retire before the rivers are closed. The members of these communities will file inventories of such property as they may be unable to take away in their respective consulates, and compensation for any loss they may sustain will be claimed in due time of the Chinese Government.”

The firm character of this missive had the desired effect; and on the 23rd of October Sir Thomas Wade addressed a letter to the Imperial Commissioner, Li-Hung-Chang, a man of distinguished rank, in which he wrote:—

“This note will be delivered by Mr. Grosvenor, Second Secretary of Legation, who, as His Excellency is aware, has been selected by Mr. Wade to be present at the inquiry which the Chinese Government has promised should be instituted, into the circumstances connected with the attack on a mission from the Government of India, travelling under passports in Yunnan, last February, and the murder of Mr. Margary, the interpreter, who had been sent by Mr. Wade to meet the mission in question. In reparation of this outrage, Her Britannic Majesty’s Government demands the punishment of those who instigated and took part in it; and it is to the establishment of truth that, according to an imperial decree, dated the 9th instant, His Excellency Li has received a special commission.

“In a telegram which reached Mr. Wade, on the 6th instant, the Earl of Derby, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, instructed Mr. Wade to repeat that the fullest inquiry into the circumstances of the Yunnan outrage is looked for; and in a second telegram, received by Mr. Wade on

the 22nd, he is again desired to state that Her Majesty's Government will watch with attention that the promises given by the Chinese Government in evidence of its good faith are performed, and that the re-establishment of a good understanding will depend on the fidelity with which the engagements of the Chinese Government are observed.

"The engagements referred to are those negotiations which, with the Tsung-li Yamen, have occupied Mr. Wade for the last two months, the end of all being to ensure that the circumstances of the crime of February last shall be duly investigated, and the persons responsible punished. It is to prevent all after-question upon this point that Mr. Grosvenor is sent to Yunnan. It is essential for the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government that there should be no doubt as to the identity of the persons who may be brought to trial, or the credit of statements that may be made either for the prosecution or the defence. Mr. Wade has informed the Prince of Kung that Mr. Grosvenor will proceed, in the first instance, to the provincial capital, Yunnan Fu, to place himself in communication with His Excellency Li. As to the time he may remain there, Mr. Grosvenor will be authorised to use his own discretion; the length of his stay will be regulated by circumstances. The prince has been further informed that, when he decides on leaving Yunnan Fu, Mr. Grosvenor will move on to Manwyne, if for no other purpose, to collect the remains of Mr. Margary, who was murdered in or near that town. Mr. Grosvenor will then, as he sees fit, either return through China to Hangkow, or he will cross the frontier of Bhamô, following the line taken by Mr. Margary in January. In a despatch, dated the 22nd of August, the Prince of Kung has promised that, whenever a British officer holding passports shall undertake the journey from Yunnan to Burmah, orders shall certainly be given to the authorities on the spot to afford him protection.

"Mr. Grosvenor is supplied with a copy of the prince's despatch referred to, and if he decides to return by Bhamô, he will apply to His Excellency Li to take the necessary steps. He will at the same time communicate with the agent of the Indian Government who is stationed at that place; and, as in the case of Mr. Margary, the agent will see that a guard be sent to the Burmese frontier, to escort him and those with him to Bhamô. Mr. Wade cannot too strongly impress upon His Excellency Li the necessity of assisting Mr. Grosvenor to accomplish his mission in every particular. The crime committed in Yunnan has naturally excited the indignation of Her Majesty's Government and

subjects; and a suspicion that, either in the conduct of the investigation or in his subsequent movements, Mr. Grosvenor has not received from His Excellency the assistance which from the nature of his mission he is entitled to look for, would hardly fail to be productive of the gravest consequences."

That these meant a hostile collision with the Government of India, that of China could have no doubt; and on the 1st of January, 1876, the Earl of Derby, when acknowledging the receipt of Sir Thomas Wade's despatches, concluded thus:—

"You will have received by the last mail my observations on the subjects referred to in several of them; but those which contained a detailed account of your negotiations on the Yunnan affair have required more deliberate consideration. I have now to inform you that your proceedings are approved by Her Majesty's Government, who trust that the concessions you have obtained will not only secure a full and searching inquiry into the attack on Colonel Browne's mission and the murder of Mr. Margary, but will also lead to an improvement of the relations between Great Britain and China. Her Majesty's Government, in their anxiety not to press too hardly on the Chinese Government, or endanger its stability, have in many instances abstained from insisting on the full satisfaction of their claims; and although possessing the means of enforcing them to the fullest extent, have forborne from using these means, in the hope that the Government of China would gradually wake to a clear sense of its duties towards foreign Powers. This hope has not hitherto been realised; and you have found it necessary to demand certain guarantees, which are duly recorded in the notes and decrees enclosed in your despatches.

"The treatment, on a proper footing, of the Ministers of friendly Powers; the representation of China in this and other foreign countries; the proper protection of foreigners travelling in China; the execution of the treaty stipulations in regard to trade and other matters; the establishment of commercial relations between India and Western China—are all subjects to which Her Majesty's Government attach great importance; and they have learned with satisfaction the assurances which have been given to you on these points.

"Her Majesty's Government are animated by the most friendly feelings towards the Government and people of China, and have every wish that the relations between the two countries should be of an amicable and peaceful character; but in order that this wish may be realised, there must be evidence of a similar disposition on the part of the Chinese Government; and this disposition they can

best show by prosecuting, with vigour and earnestness, the investigation in Yunnan, and eventual punishment of the perpetrators of the outrage, and by carrying out the other engagements which they have now undertaken in a straightforward and friendly spirit."

Mr. Grosvenor's mission reached Manwyne about the middle of April. A British escort of 300 men, and a Burmese escort of 4,000, proceeded to Bhamô to meet him; and the Chinese local authorities were anxious to assist his inquiries, which ended in sentence of death being passed on seventeen men for complicity in the murder of Mr. Margary.

Full reparation was made and war averted, though the Chinese Government seemed resolved at first to carry matters with a high hand. It was well known that large stores of new and improved arms and munitions had been imported by them from Europe, and it was averred that the military mandarins deemed their troops, thus equipped, quite competent to meet European or Indian troops in the field. At the last moment the Imperial Government gave way, and prudently submitted both to the official publication of documents and a full inquiry into the double outrage and murder.

A monument was erected to the memory of Mr. Margary in the cathedral at Hong-Kong, by the members of Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Services in China, "in token," as it bears, "of the affectionate esteem" in which they held him.

A subsidiary dispute, which, collaterally with this affair, we had with Burmah, and which also menaced another war, was easily settled as soon as

the Court of Peking felt itself compelled to give way. A Chinese officer of high rank, who was believed to be the principal instigator of the Yunnan outrage, had recently been received with unusual honours at Mandalay. Our envoy, Sir Douglas Forsyth, was duly instructed by Lord Northbrook to demand explanations, and to obtain the recognition of the independence of some border tribes which had placed themselves under the protection of the Government of British India.

The King of Burmah's formal explanations of his reason for receiving the Chinese dignitary were necessarily accepted, and the question of the frontier tribes was adjusted without further trouble. Various acts of interference with commercial relations, in violation of former treaties, were disavowed; but the disposition of the Golden Foot still seemed dubious. In case of a war, Burmah would not be a very formidable enemy, as past conflicts had proved; but it was evident that its arrogant and ignorant Court was only waiting to ascertain the probable policy of that at Peking.

Then, early in the year, the young Emperor of China had suddenly died, and the succession passed to a mere child, for whom the government was administered by two empresses—one regent, and the other his grandmother. One result of their intrigues, which were imperfectly understood, was a diminution in the power of the Prince Kung, who for many years had principally directed the affairs of the Celestial Empire; the Government of which, by giving way in the recent dispute, soon caused that of Burmah with us to be settled also.

CHAPTER LXXII.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION IN CENTRAL ASIA.—ANNEXATION OF KHOKAND.—DEPARTURE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES FOR INDIA.

DURING the early part of 1875, the politicians of India were somewhat disturbed by the progress of the Russian dominion beyond the mountain frontier. The tributary kingdom of Khokand, in Central Asia, which had but lately risen into political importance, had given them much trouble, and the annexation of a part of its territory failed to restore tranquillity. Originally it was a small State in the upper valley of the Tir, bounded on all sides, except that of Khojend, by lofty mountains; but

by certain acquisitions and conquests, the Khan of Khokand soon exercised sway over all the country, from the Ulu-Tau mountains on the north, which form the southern frontier of the Russian Government of Tomsk, to the Aspera range, a mountain continuation of the Mussar-Tagh, on the northern frontiers of Little Bokhara. The whole surface of the khanate is hilly, and forms the buttress of the great table-land of Eastern Asia, in which it gradually lowers itself to the level of the surround-

ing regions. Its usual military force was 30,000 horse, which Balbi exaggerates to 100,000.

In the course of the summer of 1875, the reigning prince, Khudsyar Khan, who was content enough to be a dependant of the Russian throne, was deposed by an unanimous revolt of his discontented subjects. Kaufmann, the Russian general, was not unwilling to recognise his son, whom the insurgents had placed on the throne; but, as the movement

old Usbec khanates of Central Asia became a Russian province, leaving only some fragments of Bokhara and Khiva to intervene between the advanced posts of ever-aggressive Russia and those of British India, or territory within the boundary of British influence, and which our Government is bound to protect.* The people once more resorted to arms, and obtained the aid of certain tribes which had not previously come in



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had been in reality a demonstration against the Court of St. Petersburg, it became necessary to resort to arms, and the troops of Khokand were repulsed in an attack on Tashkend, a fortified town in a valley near the Tcherchek, having in its midst a castle (built on the site of the palace of the ancient khans), surrounded by lofty walls and deep ditches, and forming the residence of the governor; and after this defeat, the Khokand troops were utterly unable to offer any effectual resistance to the Russians.

Khokand was, in consequence, completely conquered and dismembered; and thus the last of the

contact with Russia; but the discipline and organisation of her troops prevailed in the end, though it will be long ere she succeeds in reducing the fanatical Mohammedans of Central Asia to willing and permanent submission.

Of this advance, which sounded unpleasant to the ear of those in India, a journalist says:—"The hitherto accepted boundary of Khokand, following the line of natural demarcation, is the high mountain ridge of the Karateghin, which reaches no point south of the thirty-ninth parallel. From this point to the extreme western limit of the Peshawur

* *Times*, 1875.



MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE PAVILION OF RECEPTION, TSUNGLI-YAMEN, PEKIN.

district is, as the crow flies, about 350 miles English, and Russia has already possessed the south-east of the Samarqand territory, which is quite as near to the British frontier. The crow, which should fly straight from Khokand to Peshawur, moreover, would have to pass over a country, perhaps the most difficult in Asia, crossing the inaccessible Pamir steppe and the knot of lofty mountains known as 'the Dome of the World,' not to speak of the rugged and pathless wild of Kaffiristan."

It was thus urged by some at home that, as an additional menace to British India, the annexation of Khokand was of minor importance, and that it could not be viewed as a direct act of aggression; but it undoubtedly involved important considerations, as bearing a reference to Central Asia and our relations with Russia, as defined by conventions and explanations then recent.

In the first place, it was apparent that if Russia intended to demand, as part of Khokand, not only the territory included geographically within that khanate, but all the districts which had at any time been deemed part of it, then an understanding which had been previously made between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia regarding their respective borders, or rather zones of influence in that remote part of the world, would be greatly affected.

Though the force of that understanding was somewhat weakened by certain explanations made by Mr. Gladstone in Parliament during April, 1873, it still remained valid, and drew a line beyond which Russia was not to advance nearer British India; for in the Gortschakoff-Clarendon correspondence, the stream of the Oxus, down to a point called Khojah Saleh (where that great river turns north-west through the vast plain of Bokhara), was declared to be the northern boundary of Afghan dominion, in which Shere Ali was to rule under the protection and restraint of Britain; while, as a further act of courtesy to the latter, Prince Gortschakoff consented to include within Afghanistan the provinces of Wakhan and Badakshan, the latter a mountainous Turkestan khanate, having a military force of 10,000 matchlockmen, and once famous for its gold, pearls, and precious stones.

This concession certainly caused some confusion in the arrangement, as it was likely to evolve serious difficulties in the future. The understanding that these provinces should be included in the territory of Afghanistan and that which made the Oxus the northern boundary of that principality, were at variance with each other geographically, as a portion of both Badakshan and Wakhan lie to the

north of that ancient stream. "If, therefore," said a writer at the time, "the Oxus is to be taken as the limit of the Afghan dominion, Afghanistan is deprived of one-half the benefit of Prince Gortschakoff's 'act of courtesy;' and if the Oxus is not to be the limit of the Afghan dominion—that is to say, of British influence—then the whole question returns to its original perplexity; and with this perplexity we are brought face to face with the Russian annexation of Khokand. Although there is little to fear for British India on account of the annexation of Khokand by Russia, no one can read the correspondence between the British and Russian Governments in 1873 without perceiving that this last event is of great significance, as bearing upon the understanding supposed to have been arrived at therein. We shall best appreciate the nature of the difficulty which now threatens when we remember that, while something was said about a neutral zone by Russia, both the southern limits of Russian influence and the northern limits of Afghan dominion were left practically undefined, in one quarter at least, where they might have come in contact. The understanding which was concluded with Russia in 1873 declared that 'the stream of the Oxus' was 'the northern boundary of the Afghan province' of Badakshan 'through its entire extent.' But we then knew, and still know, very little about the stream of the Oxus in its upper course."*

There was nothing to prevent an immediate extension of the Russian boundary to the bank of that stream of classical antiquity had Gortschakoff or the emperor been disposed to do so; and such a movement would have made the Afghan frontier a matter of deep and direct interest. After the annexation of Khokand in 1875, the only independent State in Central Asia was that founded at Kashgar (or "The City of the Horde") by Yakoob Khan, himself a Khokandi; and beyond the circle of British influence there was nothing else left for Russia to annex.

In 1864, the town of Tchemkend was positively declared to be the last post which Russia intended to acquire in the direction of British India. In that year, Prince Gortschakoff announced that the territorial acquisitions in Turkestan had been brought about by "imperious necessity," and that Imperial Russia had now reached her furthest limits in Central Asia; and the reason given for the extension of the Russian border, even to Tchemkend, by forcibly occupying the towns of the Usbec Tartars along the valley of the Tir Daria, or Jaxartes, was alleged to be the necessity for

* *Standard*, 1875.

forming a communication between Fort Perofsky and the western border of the Lake Issyk-Koul, outside the sandy desert; and two sufficient reasons were given why Tchemkend was to be the Russian limit in Central Asia.

One was that the country annexed was inhabited by Kirghises who had already acknowledged the sway of Russia, and that it was fertile, well watered, and well wooded; the other, that it would give the Russians for neighbours the steady agricultural and commercial population of the free khanate of Khokand; and any further conquest, the prince declared, would involve his Government in quarrels with wandering and warlike tribes, and hence lead it "from annexation to annexation." Yet from that day Russia has gone from one acquisition to another—from Tchemkend to Tashkend; from thence to Khojend; from thence to Samarcand; then to Khiva; and, finally, to Khokand—at every step nearer and more near to British India, Prince Gortschakoff meanwhile making the usual assurances that the furthest limit was *now* reached, compatible with safety to the empire and the interests of Russian civilisation. "Having got to Khokand," says a writer, "and having finally suppressed the last remnant of national life in Turkestan proper, what better assurance have we that the same 'imperious necessity' which has made such havoc of Prince Gortschakoff's circulars will not compel the Russian generals to go still farther?"

In 1875, during the early part of the year, a subject of common interest to all Great Britain and to India was furnished by the whisper that went abroad of the long-cherished desire of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to visit our vast Eastern Empire; while his determination, which was all but universally approved of at home, was received in India with general enthusiasm.

On the 22nd of October the intention of His Highness found public expression, and with it public applause; for while it was natural that the future King of Great Britain and sovereign of India should wish to see his great and famous Asiatic heritage, it was ardently hoped by the nation that his visit might be so conducted as to inspire active and, if possible, lasting loyalty in the many ruling princes and myriads of the Hindostanee people, and thus pave the way to new and useful, if not quite kindred, sympathies between the Eastern and Western divisions of the empire.

Nor was the time deemed an unfavourable one, though there had arisen difficulties which we have already narrated: those with the King of Burmah, in connection with the murder of Mr. A. Raymond Margary, and the disturbances at Perak

and Rangoon threatening complicated trouble in the Straits Settlements; but then it seems vain to look for perfect peace and calmness over the whole of an empire so vast and so varied in its component parts as ours in Asia.

The details of the royal trip having been fully discussed, the Premier made a statement on the 8th of July with regard to the expense of it, for which he asked the vote of the House of Commons. That vote was pretty generally deemed to be an error on the side of economy rather than extravagance; and it is pleasing to recall and record the fact that only a very moderate amount of the expenditure was permitted to fall upon the Indian exchequer.

In reality, the general sentiments of the British people seemed to express that they would rather have seen a handsomer sum-total bestowed on an undertaking of such national importance and political significance; however, all that was done was done with genuine cordiality; and the noble Indian transport ship, the *Serapis*, was docked for the purpose, and rapidly transformed into a temporary but magnificent royal yacht.

This vessel—a screw-propeller of iron, of 6,200 tons burden, with engines of 700 horse-power—was nobly fitted up expressly for the Prince and his suite. His apartments on the upper deck consisted of a reception, dining, and drawing-rooms, divided each from the other only by hangings, so that all three might be thrown into one great State cabin. Each set of rooms was in itself complete, consisting of a bed-room, bath-room, and boudoir, a double arrangement, to allow the Prince to avail himself of each side of the vessel during the outward and homeward voyage, with a view to coolness and comfort.

These apartments were all decorated with almost Oriental elegance; their walls were painted white, relieved with blue and gold, with green window-blinds and hangings of bronze yellow. The polished oak furniture was all of the Tudor fashion, and double sets of Indian punkahs, pulled by six Chinamen, kept the cabins cool and airy. On the upper deck and poop there was constructed a well-covered deck-house, with ample windows on four sides; while in the lower saloon and cabins every accommodation was made for the suite who accompanied the Prince.

Among these were the Duke of Sutherland, the Lords Aylesford, Carington, Suffield, Alfred Paget, and Charles Beresford; Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., once the Resident in Scinde, and afterwards Governor of Bombay; Major-General Probyn, with Colonel Ellis as equerry; the Rev. Canon

Duckworth as chaplain, and Dr. Fayrer as physician, with Dr. W. H. Russell, the well-known correspondent, diarist, and journalist, as secretary.

Captain the Hon. Henry Cave Glyn, C.B., commanded the *Serapis*, among the officers of which, as sub-lieutenant, was Prince Louis of Battenburg. For the use of the Prince, a stud of horses was stabled on board the vessel, which was accompanied by her consort, the royal yacht *Osborne*, Commander Francis Durand.

Leaving London on the 11th October, the Prince, after passing through Paris, embarked on board the *Serapis* at Brindisi; from whence, escorted by an imposing squadron, she and her consort sailed on Saturday, the 16th October, for the Piræus, in order that *en route* His Highness might visit the royal family of Greece. At Athens he saw the wonderful effect produced by the illumination of the Parthenon, the Acropolis, and other monuments of classical antiquity, by artificial fires at night; and on the 23rd of October was at Port Said, the Mediterranean entrance to the Suez Canal.

At nine on the same evening he reached Cairo, and was there received by the Egyptian Khedive, and stayed for three days in the Ghezireh Palace,

that overlooks the waters of the Nile; and, like the ruins of ancient Athens, the Great Pyramid was specially illuminated for him in the evening by artificial fires. His passing visit was pleasantly signalised by the investiture of the Khedive's son and heir, Prince Tewfik Pasha, with the Order of the Star of India, as knight commander. The Prince of Wales left Cairo for Suez on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 26th October, by railway, for the camel ride of the desert has long been a thing of the past, though the camel may still be seen, as in patriarchal times, treading his solitary way over the sandy waste.

On the same evening the Prince embarked on the Red Sea, down which he passed in five days and a half, reaching the south-west point of Arabia, Aden—our great coaling station—a dreary place of sun-baked rocks and ashes, on the 1st of November; and after being entertained by General Schneider, our Resident, he continued his voyage that night into the Arabian Sea, after which, in due time, the *Serapis* hauled up for the shores of Western India.

And now, having come to this important epoch in the annals of our Eastern Empire, a few glances at social life there may not be out of place.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

SOME STATISTICS OF INDIAN SOCIAL LIFE IN THE PRESENT DAY.

In the year of the Prince's visit, we find the following singular facts in the census of India—a census ever varying, however, and of doubtful enumeration.

In the north-western provinces were 93,904 servants of Government, 20,454 soldiers, and 313,888 who stated themselves as belonging to learned professions. Of the latter 176,701 were priests, and 40,344 pundits, 11,828 were doctors who bled, 17,458 surgeons, 18,497 were apothecaries, 5,312 schoolmasters, 1,970 conjurors, 509 actors, 140 painters of pictures, 1,320 players on tom-toms and other instruments, 8,065 dancing-girls, 499 dancing-boys and rope-dancers, 6,472 bards, with 3,733 acrobats.

The servants numbered 1,413,987: water-carriers, 154,622; washerwomen, 207,568; barbers, 343,893; sweepers, 206,413; keepers of choultries and caravanserais, 16,405; traders, or those who buy and sell, 954,732; carriers, 437,333; 17,656,006 were

agriculturists, of whom 138,559 were engaged with animals, as grooms and so forth; while a million and a half were engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, chiefly as weavers; about a million were connected with food and drinks, and the third of that number were mechanics or artisans; 374,826 were dealers in vegetables, and 733,038 were dealers in metals.

There were 2,500 eunuchs, 479,000 beggars, and 26,800 loose women; 226 "flatterers for gain," 111 alms-takers, and 974 budmashees, or armed bravos; 51 makers of caste marks, such as the eye of Siva, and so forth, on the forehead; 97 grave-diggers, 851 jesters, 259 mimics, 1,000 snake-charmers, and 1,123 astrologers.

In addition to these were many designated as editors, astronomers, "calendar brahmins," who make out almanacs, pedigrees, and tell fortunes; pilgrims, fakirs, dervishes, wizards, and devil-drivers.

A very curious element in the statistics of Indian life is the number who perish annually by the bites of snakes and by wild animals. "We chance to have the means at hand," writes Mr. James Routledge (in the *Graphic*), "of verifying our recollection of the entire number of people who die yearly in India from these causes, and the figures convey a frightful fact. The poorer natives, as a rule, build their huts away from the road, amid foliage which seems as thick as jungle, generally close to a cess-pool, and with a ditch in front, over which they pass by a tree thrown carelessly down to serve as a bridge. Nothing can be prettier to the eye. An English labourer seeing the picture would be apt to envy the Bengal labourer, with his pipe and his hut beneath his bamboo-trees. He and his family often sleep virtually on the ground, and the snake has no difficulty whatever in coming to conclusions with any one of the family he may select. Even the cobra will not follow unless attacked, or unless he fancies himself in danger; but then a very little causes him to fancy danger, and his motions are like lightning and very beautiful, and meaning death in a touch."

He then gives us the statistics of casualties in three years, ending in 1869. There were killed by wild beasts in Madras, 888; in Bombay (exclusive of Scinde), 148; in Bengal, 6,741; in the North-Western Provinces, 2,168; Punjab, 310; Oude, 569; Central Provinces, 1,347; Coorg, 147; Hyderabad, 129; British Burmah, 107. Total, 12,554.

In the same period there were killed by snake-bites—Madras, 760; Bombay (again exclusive of Scinde), 588; Bengal, 14,787; North-Western Provinces, 2,474; Punjab, 1,064; Oude, 3,782; Central Provinces, 1,961; Coorg, not given; Hyderabad, 226; British Burmah, 22. Total, 25,664.

In Madras, during the year ending 30th September, 1876, there were devoured by wild animals 1,163 bullocks, cows, and buffaloes, with 430 sheep, goats, horses, and dogs.*

The duties of the Bengal police include the pursuit and apprehension, not only of thieves and murderers, but also the destruction of wild animals. In June, 1876, an enormous tigress became a terror to the dwellers in the village of Russulpore, and the deputy magistrate ordered the head constable, and five other constables of the Satkira Reserve, to hunt the beast where she lay concealed, within a mile of the sub-division office. Proceeding in a body they poured volleys into the jungle, from which she suddenly sprang on a constable named Madhuram, and lacerated him severely; but he

clasped her firmly till she was bayoneted by his comrades, and was found to measure five cubits in length.

In fact, the whole of Central India is infested by wild animals of many kinds—hyenas, leopards, bears, wild boars, jackals, and tigers, which, of course, are the most formidable and destructive; but of their entire ravages we have no statistics more recent than those given. The men, the women, the children, and the cattle, are alike all liable to be carried away, torn, mangled, and devoured. "A tiger or a leopard deliberately quarters himself on a village. He takes up his abode in a neighbouring field or garden, and sallies forth every day to appropriate a sheep or cow, as his fancy urges him. Any villager who dares to interfere is struck down—perhaps killed—by a blow of his paw; and it is easy to conceive the consternation such a visitor creates. Probably there is not a firearm in the village, or no one capable of using it with effect if there be. The wretched villagers must simply suffer and be still till a messenger has been despatched to the nearest spot where the *sahib logue* are to be found; and a party of English sportsmen return to finish up the depredator." There are three ways of tiger-shooting: from the howdah of an elephant, from a scaffolding, and on foot. In the second mode, where the sportsman seats himself on a lofty frame, a carcass is laid below to lure the man-eater within easy rifle-shot—a method, though exciting, so little accompanied by danger, that ladies frequently accompany the gentlemen, and take their work or a book with them.

But on foot the sport is full of peril, requiring nerves of iron and an unerring aim with the most perfect of rifles. Brought face to face with the spotted monarch of the jungle, the ball that only wounds and fails to slay ensures generally the death of him who fires it. "Not unfrequently, too, he has to follow up the track of a wounded tiger in thick jungle, where all is darkness a very few paces in front of him; and before he has time to bring the gun to his shoulder, the maddened beast may burst out of the obscurity and strike him to the earth. The man who has shot a tiger on foot has won the blue riband of sport. He may retire upon his laurels. He can listen with an unmoved heart to tales of daring, feeling assured that you have never been so near death as he has."

With all our boasts of the spread of western civilisation in India, the Police Administration Reports prove how much of ancient barbarism and superstition still exists in the heart of the people; and it is somewhat remarkable that, in the year subsequent to the visit of the Prince of Wales, we

* *Madras Times*, 1876.



A TIGER-HUNT IN THE KYMORES.

should have a report of the perpetration of a *suttee* in Southern India.

In the town of Rama Chandra Puram, in the Stri-vili Puthur division of the province of Tinnevely, a widow lady, aged twenty-five, deliberately immolated herself, in the month of December, in defiance of all the British laws passed against the act of *suttee*. She was childless, and loving her departed husband fondly, ordered a pit and funeral pyre to be prepared in her house for the solemn deed of self-cremation, which she accomplished in the most thorough manner, amid a good deal of religious emotion, ceremonial, and observance. For months before the event she had prepared for

An inquest was held, and the body (finally) burned." The last act of the dismal tragedy may seem superfluous, says a print, but they do these things thoroughly in India; "and, no doubt, all Rama Chandra Puram assembled to see the widow burned by law who had burned herself for love," or, rather, superstition.*

It is but a few years ago that certain officials in Calcutta erected a large oven, in which the bodies of the Hindoos might be rapidly cremated: but this wholesale mode of consuming was rejected as heterodox; yet still, on dark nights, and at the stated places on the holy river, from Calcutta upward to Benares, may be seen the solemn flames



TIGER-HUNTING WITH ELEPHANTS.

it. She lavished all her money and jewels on religious mendicants, who had thus their own solid reasons for not thwarting her holy design; and the sequel was thus related by the superintendent of police:—

"A few days before her death she, unassisted, dug a pit in the floor of one of her rooms. This was filled by her with sandal and other scented wood. She steeped her clothes in a dye, of which the principal ingredient appears to have been red-ochre. Having made these preparations, she, on the night alluded to, secured all the doors of her house from the inside, enveloped herself in her dyed garments, set fire to the wood, and threw herself into the flames. It was a purely voluntary act; no one assisted her. Her body was found in the pit on the following day, a charred mass. There were also some fragments of dyed cloth.

that reduce the dead to ashes, and may be heard, on the still air of the Indian sky, the wailings that tell of sorrow and separation. The Mohammedan in India, as elsewhere, buries his dead; but the Hindoo commits their ashes to Father Gunga, amid the waters of which they are supposed to be restored to participate in happier scenes than earth can present—a portion of mythology too vast to be entered on here.

To be without a son to close one's eyes is to ensure another period of probation—and perhaps a degrading one—in this world; hence the law of adoption, to which we have had so often to refer. To die in Benares is to secure immortality; and to die on the banks of the Ganges—the highway to heaven—is essential to everlasting joy. Hence, on the Burning Ghaut at Calcutta may be seen at times

* *Globe*, January 10th, 1877.

six or seven bodies, each on its pile of wood—often of the most costly description, if the people be wealthy—surrounded by officiating brahmins and mourning friends.

The Parsees dispose otherwise of their dead. Among the many impure religions and idolatries in British India, none is more remarkable than that of the Parsees—a tribe scattered over all our possessions there, and forming the most wealthy and numerous class of merchants in Bombay, Surat, and Baroach, and who, in commerce, are connected with almost all the European mercantile houses in India. They are the descendants of a body of Persians who, about the year 651, fled from the invasion of the Caliph Omar, and, carrying with them the doctrines of Zoroaster, first appeared in India in the Isle of Diu, off the southern coast of the Goojerat Peninsula, in 766. From thence they emigrated to Damaun, on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Cambay, from whence they sent their colonists to Surat at the embouchure of the Tapti, and to Baroach at that of the Nerbudda. In the city of Bombay their numbers are now estimated at more than 120,000; in other parts of the British dominions in Western India they are estimated at 150,000.

They never become sailors or soldiers, but are all engaged in trade or business. After more than a thousand years' residence in India, they still preserve the colour, blood, and religion of their ancestors—the countrymen of Cyrus and Darius. The Hindoo rajah ruling over the districts in which they first settled not being sufficiently strong to expel them, concluded a treaty, granting them permission to build a temple for that Sacred Fire which they still worship on certain conditions, one of which was that they should never kill a cow, or, on any emergency, eat the flesh thereof—a covenant faithfully kept, it is said, to this day.

They are proprietors of half the houses in Surat. A comely race, athletic, fair comparatively, and well-formed, their women are celebrated for their domestic virtues; but their bloom soon decays, and by the early age of twenty they become coarse and wrinkled. In a portion of her journal relating to Bombay, Mrs. Heber says:—"In our early and late rides I have been interested in observing the men on the sea-shore, with their faces turned towards the east or west, worshipping the rising or setting sun, frequently praying, standing within the surge, their hands joined, and praying aloud with much apparent devotion: though, I was astonished to hear, in a language unintelligible to themselves. Others are to be seen prostrate on the ground, devoutly rubbing their foreheads in the sand. . . .

Their principal temple is in the centre of the Black Town, where the everlasting fire is preserved by the priests. I never observed their women at prayer, but they are hourly to be seen, mixed with Hindoos and Mussulmans, in crowds surrounding the wells on the esplanade (which Mr. Elphinstone had sunk at the commencement of the drought, but which in this severe scarcity hardly supplied the population with water), and scrambling for their turn to fill the pitcher and the skin."

Thus in the nineteenth century these singular people still cherish the religious faith of the Zendavesta or Magi, the priesthood founded by Zoroaster some 500 years before Christ.

On a hill in the island of Bombay (called by the Europeans Malabar Hill) stand, all within a short distance of each other, the churchyard of the Christians, the cemetery of the Mussulman, the place where the Hindoos cremate their dead, and the Tower of Silence, where the Parsees leave their uncoffined, to be devoured by the birds of the air. It is a lofty square enclosure, without roof or covering of any kind. Huge bloated vultures and kites, gorged with human flesh, throng lazily the summit of the lofty wall surrounding the stone pavement, which is divided into three compartments, wherein the corpses of men, of women, and of children are laid apart, and all nude as they came into the world. Some relative or friend anxiously watches, at a short distance, to ascertain which eye is first plucked out by the birds; and from thence it is inferred whether the soul of the departed is happy or miserable. The Parsees regard with horror the Hindoo method of disposing of the dead, by throwing the bodies or ashes into rivers; yet their own custom is even more repugnant to the feelings of the Europeans in India.

In that wonderful land few things impress the stranger more than the teeming exuberance of animal and vegetable life; and nowhere are those elements more remarkable than among the beautiful Neigherry Hills, along the slopes of which we fought the armies of Hyder and Tippoo Sahib.

The richest adornment of the Indian landscape is the banian-tree, the size of which is so vast that it would shelter a whole village in case of need. In manufacture the sandal-wood is greatly used, and the pleasant fragrance of it is said never to evaporate; but of all wood in India, there is none so universal in use as the bamboo.

According to Mr. Balfour's work on Indian woods, it is adopted in the manufacture of "hollow cases, bows, arrows, quivers, javelins, spears, and lance-shafts; masts of vessels, spars, yards, and boat-decking; fishing-rods, stakes for stake-nets and

river crab-nets, and fishing-poles; bed-poles, walking-sticks and tent-poles, flag-poles, and the poles of palanquins; scaffolding for building purposes, the floors and supporters of rustic bridges, scaling-ladders, durable water-pipes, and the lever for raising water; carts, litters, and biers; implements for weaving, portable stages for native processions, raised floors for granaries; pen-holder, bottle, can, pot, measure, distilling-tube, tongs, toasting-fork, baskets, buckets, and cooking-pot; rafts for floating heavy timber, framework of houses, floorings of houses, scaffolding, planking, uprights in houses, and roofing; bamboo ware, handles of parasols and umbrellas, hooks, musical instruments, paper, pencils, rules, cages, pipes and pipe-sticks, sumpiton or blowing-tube, chairs, seats, screens, couches, cots, and tables; and parts of it are used as pickles or candied; and other parts are made into paper."

It is possible to go beyond this ample enumeration, but enough has been given to enable the reader to comprehend the many uses to which bamboo can be applied; hence, when a village is swept away by a storm or by a cyclone, the natives at once proceed to beg for bamboo, as the material which supplies nearly all their wants.

Whether the mass of the Indian people really—at heart—like their European fellow-subjects, is a matter difficult alike to consider and to touch upon. From Bishop Heber's journal we know that, in his days "a bullying, insolent manner" was too frequently adopted by Englishmen towards the natives; and at Agra he found that the French were generally regretted, because, "though oppressive and avaricious," their manners were more conciliating and popular than those of our countrymen; and the bishop tells us of a general officer who boasted that, "when his cook-boat lagged astern he always fired at it with ball." But within this century the old provincial and insular tone of the English character is much changed for the better: improved and developed by travel and friendly intercourse with the people of other lands. The French in India adapted themselves more readily to the new habits and customs of the people, and were less brusque in their manner than the English, who never forgot that they were conquerors, though they often dealt kindly with the natives and won their gratitude: and nowhere was this more nobly evinced than when Clive's sepoy, at the siege of Arcot, contented themselves with the rice-water, to the end that the British soldiers might, in that time of scarcity, obtain the solid rice as food. Apart from fanaticism and much of that inbred ferocity which we have had to detail, there can be little doubt that the natives of

India possess gratitude when kindly treated, and at times are ready to forgive unkindness; and it is impossible to forget how many European lives were saved during the Mutiny by the active gratitude of native servants.

The reports furnished during the years 1874 and 1875 prove by their statistics, in a satisfactory manner, the high value of the sanitary services of those who are engaged in the arduous duty of combating disease and death in British India.*

From these we learn that among the British troops the daily sick and annual deaths per 1,000, in 1874, were as follows:—Bengal, 58·7 and 14·62; Madras, 57·3 and 12·96; Bombay, 53·2 and 10·64; and the Indian army generally, 57·5 and 13·58; but the death-rate in each case was lower in the Madras army than that of any previous year. One explanation of this circumstance is, that in no year of which the statistics have been given did the European troops suffer so little from cholera as in 1874—the number of cases having only been twelve, and the deaths eleven. One-third of the cases of sickness were malarial fevers, which rarely proved fatal: the per-centage of deaths being, for Bengal 11·0, for Madras 17, for Bombay 76 per 1,000 men. There were many cases of enteric fever; but this disease is chiefly confined to young soldiers.

The military sanitary commission therefore urged that newly-arrived troops should be sent direct to the hills, which hitherto had been used as a sanitarium for those regiments which had become debilitated by long service in the plains. The fact is, that soldiers die from the seeds of diseases brought from the latter, and not by infection caught in the hills; hence, upon the principle that prevention is better than cure, it was deemed desirable that every new regiment should spend its first season among them, especially during the hotter terms of the Indian year.

An examination of the statistics of enteric fever among the European troops in 1874 unfolded some very curious facts; and from which it would appear that enteric fever "is four-and-a-half-fold more frequent among men than among women and children, and that the death-rate among the men is nearly three-fold what it is among officers and women, and about four-fold what it is among children." The figures, as shown in the statistics for 1874, point stringently to the necessity for sending our newly-arrived regiments direct to the hills. The rate per 1,000 in the army generally was:—enteric fever, or disease of the intestines, 170;

* "Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1874-5, together with Miscellaneous Information up to June, 1875," vol. viii., presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

dysentery, 1'23; hepatices, 2'16; apoplexy, '95; and all other causes, 13'58. In corps newly landed, the ratios were—enteric fever, 10'17; dysentery, 2'03; hepatices, 2'80; apoplexy, 2'80; all causes, 26'18. To appreciate the mortality in the European army during 1874, it is necessary to institute a comparison with that of preceding years. Thus, it would appear that on taking the ratio per 1,000 of all the deaths in the European troops, the rate, in 1871, was 17'53; in 1872, 24'21; in 1873, 15'30; in 1874, 13'58. While taking the decennial period from 1860 to 1869, including both years, the maximum was:—in Bengal, 45'93 in 1861; in Madras, the lowest was in the same year, and amounted to 16'3; and in Bombay it was the greatest—*i.e.*, 35'1 in 1865. The deaths from consumption and lung-diseases were considerable among the troops invalided in 1874; and during the years 1871-1874 there were 907 men invalided on account of phthisis. From the statistics in these Reports, it was rendered pretty evident that many of the deaths from chest-diseases among our Indian invalids might be prevented. They were generally landed in Britain at an inclement season of year, after being employed in washing decks, &c., on the voyage home, sometimes thrice daily, while taken straight from the burning heat of the Red Sea into the keen winds of the British Channel.

The death-rate among European soldiers' children in India was heavy in the years referred to. In 1871 the mortality per 1,000 children was 74'21; in 1872, 99'08; and in 1873, 60'29. During the seven years, 1868-74, the average mortality in the plains was 94'68, and on the hills, 66'13—facts which pointed to the necessity for sending to the hills every hot season as many young children as possible, and also to the claim which Sir John Lawrence's asylum has on the Indian Government and private benevolence.

The Surgeon-General at Bombay admitted "that a large proportion of the mortality of children under two years of age is preventible, being caused by improper feeding; and thus an allowance of good genuine milk should, by regimental surgeons, be secured for them." But from these Reports, the melancholy fact is evident that in India a very small proportion of soldiers' children ever reach maturity.

Singular to say, the mortality in the native army is not much less than among Her Majesty's troops. The deaths among the sepoys during 1874 were, per 1,000 men, as follows:—In Bengal, 13'1; in Bombay, 10'9; in Madras, 9'8; the mortality in the different presidencies being, for European soldiers, Bengal, 14'62; Bombay, 10'64; and in Madras, 12'96. Our Mussulman soldiers are found

to be the most athletic and healthy; and the Hindoos the least. The health of the troops in the Central India force was announced to be the best; that of those on the Punjab frontier the worst; and in the hospitals everywhere, the most important item in the total of admission was malarial fever, induced, perhaps, by the accommodation provided. "That for the Bengal army consists mostly of rude huts, whose floors are on a level with the ground, and which are built with little regard to sanitary principles. These huts are, moreover, in some cases, overcrowded. . . . No change of any importance took place during the year (1874) with regard to the drainage of military stations and sepoy lines. The system is everywhere one of surface and open drains, and subsoil drainage has nowhere been attempted."

The Report tells us that improvements had taken place during the same year in the cantonments of the Madras army, the lines of which are generally stated "to be kept as clean as it is possible to maintain them; but there are inherent defects in many which cannot be removed without an expense which is beyond the limited means of the sepoy, and but little real improvement can be effected until Government is in a position to undertake the responsibility of building quarters for the native troops."

The Report also asserts that the sepoy is in the habit of actually starving himself to maintain his family: for, though the Madras sepoy alone is generally accompanied by his wife and children, those of the other two presidencies remit all they can save to their native villages. "The Surgeon-General suggests that, as milk enters so largely into the diet of the sepoy and his family, a portion of ground in the vicinity of the lines should be allotted to the grazing of the cattle from which the milk is obtained, the animals being kept in the bazaar lines under proper surveillance. The care of the cattle has an important bearing upon health, as even drinking from stagnant pools affects their milk."*

The health statistics of the general population for 1874 are summarised thus:—The registered death-rates in the selected areas of Bengal averaged 24'72 per 1,000, or 28'51 for the town and 21'20 for the rural areas. The mortality was quoted during the "drying months"—October, November, December, and January—and less during the wet season—comprising June, July, August, and September; but least of all in the dry months of February, March, April, and May.

* "Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1874-5, together with Miscellaneous Information up to June, 1876," vol. viii., presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

As regards contagion in cholera, the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal remarks:—"I know of no instance of attendants on cholera cases contracting the disease, though I do not think such a thing impossible. Quarantine has never prevented cholera entering any country; and it is well it is impossible, for it would stop commerce and all other intercourse between India and other nations to carry it out effectually. The fact is, that intercourse has increased with the rapidity of communication, and that cholera has decreased is pretty good proof that human intercourse is not the chief cause of the spread of that disease." It would appear that, year by year, according to the Army Sanitary Commission, "as the various questions regarding Indian cholera are submitted to the test of observation and experience, the less mystery there is upon the subject. Up to the present time, there is little to report on our knowledge of the intimate nature of cholera; but so far as practical action can be adopted in mitigating outbreaks of the disease, every year's experience teaches the same lesson: that filth in air, earth, or water must take a chief place among removable causes of this deadly pestilence."

The internal trade of India is largely conducted by boats upon the great rivers—the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Indus; and prior to the introduction of the railways, by land-carriers, travelling merchants, and at fairs. Major Rennel, in his time, estimated the number of boats employed on the Ganges at 30,000; but an official report records, that there passed one point of the river—Sahibgunge—during 1872, no less than 43,000 boats, of different sizes, at the rate of 100 per day during the first half of the year, and 140 per day during the second.

The Ganges (*i.e.*, Ganga, or "the river")—which the Hindoo believes to be the eldest daughter of the great mountain Himavata, and issuing from the root of the Bujputra-tree, to flow direct from heaven—is navigable throughout the year for small boats to the very foot of the Himalayas, and for six months for boats of a larger size; but from Patna to Calcutta, where the navigation resembles that of the sea, both from the breadth of the mighty stream and the storms that arise, it is necessary to employ strong craft of 100 tons and upwards. Between Calcutta and the sea, among the shallows, the boats are used without keels. Those on the Indus are flat-bottomed, square at stem and stern, low forward and high aft, are propelled by poles, and occasionally by sails, when the wind serves. Their construction is cheap and simple; and the boatmen receive only sufficient wages to afford them a little salt, tobacco, and clothing, while grain is supplied

them for food. By the inland navigation in Hindostan proper, salt, grain, cotton, and manufactured goods are bartered; and the number of boatmen employed on the rivers of Bengal and Behar far exceeds 300,000.

The Bengalee boat, says Bishop Heber, "is decked over, throughout its entire length, with bamboo, and on this is erected a low, light fabric of bamboo and straw, exactly like a small cabin without a chimney: here the passengers sit and sleep; and here, if it be intended for a cooking-boat, are one or two such ranges of brickwork like English hot hearths, but not rising more than a few inches above the deck, with small, round, sugar-loaf holes, like those in a lime-kiln, adapted for dressing victuals with charcoal. As the roof of this apartment is by far too fragile for men to stand or sit on, and as the apartment itself takes up nearly two-thirds of the vessel, upright bamboos are fixed by its side, which support a kind of grating of the same material immediately above the roof, on which, to the height probably of six or eight feet above the surface of the water, the boatmen sit or stand to work the vessel. They have for oars long bamboos, with circular boards at the end, a longer one of the same sort to steer with, a long, rough bamboo for a mast, and one, or sometimes two, sails of a square form (or rather broader above than below), of coarse and flimsy canvas. Nothing can seem more clumsy or dangerous than these boats. Dangerous I believe they are; but with a fair wind they sail over the water merrily."

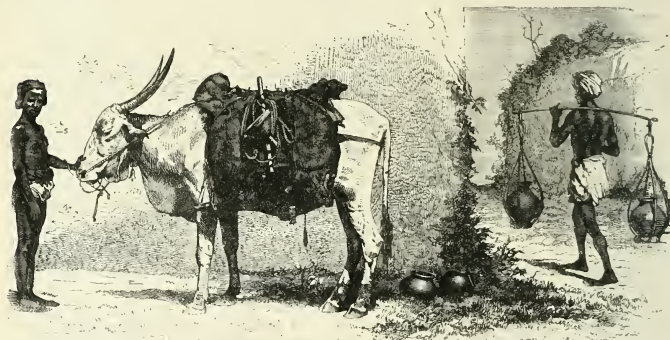
The budgerows of passage-boats are accompanied by a luggage or cooking-boat, and a dinghee for communication with the shore. The voyage from Calcutta to Allahabad used to occupy between two and three months, and, in consequence of the obstacles to upward navigation of the river, many articles were unattainable in the upper provinces, till Lord William Bentinck adopted measures for giving the rivers of India their present advantages of steam navigation. In 1832, four iron steamers, of sixty tons each, drawing two feet water, were constructed in London, and launched on the Ganges to ply between Calcutta and Allahabad. Then, and for years before, ships on arriving in the Hooghley were generally three weeks in working up to Calcutta, and the miasmatic swamp proved the grave of many a European in the interval. Now the arrival of a ship is announced by telegraph; a steamer comes down the river, or may be awaiting at its mouth, and she is quickly towed clear of the region of death, and, instead of three weeks, in three days may let go her anchor off "The City of Palaces."

Apart from the railways in the present day, land carriage is performed by oxen, buffaloes, elephants, and sometimes by horses; but wheeled vehicles are seldom used. The proprietors of the cattle are generally the owners of the merchandise, and act as their own drivers. Food is obtained without expense by the wayside; but where buffaloes are employed grain is necessary. The articles of merchandise which are thus transported are cotton, tobacco, sugar, betel-nut, grain, and salt.

There is a wandering tribe of carriers in the Deccan called Lomballies, who interchange the commodities of that part of Hindostan for those of

or travelling merchants, resemble the old Scottish chapmen; they deal in muslins and cottons, &c., and come in great numbers from Goojerat to Bombay. They are distinguished by a red turban, shaped in front like the horn of a rhinoceros, and are chiefly Hindoos, though some are Moham-medans. They are generally rich, and have a stationary as well as itinerant business. When travelling they are attended by coolies, who bear their bales of merchandise.

In addition to these are the Borahs, or petty chapmen, who perambulate the country with a variety of small and cheap articles in their boxes or wallets. For the India and Cabul trade the



THE BHISTIS, OR WATER-CARRIER.

Bengal and the adjacent provinces. There are also itinerant grain-dealers, named the Vanjarrahs, in the Mahratta countries—a singular race of people, who travel in large parties with their grain on bullocks, and who occasionally become stationary and apply themselves to husbandry. The Banians,

chief carriers are the Lohanis, a tribe located between Ghuznee and the Indus. They import spices, shawls, brocades, calicoes, muslins, and chintzes; but to glance further at the social life of India, even in the present day, would far exceed the limit of an ordinary chapter.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AT BOMBAY, POONAH, BARODA, CEYLON, AND TRICHINOPOLY.

AT four o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th of November, the Prince of Wales—whose movements we shall detail briefly in chronological order with other events—landed from the *Serapis* at Bombay,

where he was received by the governor of that presidency, Sir Philip Wodehouse, K.C.B., and Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy. The fleet which accompanied him consisted of thirteen vessels of



THE MAHARAJAH OF OODEYPORE AND THE BRITISH RESIDENT.

war, including two turret-ships, the *Abyssinia* and *Magdala*. One portion of it had been drawn up in a double line, and around its inner end the remainder were anchored in the form of a crescent. H.M. ship *Undaunted* bore the flag of Admiral Macdonald, Commander-in-chief on the East India station.

In the harbour were about two hundred ships, all decked with colours, presenting a gay spectacle; and as the *Serapis* steamed in, the yards of the fleet were manned, and loud British cheers rang on every side; then as she entered the sea-way formed by the double line of stately war-ships, their cannon thundered in a salute, while those of the land battery at the Apollo Bunder joined. The lively day there had been bustle and excitement in

Bombay. All the house-tops commanding a view of the sea had been crowded; so had the beautiful Malabar Hill, dotted with white dwellings and covered with brilliant foliage; all day had crowds of people been hurrying towards the dockyard, on foot, or in every imaginable kind of vehicle, including bullock-gharries, with their jingling bells and flowing sun-curtains; while Europeans, Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees, all in parti-coloured and varied costumes, kept pouring towards the fort; and the one thoroughfare which led thereto from Colaba was literally filled by a living tide, whose excitement was indescribable, when the saluting cannon announced that the Prince had arrived, and in a little time would tread the soil of India.

The light breeze wafted away the smoke, the sky was bright and blue, and the royal visitor could be distinctly seen, in his scarlet uniform, standing on the poop of the white *Serapis*, which, when the salute was over, dropped anchor alongside of the *Osborne* and *Euphrates* transport; while all around the harbour seemed alive with dhows, having flags at their mast-heads, and filled with excited and noisy natives.

In landing, the royal barge had to pass through a double line of ship's boats, moored between the jetty and the *Serapis*; and on stepping ashore the Prince was received as we have said, but under a triumphal arch of evergreens and flags, on each side of which were rows of seats. That on the right was set apart for the members of the Council of Bombay, and that on the left for the members of the municipality. On one side, next to these, were the Rajah of Kutch and the young Guicowar of Baroda; on the other were the Rajahs of Kolapore and Marwar, with Sir Salar Jung, representative of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Some sixty other princes and chiefs, all resplendent in costume and arms, glittering with pearls and cloth of gold, with many European ladies, had seats allotted to them round the amphitheatre, where the guard of honour was furnished by the 7th Royal Fusiliers; and the moment the Prince stepped ashore the tidings were telegraphed to every fortress in India, that one simultaneous salute of welcome might be fired over the whole length and breadth of the mighty peninsula.

Together with his field-marshal's uniform, the Prince wore a white helmet and plume, with a scarlet scarf; and after replying to the address of the corporation, proceeded along the central passage of the landing-stage or amphitheatre, shaking hands with the native princes, and addressing some well-chosen words to each—complimenting the Rajah of Kolapore on his accomplishments in English, the Maharajah of Oodeypore on his old and warlike lineage; nor was the little boy-King of Baroda forgotten. Then here occurred a pretty Indian ceremony, performed by twelve graceful-looking Hindoo girls of the Alexandra Institution. They were brilliantly attired in loose satin dresses of yellow, blue, and pink, and bore little baskets of rare flowers, which they held with one hand above the head of the Prince as he was about to enter his carriage. Then each said: "I would gladly give up my life for thy safety," and strewed the flowers in his path, after the mode of the Hindoo and Parsee women when a bridegroom stands on the threshold of his bride; at this picturesque incident the Prince seemed both sur-

prised and pleased. He was then driven, with Lord Northbrook, towards Government House, which was anciently a monastery of the Portuguese Jesuits, and stands at Parell, four miles from Bombay; but many magnificent additions have been made to the original edifice, which was held by the Company of Jesus until 1720.

The 3rd Hussars, in their white pith helmets, headed the long and brilliant procession, which was closed by a squadron of the Bombay Lancers. During the five miles' drive the line of the procession was described as one of extraordinary interest. "On each hand were dense throngs of natives, not in the cold grey dresses to which we are accustomed in England, but in the picturesque white costumes of the East. Here and there in the white mass was the dark robe of some Parsee, who affects a soberer colour than the majority of his race. On each side of His Royal Highness was a sea of red turbans of many shapes, five miles long, from the dockyard to Parell, broken only by the white, close-wrapped turbans of some group of Mohammedans, or the peculiar and unshapely conical head-gear of the Parsee. In the native town the police, who kept the route, formed—with their dark blue dresses, massive belts, and yellow turbans—a striking contrast to the background of white which filled the footpaths and every window and shop-front. Native ladies did not disdain to be present in the crowd, and their brilliant gold and silver embroidered garments added to the gorgeous variety of the spectacle which greeted His Royal Highness's eyes. On the other hand, viewing the procession from the spectator's point of view, it was but a passing glimpse that any one could have, either of the Prince or of any of the native chiefs who had come to Bombay to do honour unto their future lord."

On the 9th of November the Prince held his birthday levee in the reception-room of Government House, on a stately throne, behind which stood his attendants, clad in scarlet, with Prince of Wales's plumes embroidered on breast and turban, and holding those mystic emblems of Indian royalty, the *moorchuls* and *purhooa*; the former being fans of peacocks' tails, and the latter fly-flappers, made of feathers of the hooma bird, studded with precious stones. At the arrival and departure of the native princes, salutes of cannon were fired in accordance with their relative rank. Thus, the young Maharajah of Mysore was entitled to twenty-one guns; he of Oodeypore, though highest in pride of race, could claim but nineteen guns; and Sir Salar Jung had seventeen. Each prince was attended by from six to nine of his chief

nobles, with the political Resident at his court; and each of their attendant sirdirs, according to Oriental custom, offered a *nuzzur*, or present of five gold mohurs, to the Prince, upon a folded handkerchief laid upon the hands placed together. These were, of course, remitted, being simply touched by the Prince in token of recognition.

The ceremony of Attar and Pan was then performed, when betel-nut is presented, but not put into the mouth, and attar of roses is sprinkled. In each case the Prince of Wales presented the attar and pan to the rajahs, after which, Major Henderson, the officer on duty, did so to the attendant sirdirs; for all things in India are governed by the strict law of precedence.

On this day the Prince of Oodeypore was remarkable among the gorgeous costumes around him for the simplicity of his dress, which was entirely composed of snow-white cotton. Rajpoot-like, his shield was slung upon his back by a gold belt, and on being presented to his future sovereign he held his native tulwar in his hand. He was a young man, dark even for a native of India, with a dull pace and backward manner, that made him hang in the rear of his own followers, all of whom were richly dressed. The alleged descendant of Rama, he is the greatest of all the Rajpoot princes, and possesses a territory having more than 1,200,000 souls.

The illuminations of Bombay on this night exceeded anything that had ever been witnessed there before. Anchored on the placid waters, under the clear Indian sky, the main-decks of our war-ships were literally ablaze with countless fires of many colours, which glared through the portholes, while aloft the yard-arms were coloured with burning lights. Showers of rockets curved through the sky, to fall downward in innumerable cascades or sheets of sparks; and from all the merchant shipping flashed fires of every hue, with showers of ascending rockets. The entire harbour was one blaze of rainbow-hued light; while on the fort and elsewhere oil lamps traced out the features of the buildings with that effect which is so striking in all Oriental illuminations; and but for its unparalleled grandeur, the scene would have been a weird one; and on his return to Government House, after beholding it, the Prince said: "He had always wished to see India, and he should never forget his thirty-fourth birthday, passed in a city of that great empire of the Queen."

On the 10th, after returning the visits of the native princes, he attended an open-air treat given to 11,000 native children, in the oval meadow near the Government offices, and was greeted by a compliment peculiarly graceful and novel.

A Parsee girl, chosen for her rare beauty, and named Miss Ardaseer Wadia, approached the Prince and Sir Philip Wodehouse, laden with wreaths of jasmine. One of these she held before the former, who, mistaking her intention, took it in his hand; but Sir Philip, more experienced in local customs, bowed, and permitted her to place it round his neck. The garlanding of the Prince then followed. She then presented him with a bouquet of roses and yellow Christmas flowers; after which, the Hindoo girls in Mahratta, and the Parsee girls in the language of Goojerat, sang an anthem in his praise, with fervent wishes for his happiness.

The 11th was deemed a kind of naval festival, when the Prince visited an enormous marquee erected on the Esplanade, where upwards of 2,000 seamen, marines, and soldiers were banqueted, and won all their hearts by his genial address, by moving among them, and drinking their healths. He afterwards inaugurated the Sailors' Home, and laid the foundation-stone of the Elphinstone Dock.

The former was an institution commenced in honour of Prince Alfred's Indian visit, and much generosity was exhibited by the native princes on that occasion: the Guicowar of Baroda gave £20,000; while, as it is the custom of wealthy Indians to commemorate great occasions by acts of munificence and charity, in honour of Prince Alfred's visit, the Rao of Kutch set aside £15,000 for the endowment of schools throughout his dominions; Sir A. D. Sassoon gave £10,000 for the erection of a high school in Bombay; the Chief of Jum Khundee gave £10,000 more for the construction of reservoirs; the Princes of Joonaghur and Bhownuggur gave each the same sum for public works; and many other princes were equally lavish in their generosity.

In laying the foundation of the dock, in addition to the European Masonic lodges, the Prince was attended by various others, who wore the usual insignia, sashes, aprons, &c., over Parsee, Hindoo, and Mohammedan dresses; and his chief assistant was Captain Morland, Grand Master of all Scottish Freemasonry in India. On the 12th, Sir Philip Wodehouse, with a brilliant party of some hundreds, entertained the Prince by a visit to the famous caves of Elephanta on the isle, which lies five miles distant from Bombay, and which the four steamers conveying the party reached about sunset. These ancient rock-hewn temples are approached by a steep ascent, for half a mile through rocks, trees, and tropical plants, from the landing-place; and the whole excavation is supposed to have been dedicated to Siva.*

* Trans. Bombay Lit. Soc., 1820.

Elephanta lies among the group of isles that shelter the harbour, and consists of two hills, covered with trees, creepers, and brushwood, abounding in snakes. Near the landing-place is the figure of an elephant, the size of life, hewn out of a rock, which, probably, gave its name to the island; that by which the natives distinguish it being very different. A long stair, hewn, like all the rest of the edifice, out of the living rock, leads to a terrace, from which opens the grim, black interior of the mysterious temple, overhung by mighty weeds of tropical growth. Long tiers of squat columns, elaborately carved, support the flat roof, under which the brightest daylight quickly fades away into artificial evening and then darkness: though for a space the eye can discern the monstrous figures of gigantic gods and goddesses, till at the extremity of the great arcade it may trace out, looming, a colossal bust of the three-faced god of Bhudda, hewn of grey stone out of the side of the mountain, filling the whole place with an oppressive sense of mystery by the changeless aspect of those three great visages, each of which measures seven feet from eye to chin.

Fifteen feet in height, this central figure represents Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer; the faces of the two first are mild and solemn, but that of Siva is very different: "severity and revenge, characteristic of his destroying attribute, are strongly depicted; one of the hands embraces a large cobra di capello, while the other contains fruit, flowers, and blessings for mankind—the lotus and pomegranate are easily distinguished. The lotus, so often introduced in Hindoo mythology, forms the principal object in the sculpture and paintings in their temples, is the ornament of their sacred lake, and the most conspicuous beauty in their flowery sacrifices."*

Though much defaced by the iconoclasm of the Mohammedans and Portuguese, this wonderful temple still retains much of its original splendour; and was the singular place chosen in which to entertain the Prince of Wales. The Great Temple measures 130½ feet by 135 feet; the square pedestals of the pillars, which are ranged in alleys, measure thirty-two feet; and the columns and capitals are circular, and elaborately ornamented. In this extraordinary cave-temple, whose age and origin are unknown, was spread a stately feast, the tables being ranged close by the mighty effigies of the mythological triad; and when the pillared caverns were illuminated to their utmost recesses by red, blue, and green fire, the weird grandeur of the spectacle was beyond all description: the huge and fantastic

shapes of the monstrous idols appeared more preternatural in the glare of red and blue lights burning at each side. The raised table, occupied by the governor, the Prince, and about twenty other guests of rank, had the mighty visages of stone just behind and above their seats. On the right hand of the Prince, as he sat, was the hermaphrodite representation of Siva; on his left was the marriage of Siva with Parvati and the conflict between the former and the ten-headed god. "I am far from advocating Hindooism," says Forbes, "but I confess that a view of these excavations has often caused pious meditation, and filled my mind with awe, though I was surrounded by idols."* But the enjoyment of the company assembled there on the 12th of November was in no way marred by those terrible conceptions of Hindoo mythology.

The Prince of Wales, after visiting the great Hindoo Temple and Holy Tank at Walkeshwar, the Parsee Towers of Silence, and the Hindoo cremation-ground at Sonapore, visited Poonah by special train, and was received by the whole garrison, under Major-General Lord Mark Kerr, and, escorted by a battery of artillery, the Poonah Horse, and governor's Body Guard, passed under a triumphal arch inscribed with Persian characters, and between platforms filled with European ladies and officials and the leading Parsee and Mohammedan inhabitants, whose address of welcome was presented in a silver casket by Khan Bahadoor Pestoorjee, member of the Legislative Council. Poonah—though still full of brahmins and of Mahrattas, who yet speak with pride and regret of the glory of Sevajee, and how, on the adjacent field of Kirkee, fell the honour of the last of the Peishwas—welcomed the Prince with enthusiasm. A procession, which passed between a dense crowd of natives in white robes with head-dresses of every colour, and countless women and half-naked children, conducted him to Gunesh Kind (a palatial residence erected by Sir Seymour Fitzgerald); and when evening fell the fires of welcome burst forth on all the adjacent heights, and from the windows could be seen the distant city, glittering with lamps, torches, and bonfires, Parvatis Hill and Temple rising high in the air over all. This place the Prince visited on the following day, at the cool and bracing hour of six a.m., ascending to the temple on an elephant, up the long and fatiguing flight of several hundred stone steps, all of which are laid upon a slope, and some of which are eight feet in height, and all worn slippery by the feet of pilgrims. In the court of the temple stands a figure of the sacred bull; beyond it, in the gloom of the fane, stands the gro-

* Forbes's "Oriental Memoirs." London, 1810.

* Ibid.

tesque image of Siva, before which at least 2,000 heads are bowed in worship daily. Around were seen the chapels of the gods of Wisdom, Love, and Light, and of Parbutty, the wife of Siva. Below, in the morning haze, stretched the field of Kirkee.

After returning to Bombay, on the 17th of November, the Prince presented new colours to the 21st Native Infantry or Marine Battalion, in presence of the entire garrison; after which he begged Colonel Carnegie, commanding, to give him possession of the old colours (pale yellow, inscribed *Hyderabad*), that he might give their sun-scorched remnants a prominent place in his house at Sandringham. Among many other incidents, such as a performance by snake-charmers, not the least remarkable was a visit paid him by Aga Khan, of one of the best Persian families in British India, and who is lineally descended from Hassan-ben-Sahib, founder, in 1090, of the fierce sect of the Assassins; and the same terrible "old man of the mountain" who played his part in the time of the Crusades, and disposed so summarily of the Marquis of Montserrat and Louis of Bavaria. But it is said that "a more peaceful citizen does not now live in Bombay than the respected representative of the Assassins, who has retained nothing of the old Syrian instincts except the passion for a desert-bred barb."

On the 19th of November, His Royal Highness visited the Government of the Guicowar at Baroda—that boy prince whose succession has been elsewhere detailed, and was received by the able Minister, Sir Madhava Rao. The journey of 260 miles from Bombay was performed by a night-train. The 83rd Regiment, the Bombay Lancers 3rd Hussars, and other corps, formed the guard and escort on the arrival of the Prince, who was received by the Guicowar, who placed him on a gorgeously caparisoned and painted elephant, the howdah of which was solid gold, while the bands played, and the cannon pealed their salute. In front was a line of elephants, all kneeling, and the suite followed on others when the procession was formed. The entire road to the Residency, for a mile and a half, was decorated with garlands of flowers. Most picturesque was the pageant. First went footmen in white and scarlet costumes, carrying spears and banners; others in scarlet and white, bearing fluttering bannerets; and then marshal-men on horseback. A state umbrella was held over the Prince's head, while on each side of him men waved feather fans and yaks' tails. Indian cavalry lined the way; while mounted land-holders, lancers, matchlockmen, mounted Indian bands, and the troopers of Baroda, made up the triumphal march. At the

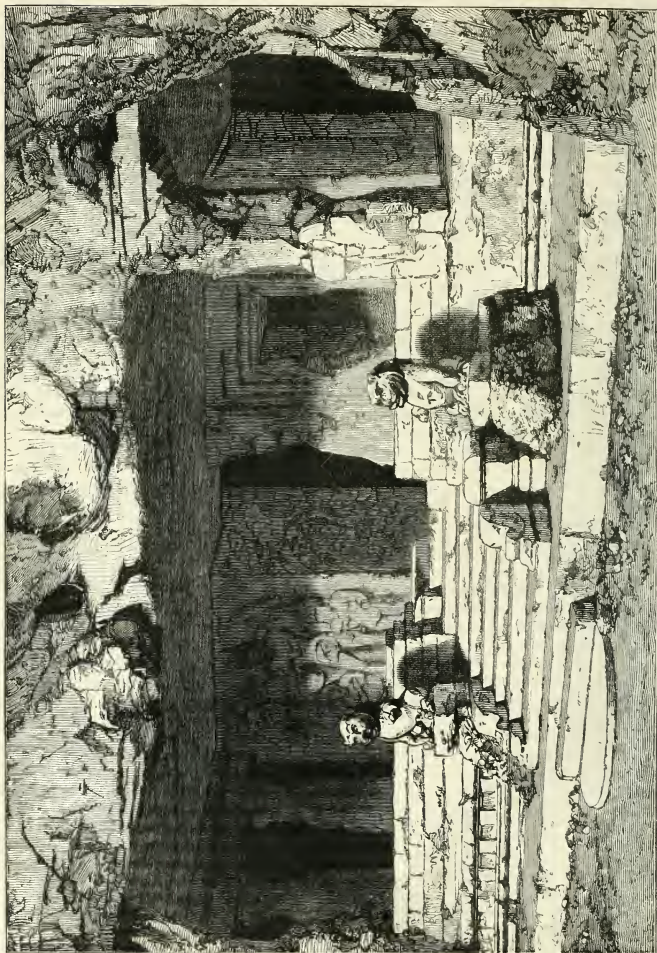
entrance of the Residency were four native chariots, entirely formed of gold and silver, drawn by oxen with gilded horns; a royal salute was fired, the Prince's standard hoisted, as he led the young Guicowar up to the reception-hall, which the latter soon after quitted for his own palace.

In the afternoon, the Prince, to return the visit, drove to the Mooteebagh, through streets lined by soldiers without arms and by police; and a most exciting entertainment was provided for him, including wrestlers and combats between elephants, rhinoceroses and buffaloes, tigers, rams, and camels. For the elephant fight proper, the contending pairs were carefully trained and prepared beforehand with stimulating food and certain drugs; pitted against each other, the vast animals were seen to charge like mountains rolling together, their huge tusks to clash and ring, while their great feet raised the dust in clouds and tore up the earth as they rose erect against each other, and each flourished his great proboscis in the air. In these conflicts, sometimes a weak elephant is forced to the earth, and gored or stamped on till he dies; but, provided the tusks have not been tipped with pointed steel, they generally live to fight again and again.

In the demesne of the Muckwanpoora Palace, eight miles from Baroda, a hunting party was made. The Prince went by rail, and found the elephants, carts, horses, and shikarees already on the ground. "The Prince first examined the cheetahs—hunting leopards or cats, with hooded eyes—they purred like cats, and were five in number. The Prince then mounted an ox-cart with the Duke of Sutherland, and the rest of the suite followed on similar vehicles, which are intended to permit the sportsman to approach the black buck, who are accustomed to see such vehicles traversing the country. These carts were, however, too highly ornamented, and the *cortège* was much too large. The officials', special correspondents', &c., line of carts, drove across the plains of cotton grass, which were very picturesque. The elephants and tamars were halted in the rear."* Herds of the wild black buck began to appear, and one was nearly pulled down by a cheetah after a 500 yards' run, but escaped. Ere long it overtook and pulled down another, the blood of which was given to the other cheetahs, and soon two more of the deer were killed; but, though the sun was very hot now, the Prince preferred the use of his rifle.

On the evening of Sunday, the 21st, he again visited the ancient palace of the Guicowar, the way to which was brilliantly lighted by Chinese lanterns in double lines, suspended from bamboos, while every house was ablaze with blue-lights and fire-pots.

* *Times*, Nov., 1875.



VIEW OF THE LIONS' CAVE, ELEPHANTA.

At intervals were bodies of Horse and Foot. Men in most fantastic costumes stood upon the bridges. "Their faces were painted chalky white; they wore wigs of scarlet ribbed with gold and robes of tissue tinselled; their hair was powdered and dressed fantastically, or drooping over wan faces with

the 25th of November for Colombo in Ceylon; prior to visiting which, he stopped, on the 27th, at Goa, that famous old settlement of the Portuguese which was ours from 1807 till the year of Waterloo, and is now a quiet and decayed little place, the centre of a peculiar caste known in India as the Goanese



PORTRAIT OF H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

piercing black eyes. Those figures were grouped on stands along the road also, and were brilliantly lighted up; but the general effect was distressing and unhealthy. The whole city turned out; and the lights on masses of white clothed figures produced combinations which would drive an artist to despair.*

After leaving Baroda, the Prince once more embarked on board the *Scrapis*, which left Bombay on

* *Times*, Nov., 1875.

—a mixed breed of Portuguese, Hindoo, and African, and are darker in hue than any other natives of Hindostan. The Viceroy came off in an eighteen-oared galley of somewhat ancient fashion, with a tiny poop; his rowers wore conical scarlet hats with antique silver plaques, and conveyed the Prince to the pier, when a salute was fired, and he was received by the municipality, the priesthood, and the garrison, while all around the jetty were "gay little steam barges, in their panoply of royal

blue paint and gilding, with silken canopies and ensigns that hung on the skirts of the *May Frere* in her coat of white, and harmoniously enriched the colours of a natural picture—magnificent even in its ordinary and unadorned loveliness.”

Between lines of sepoys and other Portuguese troops the Prince was conducted to the palace, from whence he set forth to view the ancient monuments of Goa, its quays, arsenals, and Government buildings—all in ruin now. Convents, churches, and crumbling palaces crown the heights; the shores are rich yet with cocoa-nut palms, and dense woods clothe the background; but from “Goa the Golden” the glory has departed. The Prince visited the ancient gateway of Vasco da Gama, under which every Viceroy of Goa must pass; the Palace of the Inquisition, and the Cathedral of St. Catherine—which is worthy of the greatest European city—and the Church of St. Gaetano, which is built after the fashion of St. Peter’s at Rome. In litters, called *mancheels*, he and his suite then visited the Church of St. Dominic, which is decorated by paintings of the Italian masters, and wherein lies the shrine of St. Francis Xavier. After examining the marble altar, gifted by a Grand Duke of Tuscany, the solid gold and silver altar-vessels, and quaint cabinets—particularly the oyster-shell films that fill the windows in lieu of glass—he returned to Panjim, the business-place of Goa, and re-embarked on board the *Serapis*, from which he landed at Colombo on the 1st of December.

Amid salutes from the fleet and shore the Prince was received by the Governor, the Right Hon. W. H. Gregory, and Major-General J. A. Street, C.B., and the municipality, and his procession through the town was one continuous triumph; but the chief feature of the arrival in Colombo was the display by water, when some strange old people had engaged drum and fife bands to play in their barges (most discordantly) loyal airs in various keys, and when, in the odd costumes of the Cingalese, “there were young ladies dressed like old men, and old men dressed like young ladies, seated under canopies of foliage, and placidly waiting for the Prince, who kept them for five hours, owing to unforeseen accidents and the wrong calculations of his suite; but there was nothing but goodwill and loyalty.”* The Prince was greatly impressed by the teeming vegetation of that wonderful isle, on the shores of which the bright blue sea rolls for ever in one long wave upon the golden sand, while the snowy surf is so dazzling in the sunshine that the eye can scarcely look upon it; where the cocoa-nut palms overhang the water, and at night are all sparkling with red fire-

flies; where the wooded hills inland, and the azure bay, wherein the diver hunts for pearls, and the forest, filled with a hundred different kinds of timber, from white satin to sable ebony, are all lovely to look upon—the former wood being so plentiful that the longest bridges are made of it—and over all the mighty talipot-tree, a single leaf of which makes a hut for the peasant and a tent for the soldier. The Prince, like his suite, saw with surprise the native men wearing chignons, semi-circular combs in their hair, long petticoats, and low shoes; and among them were seen old gentlemen adorned with discs, or torques of gold, given them as rewards for their good behaviour by successive Governors of Ceylon.

The Prince’s arrival at Kandy was the next important incident of his royal progress. At the railway station he was received by a guard of honour of Her Majesty’s 57th Regiment, and the band of the old (but now extinct) Ceylon Rifles, the officials, and the great Kandyan chiefs. “These last were marvels to behold,” says an eye-witness, “and their costume was most singular and gorgeous. Upon their heads they wore pincushion-shaped hats of about eighteen inches square. These were of white material so embroidered with gold that the ground was hardly visible. Upon the top were ornaments in a style which, for want of a better name, one would call Chinese. It consisted of a light golden stem some three inches long, from which branched, coming downward, a number of arms like the pendant balls on the top of a Chinese pagoda. From some of these branches hung little twinkling gold stars, while others terminated in small coloured puffs of floss silk. Round their necks they wore collars put on a plain band and pendant some six inches on the shoulders and back. These collars were all plaited, and most of them were finely embroidered with gold. Their jackets were made of superbly rich and stiff brocaded silk. These jackets were made to rise and stick sharply out at each shoulder, exactly as I have seen in certain specimens of old armour. No two out of the twenty chiefs present had the same pattern or coloured brocade. Underneath the jacket was a white garment, but this was scarcely shown through the massive gold chain which they wore round their necks; while round the waist was a broad embroidered gold belt. But the lower garments were even more extraordinary than the upper; they consisted of masses of muslin folds, giving them the appearance of enormous swollen bellies. In the bulge in front were stuck two or three daggers. The muslins were in all cases very fine, and were white, with a broad stripe round what would have been the

* *Daily Telegraph.*

bottom had not the front part been somehow looped up; beneath were white calico drawers with a frill round the ankle. Below all came the naked foot. Upon their fingers were rings with an immense amount of jewels. Some of the faces of the rings were like small targets: one I saw being more than two inches in diameter, with concentric circles of various kinds of stones. Most of these chiefs were portly in person, and, putting aside the addition due to these skirts, of graceful and pleasant aspect.**

At the knighting of the governor, on the evening of the 3rd of December, in the hall of the old Kandyan kings, in addition to the members of the British colony and the "burghers," who crowded near the Prince's throne—which was an ebony chair, canopied with crimson silk—there was a throng of Kandyans Ratamahatmeyas, in their gorgeous but uncouth costumes. The twenty chiefs formed a semi-circle, and their interpreter, resplendent in blue, gold, and tortoiseshell, rendered to them the gracious remarks of the Prince. They were then presented in fours by the officers in charge of their respective districts; this concluded the ceremony; and the Prince walked down the line of Kandyan ladies, shaking hands with the wives of the chiefs, and saying to each a word or two, which, of course, was unintelligible to them.

The Prince now visited the Dalada Maligawa, or Sacred Tooth of Buddha, which is held in such extreme veneration by the people of Ceylon; and it was fortunate that the temple containing it was within the precincts of the palace, as a storm had burst in all its tropical fury, and the rain was falling as it falls only in Ceylon. Through close ranks of hundreds of Buddhist priests, all clad in robes of yellow silk, with shaven heads and right arms bare, the Prince went along the sacred corridor and up a flight of steps to the shrine, with twenty European attendants, into a little chamber eight feet square, gorgeously lit, but hung with heavy drapery; and the chief priest, after exhibiting many relics, jewellery, and precious stones, produced at last a gold casket covered with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires, the lid of which he raised slowly and with reverence, and therein was all that was mortal of the deity Gautama Buddha!

Saved out of the ashes when he was burned, it was, according to the legend, long kept in the palace of Kalinga—the old name of a kingdom of Madras, called Dantapoor, or "the City of the Tooth"—from whence it came to Kandy in the fourth century. As Buddha was twenty-seven feet in height, it is not surprising to find this dental bone one inch and a half in length, and much

browner than old ivory. Set in a glass pagoda, it is further secured by an iron cage having three keys, each of which has a guardian, and consequently it can only be seen in presence of the three. After this, the Prince was shown the largest emerald in the world, about four inches long and two deep, "in the form of a likeness of Buddha;" and then a sapphire as large as a walnut; receiving from the priests, at the same time, a copy of their sacred books; and so ended the visit to this wonderful tooth, for which a King of Siam offered a million sterling.

The ceremony of hearing the holy words of Buddha was to take place in the Octagon, a tower from whence the Kings of Kandy were wont to view their assembled subjects. It is an eight-sided apartment, opening on a verandah, seated in which the Prince could look down on the vast esplanade in the centre of the town, and on the people, massed in many, many thousands, waiting to see the public Perahera, or Procession of Elephants, though the rain was falling still, and effectually marred the ceremony (the antiquity of which extends beyond all historical certainty) by extinguishing the lanterns and torches; and the multitude dispersed, drenched to the skin.

On the 4th of December the Prince left Kandy for an elephant-shooting expedition in the dense jungle about Ruanwalla, near an old Dutch fort of that name; and the tidings that he had met with an accident created some consternation, from exaggeration of the facts, which were these:—The Prince advanced on a platform in the jungle, where seven elephants were hidden, and one of these was named "a rogue," from his charging propensities; and to ensure that he should fall by the royal rifle a number of beaters were sent to drive him past the crow's nest, from which the Prince eventually descended and entered the bush, accompanied by two shots of colonial celebrity. The Prince now wounded an elephant, which escaped with ease. The second chance was more successful; a fine one was brought down, and his tail presented as a trophy to His Highness; but the return journey to Ruanwalla was troublesome: the night was dark, and the native torches, far apart, with fire-flies, were the only lights to be seen. The governor's coachman upset the carriage, from which the Prince escaped unhurt, though covered with the *débris*, and was able to hold a levee next day at Colombo.*

On this occasion there was even a greater variety of costumes than at Kandy; there were, in addition to the old chiefs already described, the Buddhist priests, with Mohammedans, Hindoos,

* *Standard.*

* *Daily Telegraph.*

and Parsees, mingling with the Queen's officers of both services in full uniform. The Prince also saw a few of the Veddahs, to whom we have referred, in a previous part of this work, as slunning the rest of the population and secluding themselves in the wildest forests; and leaving Colombo on the 10th, in the *Serapis*, he crossed the Strait of Manaar, and arrived next day at Tuticorin, the most southerly part of India, in the presidency of Madras, long famed for its pearl fishery, and as being the first European settlement formed there by the Dutch, who ceded it to us in 1824.

On landing he was received by a guard of honour, detailed by the 89th Regiment, by Mr. Robinson—who had, in the interval between the death of Lord Hobart and the arrival of the Duke of Buckingham, been acting as Governor of Madras—and by immense crowds of natives, who had come in from all the villages for miles around to join the Europeans in the cry of welcome.

On the platform at Maniachi, eighteen miles from this place, stood a deputation of 6,000 native Christians of Tinnevely, a most interesting sight, including a large body of native clergy and catechists, to receive the Prince as he passed. With them were a considerable staff of English clergymen, agreeably typifying the perfect unanimity with which the great Church Societies labour for the evangelisation of India.

The same evening the Prince reached Madura, where, among other officials, he was received by Rajah Tondeman, the Prince of Poodocottah, with whom he visited the palace and the famous temple of the divinity Vellayadah, and was shown the golden lotus-tank, and taken round the gallery that skirts it to see the pictures of gods and temples that adorn the walls. The jewels of the temple were shown him, and the door of the "holy of holies" was for a time kept ajar. The guns of the temple were fired without cessation during his visit, and the dancing-girls incessantly showered flowers at his feet.

After visiting the Choultry of the Thousand Pillars, the Prince quitted Madura at two a.m.; and on the afternoon of the same day reached Trichinopoly, where the scene at the railway station was singular:—"A great crowd of natives are on the platform; there is an English guard of soldiers; outside are half-a-dozen camels, heavily laden with luggage; both in and out of the station are some singularly-attired sepoys in the pay of the Princess of Tanjore. These sepoys have huge chimney-pot hats, clumsily-painted black old matchlocks, green coats, no trowsers, and a few have boots. The band which accompanies them has the funniest collection of

old brass instruments, tom-toms, and pipes. They are all on the tiptoe of expectation, and drawn up in as good order as their notions of drill will permit." Then the Princess of Tanjore sent her carriage for his use; but as it was closed he preferred an open one, in which he drove to the bungalow of the local judge, which had been prepared for his reception, and where an address was given him in a silver casket, with a golden girdle from the ranee for the Princess of Wales. He then visited the grand Temple of Seringham, on the isle formed by the Coleroon and Canvery rivers, and to which we had to refer more than once in detailing our earlier wars in India.

On a table outside the temple were ranged the sacred ornaments of it for the Prince's inspection. These were of vast value, and consisted of gold vases and other vessels, and of precious stones in great variety, while twelve girls sang a nautch. They were all tinged in the face with a yellow cosmetic; their jetty hair was parted in the centre, brushed flatly and smoothly behind the ears, and tied with strings of pearls. On their arms and ankles were a profusion of tinkling bracelets and bangles. Passing a car and horses, all of stone and elaborately carved—which, according to the legend, fell from heaven and were then petrified—the Prince entered the Hall of the Thousand Pillars, and afterwards held a durbar in the palace of the ancient nawabs—an edifice long in ruins, but now repaired for the British law and revenue courts. Near it towers the precipitous rock of Trichinopoly, 500 feet in height, crowned by a great temple, above which rises a knob of rock holding a smaller fane, into which unbelievers are forbidden to enter, though from its apex floats the British flag; and as darkness fell, every point of rock and temple became available for one of those pyrotechnic displays in which all Orientals so much excel. "From the pagoda at the top of the rock Roman candles threw up a stream of coloured balls; while from several large round wicker-work basket-boats, floating in the great tank, men kept letting off water fireworks, which seemed to make the lake alive with frisky fire-demons. These were of various sorts. Some disappeared for a time, and then came up with a spurt of fire; others leaped from the water like fish; some of the great jets revolved in the water like huge fire-fountains; while others threw up great volumes of beautiful sparks for a few seconds, and then retired to repeat the performance in another portion of the tank." These water fireworks, with a new feature added by fiery cascades poured from the summit of the lofty rock-temple, were striking and grand.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AT MADRAS AND CALCUTTA.

ON the 14th of December a severe shock of an earthquake was reported at Bombay as having been felt at Lahore and throughout the whole district of Peshawur, when many lives were lost by the accidents that ensued.

A day before this—on the 13th—the Prince reached Madras at nine in the morning, and was received by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, the governor, and all the heads of departments, together with the Maharajah of Travancore, who was dressed in gold brocade, with a plume of white feathers in his turban, and the diamond star of a Grand Commander of the Star of India sparkling on his breast. The Prince of Arcot wore a similar plume; while the Princes of Cochin and Vizianagram (the latter wearing a bracelet composed of three great emeralds), and the Rajahs of Jeypore and Pittapore, with the Jaghirdir of Arnee, were present.

The President of the Municipal Commission read an address of welcome, after which the Prince drove to Government House, escorted by the 16th Royal Lancers. Two days after, he attended the steeplechases, and then laid the memorial stone of the new harbour works, which comprise two piers, running out 1,200 yards into the sea at 1,000 yards apart, and equidistant from the old pier, enclosing a still-water space of 170 acres, with a depth at low water of never less than three fathoms: the estimated expense being £565,000.

On this day the Madras boatmen skilfully built themselves little platforms, by striking their oars deep in the sand and lashing others across them; while some stood upon the surf-boats, from which they could get a view of the procession and the ceremony over the heads of those who lined the road. The Prince then visited old Fort St. George, in form a semi-circle, with its frontage 500 yards in length to the sea, but which, with all its demi-bastions, cavaliers, and lunettes, as a fortress, is out of fashion now.

On the following day the Princess of Tanjore visited the Prince at Government House. She was placed behind a screen, where were seated with her the Ladies Gore-Langton, Mary and Anne Greville, and others. Accompanied by two Indian nobles of rank, the Prince stood on the other side of the screen, and when she held out her hand—the only part of her person permitted to be seen—he shook it cordially, and placed upon her finger a handsome

ruby ring with “Albert Edward” enamelled round it.

On the evening of the 17th the Prince was taken to see that singular spectacle known as “the illumination of the surf.” The whole road therteto from Government House was illuminated, and the triumphal arches spanning it were masses of many-coloured lanterns. Fort St. George was lined with lamps, as were all the buildings within its ramparts; while from the end of the old pier the Prince had a view of the illuminations of the esplanade and the water fireworks. The latter consisted of magnificent flights of red roaring rockets from the pier and fleet, of pyramids of many-coloured fire shooting upward from boats and wave-tossed catamarans, with discharges into the snowy-boiling surf of fireworks similar to those that blazed on the life-buoys—blue lights which the water could not extinguish, and the united effect of which, in the long bank of seething foam, produced an effect alike superb and wonderful.

The fort, the buildings along the beach, the arches of lanterns, beyond which rose the steeples and columns of the city covered with lamps, formed a background worthy of a scene so striking; and on the south, near the mighty rollers from the Bay of Bengal, surf-boiling and bellowing up to the roadway, were natives in close rows with lurid torches and ghastly blue lights. Between the outer darkness and the dazzling beach, weird glimpses of the moon revealed the *Raleigh*, *Serapis*, and other warships at their anchorage; and after a grand flight of 190 enormous coloured rockets, the illumination faded out, and darkness lay on the beach of Madras.

After this the Prince attended a native entertainment, given in the great shed of the railway terminus at Rayapooram, which was tastefully transformed into a hall of wonderful elegance and brilliance, and where a native band, with violins, tom-toms, pipes, and conch-shells, played, in grotesque discordance, an air which was meant for “Bonnie Dundee.” Here an address was presented in a casket, which was a beautiful specimen of *swami* work in gold, the lid being surmounted by a tiger. Then followed the *kolattam*, or “plait dance,” performed by a troupe of dancing-girls, whose picturesque dress is described thus:—“Wreaths of jewels, chiefly pearls, encircled their heads; their long hair, encased in a thick covering of yellow silk crusted with jewels,

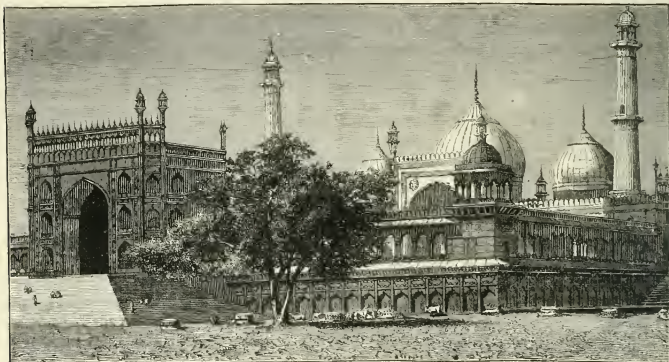
hung down in one coil to their waists. Heavy nose-rings of pearls scarcely, to unaccustomed European eyes, contributed to the enhancement of their beauty. They wore short jackets of embroidered silk in various colours. Their waists were girdled by a belt of elastic gold, supporting loose floating drapery of white muslin, with heavy borderings of gold, studded with jewels and bouquets of flowers. Around their necks hung great strings of pearls down on their bare bosoms; their wrists and ankles glittered with jewelled bangles."

One danced the *Gnyana*, a *pas seul* peculiar to the Carnatic; and the native music and singing continued until past three next morning, long after the

broken by the grass-grown ramparts and sloping glacis of old Fort William—a place of many stirring memories.

At the Ghaut, built by public subscription to commemorate the public worth of James Princep, and which has a magnificent flight of steps on the river front, the Prince landed. Splendidly was it decorated for the occasion, but the finest feature there was a column composed of 1,000 British seamen drawn from the men-of-war and merchant ships with the Union Jack flying over them.

When the various native princes came to that stately ghaut, although the names of each were familiar to the others, many had never met before,



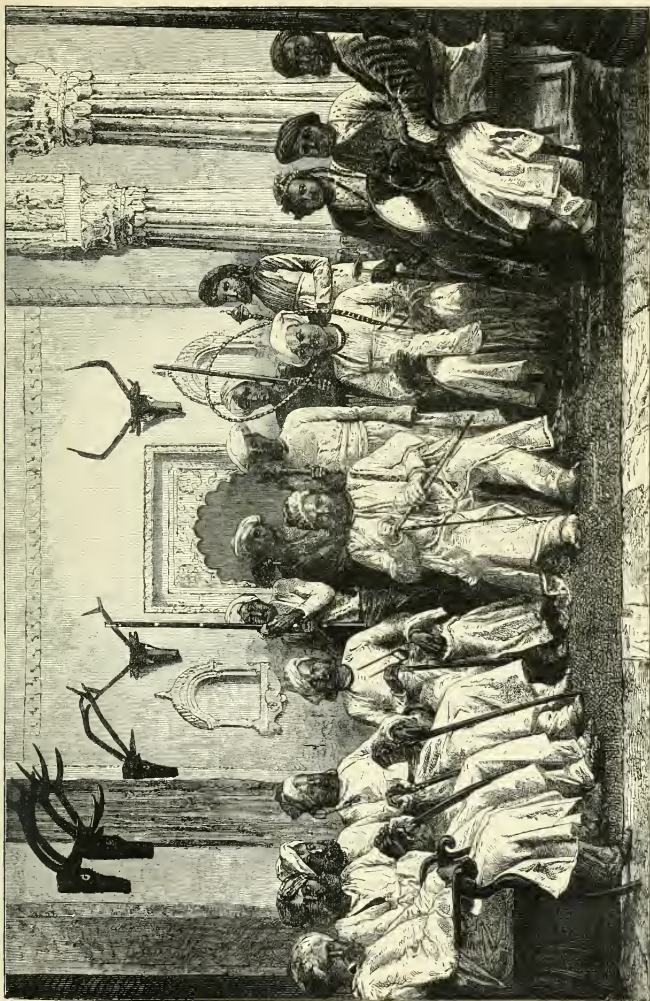
VIEW OF THE JUMNA MUSJID, DELHI.

Prince had retired. On the afternoon of the 18th, after having been at the meet of the Madras hounds, and seen some heavy riding amid the stiff, swampy country and submerged paddy-fields behind the Mount, he embarked on board the *Serapis*, and sailed for Calcutta.

On the 22nd of December she was off the low, flat, swampy shore of Kedgerie at the mouth of the Hooghly; and proceeding up the stately river, under easy steam, on the following morning reached her moorings opposite Princep Ghaut at midday, when the guns of the men-of-war sent forth their boom—one of them an old sixty-four-gun ship—announcing that the Prince was about to land for the third time on the shore of Hindostan. On the right bank of the river, as the *Serapis* came up, rose forests of masts covered with countless flags; on the left bank was the vast expanse of the Maidan,

and they had to be introduced. Among them were seen the Maharajahs of Cashmere and Benares; the former clad in white and gold, with splendid daggers in his sash; the latter grey, bent, and palsied, but gorgeously arrayed in kincoth cloth, composed of silk and gold; Scindia with a yellow hat and white robe with diamond armlet, and the riband of the Star of India over his shoulder;* Rewah, Benares, Jodpore, and many others, in all their glittering array of jewels, gay costumes, and kingly splendour, welcomed with bright smiles the Prince, who was also received by the Viceroy with his body guard—the Calcutta Volunteers—under arms, and every man of the least position in the city; and after the usual loyal address he was conveyed to Government House, where he took up his residence, and which faces the Maidan, which may

* *Daily Telegraph*, 1875.



THE MAHARAJAH OF REWAH AND COURT.

be best described as the Hyde Park of the "City of Palaces."

On the following day the Prince held his grand reception of the native princes. Among those presented was the Maharajah of Puttiala, son of him who did Britain good service when the way between Delhi and the Punjab was of much vital importance to the Indian authorities. The Prince conversed with him about ten minutes, and presented him with a medal and ribbon in reference to the services of Puttiala in the dark year 1857. Then the guns announced the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, a tall man, who entered the throne-room accompanied by his two sons and his Minister, Ragonath Rao (nephew of Sir Madhava Rao), and a train of sirdirs. Proud, but punctilious, he too received with good grace a gold medal and ribbon.

Next came one, said to be "proud beyond the pride of the proudest," the Maharajah of Jodpore, with a wealth of gems glittering on his neck and breast, his yellow head-dress bound by cloth of gold, displaying an aigrette of diamonds and rubies. His many-folded petticoats descended to his heels, but were looped up by a thick golden girdle. His compeer of Jeypore arrived in a handsome carriage drawn by four white horses, trapped in cloth of gold. The Maharajah of Cashmere had an escort of sowars in brass helmets and cuirasses; and then came Scindia, who delighted so much in soldiering that it was said few of our officers could handle a division of horse, foot, and artillery better in the field. Yet lately he had much lessened his authority among his own people by the discovery and imprisonment of the supposed Nana Sahib at Gwalior.

The next presented was the Sultana Jehan, Begum of Bhopal, who arrived in a close brougham, amid a salute of cannon, and who was the descendant of one of those families that had risen to power and place, by British influence, after the Pindaree war. "The door was opened, and out stepped a shawl, supported on a pair of thin legs, and on the top of the shawl was the semblance of a head; but face there was none, for over the head there was drawn a silk hood, and from it depended a screen of some sort of stuff; but this veil concealed features which report says were not at all deserving of such strict retirement, though Her Highness was nearly forty, which is old for India. With her was her daughter, a figure draped and dressed like the first, and quite as old, to judge from appearances, though the lady was only eighteen. They walked very slowly, one after the other, and were led up the steps as if they were performing some remarkable feat."*

* Dr. W. H. Russell.

The last presented was the Maharajah of Rewah, who arrived in a carriage and four, with postilions in green and gold, with breeches and top-boots, and when he took his leave the receptions were over.

The wonderful scene presented by the illumination of Calcutta followed; and to view them the Prince made a circuit of the city, escorted by the Viceroy's Body Guard and a squadron of the Scinde Horse. Everywhere he was received by clapping of hands; but this—the only greeting an Indian crowd can accord—was sometimes varied by a hearty cheer from an occasional group of Britons, and in this the Hindoos sometimes joined.

By a happy notion the Prince resolved to spend Christmas Day on board a British man-of-war; and at the banquet on board the *Scrapis* his health was drunk with "Highland honours." She and her consort, the *Osborne*, were then ordered to Bombay to refit for the homeward voyage; while the Prince repaired to Lord Northbrook's house at Barrackpore, a few miles from Calcutta.

On Sunday he visited Chandernagore, now—save Pondicherry—the only relic of French ascendancy in India, the little settlement to which we have had to refer more than once in the days of Duplex and Clive; the administrator of which is now only a lieutenant in the French army, and which, but for British valour and the fortune of war, might have been the capital of a French India.

At Government House, on Monday, the Prince received embassies from Nepaul and Burmah, and was present at a singular entertainment in the grounds of Belvedere House, which is the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and is engrafted on all that remains of the "Garden House" of Warren Hastings. There were assembled the *élite* of Calcutta, and, as the dusk had fallen, the gardens were beautifully illuminated with festoons of lamps that gleamed amid the luxuriant foliage.

On this occasion, "Sir Richard Temple had brought down from the confines of the north-eastern frontier of India a bevy of the representatives of the wild Naga tribes. The men were fine, stalwart fellows, the women ugly and puny; the dress of the former chiefly consisted of fantastic ornaments, sticking up from their heads; the women were girt from waist to mid-leg in horse-blankets. They exhibited a curious native dance, something like our country dance; but the music was fantastic, and the step grotesque. Then two Naga warriors, stuck all over with tasselled porcupine-quills, and each carrying a leather buckler and a formidable hatchet, like a chopper, sprang into the arena, and

went through the pantomime of a single combat. To these succeeded Naga javelin-men, carrying long spears, with shields of wicker-work, topped with feathers; and the fury and agility with which, to the exciting strains of martial music, they despatched hordes of imaginary enemies, made up a spectacle not to be described."

On the 28th of December the Prince held a levee at Government House, when no less than 2,000 presentations were made, ending with native officers. A State dinner and a native entertainment in the beautiful grounds of the villa of Belgatchia followed. These grounds were laid out, and the mansion built, by Durarkanath Tayon, a native gentleman, who has left an honoured name in Calcutta, as the giver of many sumptuous entertainments, given to make the Europeans and Bengalees better understand each other. All the great native princes were present on this occasion, when a Hindoo pundit presented to His Royal Highness, on a gold plate, a cocoa-nut, some paddy, a few blades of grass, a gold coin, and a bouquet of flowers, as emblems of Indian fertility, plenty, and wealth; while their Vedic students blessed him in song. On this occasion the nautch-dance was a failure; but a melody, to which some lines of Hafiz had been set, was performed by native amateurs, whose singing was nasal, monotonous, and destitute of modulation, to the accompaniment of the sitar, a species of gittern.

Among the feats displayed on this evening was that performed by an ingenious native musician on two silver flutes with his neck. At first it was thought he produced the notes by ventriloquism, as the flutes were without holes or stops; but it seems there is a very delicate apparatus within the instrument, so extremely fine that the smallest quantity of air, propelled by the pressure of the neck on the mouth of the tube, suffices to produce sound.

New Year's Day, 1876, was inaugurated by the Prince holding a Grand Chapter of the Star of India. Most gorgeous and stately was the scene of this episode, but similar to that when the Duke of Edinburgh held the first Grand Chapter. It was in an extensive meadow, carpeted with the greenest turf, and enclosed by canvas, about a mile from Government House; with guards—battalions of Sikhs, bronzed soldiers from the Punjab, and picked men of Bengal—under arms at the entrances to ascertain the rank of all those who claimed admittance. There were sixteen pavilions, adorned with pennons of the chosen colours of the knight to whom they belonged; and beside stood one, who might be termed his esquire, in a fantastic dress of

his master's fancy. At the north-eastern extremity was a dais with silver pillars, canopied with blue silk, the colour of the Order. On this were two chairs; one, of silver and blue, for Lord Northbrook, with a crown behind and golden lions at the sides. On the right was a similar chair, with the triple plume, for the Prince of Wales. In rear of this dais, and along the sides of it, were the rows of seats for spectators—native grandees, British officers in full uniform, and ladies in brilliant costumes. Marines and sailors lined the approach to the grand entrance, and a strong military band encircled the staff from which the Union Jack was floating; but everywhere there was a somewhat incongruous combination of European and Asiatic equipments.

The Rajahs of Jheend and Jodpore arrived first, about eight a.m., in all their Oriental splendour, and there was the Duke of Sutherland in the tartan of a Highland regiment, Lord Alfred Paget in the uniform of a general, and Sir William Gregory in diplomatic costume with the collar of St. Michael and St. George; nor were the gilded hats, red collars, green dragons, and serpent-headed swords of the representatives of the King of Burmah wanting. Amid the thunder of saluting guns, the clash of presented arms, the crash of bands, the hurrying of aides-de-camp and umbrella-bearers, the Prince arrived at eight with all the grand commanders, preceded by the camp-marshal, Captain R. H. Grant of the Royal Artillery.

Each knight commander was preceded by six men-at-arms and a standard-bearer. The little Begum of Bhopal was the first to enter, muffled up as we have already described, but in the blue of the Order with a shield in the place where her right arm would be, and the medal of the Order hung over her muffings. Two pages in yellow turbans held her train till she reached her seat. Sir Salar Jung, in black—one account says dark lilac—velvet embroidered with gold, followed; and there were Puttiala, a blaze of brilliants; Lord Napier, his breast covered with medals; Sir Bartle Frere; Scindia, with a white hat and blue feather; and his rival Holkar in a red puggaree; Jeypore the Rajpoot, his robe supported by boys with yellow sugar-loaf hats; Rewah in a diamond helmet, from which a diamond fringe fell over his neck and ears.

Close after the *cortège* of Scindia came that of the Prince. Twelve officers of his suite preceded him; over his head was borne a gold-and-crimson umbrella, and little midshipmen in the costume of the age of Charles II., in blue and silver with plumed hats, bore up his train. The great tent and dais now presented a most brilliant appearance. "In

two lines in front of the central figures on the throne were the great princes of India ablaze with jewels. Behind them were their attendants, scarcely less brilliant. At the further end of the line were the royal servants with fans and punkahs (chowries?) of crimson and gold, and other emblems of royalty. Beyond were many other chiefs in wonderful diamonds and precious stones, among them the deputation from Nepaul, and the ambassadors from Burmah in pearl helmets. Officers of the fleet and army, officials in court dress, and several officers in foreign uniform were present in this assembly."

On the Prince assuming his seat, the secretary of the Order declared the Chapter to be opened. The roll was called, and the first led to the foot of the throne was the Rajah of Jodpore; he had the golden collar of the Order put round his neck by the Prince, who, in doing so, neither arose nor lifted his helmet, but said:—"In the name of the Queen, and by Her Majesty's command, I here invest you with the honourable insignia of the Star of India, of which most exalted Order Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint you a knight grand commander."

Then followed a blast of trumpets with a salute of seventeen guns, amid which the rajah was led to his seat beneath his banner. The aged Rajah of Jheend, with a grand white beard, was next installed. The knights were created with much greater speed, but still with much ceremony; though a remarkable honour was conferred on two Scottish gentlemen—Colonel the Hon. Henry Ramsay, and Mr. W. Rose Robinson, who were the last; for not only did they obtain the collar of the Order from the hand of the Prince, but each received an accolade on the shoulder from his sword, creating them Knights Bachelors of Great Britain, and then the Chapter was declared dissolved. The Viceroy's guard and the knight

commanders and companions "followed in reverse order of their entry, so that from the durbar tent there seemed to flow an array of banners, plumes, and dazzling colours, the like of which was never seen even at the coronation of a king of Hungary. Nowhere else could be seen such a combination of Asiatic costumes."

But this splendid gathering did not close the festivities of the New Year's Day, which included the unveiling by the Prince of a statue of the unfortunate Lord Mayo on the Maidan; a polo match between the players of Calcutta and Munipore; and a display of fireworks, to witness which the former city poured forth its myriads, and the spectacle of these tens of thousands of brown visages, lit up by mortars, rockets, and coloured fires, was a sight alone worth beholding, and that will be seldom if ever seen again.

By ten in the morning the Prince left Calcutta by train for Bankipore, all the native princes attending at Government House to take their leave of him. The Prince was reminded by Lord Northbrook that Bankipore, the chief civil station of the important division of Patna, was the great headquarters of the local administration which coped with the destitution in Tirhoot; thus it was, with graceful propriety, he visited the chief seat of the famine, where those men who had devoted themselves to the humane task of grappling with that distress were now thanked in person by the heir to the British throne. The great districts of Tirhoot, Chumparun, and Sarun, lying to the north of it, contain more British settlers than any other country region in India. The cultivation of the indigo plant is the chief rural industry of these districts, and this is in the hands of an enterprising body of planters, than whom Her Majesty has no more loyal subjects.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

RESIGNATION OF LORD NORTHBROOK.—ARTILLERY EXPERIMENTS AT DELHI.—POOR EUROPEANS IN INDIA.—THE PRINCE OF WALES AT BENARES, ETC.

On the 4th of January it was publicly announced in London that Lord Northbrook was to retire from the Government of India, after fulfilling the important duties of Viceroy for four years. At the close of the preceding summer his lordship had intimated that he did not feel able to fulfil the

heavy labours of his office during another season in India. He thus withdrew from his onerous post, not because he had any difference with the Home Office, but simply for the reason stated. Appointed to the viceroyalty within a fortnight of Lord Mayo's assassination, his term would have expired in 1877;

but the climate and the anxieties of ruling had overtaken his strength; and when he did return his services were fully recognised. His predecessor had entered heart and soul into the great work set before him. He had felt all the responsibilities of his position, and had learned and unlearned many things; but his sudden fall by the assassin's dagger deprived the State of those fruits of good government and administration which had ripened in his mind. Called suddenly to succeed him, Lord Northbrook found the East a land with which his services at the Board of Control had rendered him not unfamiliar; thus, he did not approach his new duties unprepared. Yet, the ordeal he had to pass through, with the famine and all its unforeseen emergencies, was a severe one; and it should always be borne in mind, says a journalist, in judging of a modern viceroy's career, that he is subject to influences which did not exist before the electric wire stretched to his remote abode. Day by day, for good or ill, the Home Government and British opinion, such as it is, exert an ever-increasing force upon the ruler of India. He is no longer what he was in the era of Wellesley or Hastings, still less in the days of Dalhousie. His actions come under the almost hourly review of the India Office, and the temptation to give and seek advice is powerful on both sides. If the viceroy is a strong man, he runs the risk of falling into collision with the Secretary of State; if he is made of yielding material, he has two masters—one the Civil Service, the other at Westminster. Under such severe conditions, an Indian viceroy is fettered as he never was before the Mutiny, and the difficulties of his position are proportionately increased.

The 4th and 5th of January, 1876, witnessed the inauguration of some important experiments in artillery and rifle fire at Delhi. A feeling having prevailed among many officers that the musketry practice was not sufficiently practical, Lord Napier of Magdala, when commanding in India, caused certain experiments to be made, with a view to ascertaining the effect of field-guns and rifles under as close an imitation to actual warfare as could be managed; and, following this initiative, General Sir Frederick Haines, an officer who had seen a vast amount of Indian service, and had his horse killed under him at Ferozeshah, instituted "field firing" as a regular part of the musketry course; and, on the occasion referred to, the locality chosen was kept a secret. It was of a strong nature, and supposed to be occupied by two batteries of horse and three of field artillery, three regiments of cavalry, and nine eight-company battalions, which were represented by screens and dummies. Flags

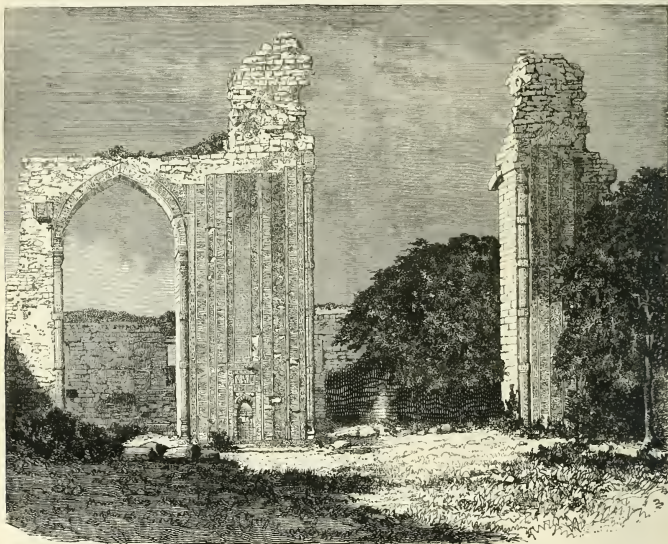
indicated the general line, and periodical explosions the position of the guns. Mud figures represented the skirmishers, three feet in height, as they were supposed to be kneeling; and screens, six feet in height, appeared as the reserves.

The attacking force consisted of five batteries of artillery and eleven regiments of foot: the former to cover the deployment of the latter, and then advance, opened at distances varying from 2,600 to 1,100 yards; and, after a time, "cease firing" sounded, to enable the markers to ascertain the results. During the second stage the artillery advanced to closer range, while the infantry formed to attack at about 1,000 yards, and advanced firing till within 600, when the "cease" was sounded again, and the hits were marked off. When the "cease" sounded a third time, the infantry were within half that distance. In the next stage, they were supposed to be within eighty yards of the enemy, all the advances being over open ground; and the results were these:—

"The artillery fired 1,172 rounds of common and segment shell and shrapnel, both percussion and time fuses being used. The number of hits was 921, but in many cases from eight to twelve were made on the same image of a man; and, judging from the results recorded, with regard to the enemy's guns, it is pretty evident that the number of men placed *hors de combat* by artillery was less than 100, or about one man for every twelve rounds. Three guns were also dismounted. It used to be calculated that to kill a man his weight in lead was required. We have, since the introduction of rifles, made an enormous step in advance, especially considering the increase of range. At Delhi the number of hits by rifle bullets was 3,747; but many men were, no doubt, hit several times, and some of the bullets would, if fired against living men, have either inflicted but a slight graze or have glanced off a breastplate or button; and to attain the result above indicated, 68,024 rounds were fired. If, therefore, we make a very moderate deduction for men wounded more than once, we arrive at thirty rounds for each man disabled. Unfortunately the hits of the first period were, with regard to one battery, included in the return of the second period. It may be mentioned that, excluding the hits on one battery of the defenders not recorded, there were, in the first period, 161 hits by bullets; the number of rounds fired being 10,225. Assuming that the number of casualties in the battery alluded to was the mean of the batteries on each side, only one man is to be added to the recorded total of 161. Making reasonable deductions for men wounded slightly, or more than

once, we find, at the distance of between 600 and 900 yards, about one shot in twenty disabled a man. Such a result must be deemed very satisfactory, for the ground fired over was strange to the troops. During the second stage—*i.e.*, between 600 and 300 yards—37,837 rounds were fired, and 1,794 hits made. Making deductions as above, that would give one man disabled for every twenty-

Early in January, 1876, a memorial was presented to Lord Northbrook, praying him to take measures for the appointment of a special commission to inquire into the destitution which existed among the British and Eurasian working population. The cause of their extreme poverty was found by the memorialists to be principally the substitution of native labour in the presidencies; and



VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF THE EMPEROR ALTAMSH, NEAR DELHI.

three cartridges burnt. In the third stage—between 300 up to 80 yards—there were 19,962 rounds fired, and 1,792 hits made, or, after deductions, rather more than twelve rounds to each man disabled."

Though a vast amount of unaimed fire, owing to the trajectory, struck supports and reserves at the longer range, while at the medium bullets passed over both, taking the Delhi experiments as a whole they were deemed eminently successful; and the Commander-in-chief ordered that "field firing" shall be practised annually at every station in India.

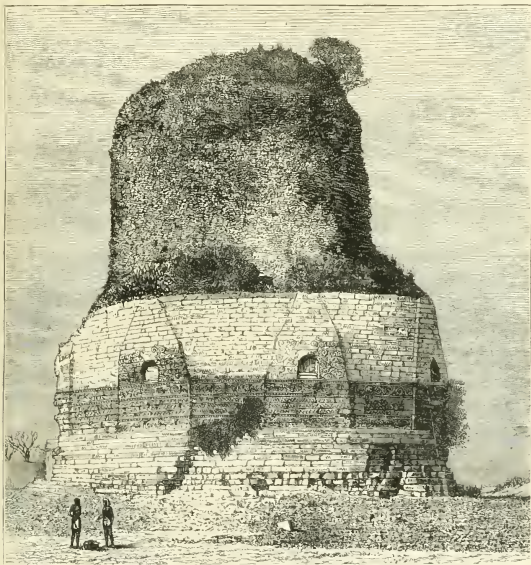
the remedies suggested were these: First, the creation of new industries, or the further development of those which were existing, offering a field of employment for European and Eurasian labour; secondly, the establishment of industrial schools, of large centres of industry, and industrial homes, together with amendment of the law relating to European vagrancy; and, lastly, the establishment of colonies on the hill-ranges, and on the islands in the Bay of Bengal.

In conclusion, the memorialists drew Lord Northbrook's attention to the fact that, consequent upon their great poverty, the classes for whom they

appealed were compelled to mix with natives of the lowest caste, with whom their children came in contact, the result being that immorality and vice were increased to an alarming extent; and that such a state of things, it was urged, "lowered the prestige of British Government in the eyes of the native population."

On the 5th of January, the Prince of Wales

Monkey, which is one of the living idols of Hindoo worship. This fane is situated amid a grove of orange, plantain, palm, and citron-trees; and, on his entrance, the Prince was supplied with a plate of parched peas and white sweetmeats. The people were silent but respectful, and every precaution was taken that prudence could suggest to ensure safety among the multitude of fanatics.



VIEW OF THE TÔPE OR TEMPLE OF DHAMEH, NEAR BENARES.

arrived at Benares, the holy city of the brahminical religion in Lower India, from all parts of which vast numbers of pilgrims resort thither, to visit the temples and perform "poojahs," according to their castes, and to add to the number of Gossains—half hermits, or holy beggars, who abound there. The Prince became the guest of the lieutenant-governor, in the camp adjacent to the city, where, attended by Sir John Strachey, he held a reception, which was attended by the Delhi princes. He visited the Rajah of Vizianagram, and then the Hindoo temples, which previously had been cleared of all persons by the guardians of the Durga

Before sunset he proceeded up the river to Ramnuggur, the palace of the Maharajah of Benares, there to remain until the intended illuminations should be completed. He was thus enabled to see the city by sunset in all its splendour. On the right bank of the Ganges lies the level plain, but on the left rises the great city, so grand, with all its palaces and temples towering high in air above the landing-places—which are flights of hundreds of stone steps, forty or fifty feet broad, and named the Ghauts of Scindia, Nagpore, Vizianagram, and Perhma, from those whose princely mansions are close by.

When darkness fell the Prince entered a barge of long and narrow form, with two wooden horses, nearly the size of life, rearing at its prow. The hull was painted green, and on it were depicted water-plants, fish, and birds. Golden fringes adorned the canopy, below which were seats of blue velvet. Towed by a small steamer, and followed by the European population in lighter barges, that of the Prince came slowly down the great stream to the railway bridge. All day long thousands of natives had been engaged in placing *padelli*, or tens of thousands of little earthen jars, wherever such a vessel could be placed, filled with oil and supplied with a wick, which, when night came, burned brightly; and thus the whole city and river gleamed with light, presenting a spectacle beyond description grand, when, rising tier above tier, its wondrous edifices stood out in brilliant relief against the dark blue sky beyond. Myriads of lights were reflected on the glassy surface of the river—glassy, save when broken by the dusky forms of those who persisted in bathing all night through—and many hundreds of little lamps were launched upon its bosom. The departure of the Prince from Ramnuggur was announced by a royal salute, salvoes of rockets, and the ascent of 100 fire-balloons. Where, by the process of time, the ghauts had been washed away, the gaps were veiled by arcades, divans, and lattice-work, illuminated. Fire seemed to fleck the whole surface of the river. Upon every step of the ghauts lamps were placed in rows, a few inches apart, and along every horizontal line of the towers and palaces above: thus every edifice was marked out in light; while thousands of persons, whose figures appeared in black outline against these vivid floods of flame, presented an appearance that was somewhat demonic.

On the following day the Prince was at Lucknow, escorted by General Chamberlain and Sir George Cowper, the Chief Commissioner of Oude; and on the 7th he courteously received the lineal descendants of Mirza Jehanghir Shah, heir of Shah Alum, the last independent King of Delhi, and last of the dynasty of the mighty Timour. At the native levée there came many Talookdars and descendants of the kings of Oude. Attended by the Duke of Sutherland and others, he drove to see the Dilkhoosa and Secunderbagh, all shattered in ruin as the cannon left it; and where the pipes of the Highlanders sent their welcome sound to the soldiers of Havelock and Inglis. He visited the place where the noble Peel received his death-wound, where the Bays charged and Smith fell, where Lawrence died, and where the glorious Havelock lies; at rest, under the roses of the Alumbagh, in the towers of

which Outram kept many a weary vigil, while the cannon pealed by the Goomtee; and at the Martinière, he descended into the vault where lie the remains of Claude Martin, a French soldier, who bequeathed a vast fortune to charitable purposes. He viewed the line of Colin Campbell's advance, the ruins of the Residency, and in the evening laid the foundation stone of a memorial in honour of the few sepoy who in 1857 had remained faithful to the British Government, and which was erected at the private expense of Lord Northbrook.

The site chosen was near Aitken's Post, where the natives chiefly fought. Among the troops under arms were the 14th, 65th, and 66th Native Infantry; and the Prince's escort was composed of the 13th Hussars and 19th Bengal Cavalry. A circle of trees, heavy with foliage, deep groves of bright green leaves, enclosed the whole scene, to which more effect was given by the troops presenting arms and the artillery saluting the survivors of the native defenders of Lucknow, who had been collected from different parts of Oude.

Grizzled and grey, about 200 of these faithful veterans were drawn up in old uniforms as varied as their castes and races, their breasts covered with the medals they had won in that terrible contest, when they manned the charred ruins of Lucknow against the masses of the rebels. Some were tall and manly Sikhs; others wiry little Bengalees, half-caste Punjaubees, and men from the coast of Malabar. On the other side of the memorial mound were about a hundred Europeans, including five officers—Major Corbet, Dr. Fayer, and three others, also survivors of the defence of Lucknow; and the Prince kindly suggested that all should be presented to him.

Then the sight that followed could never be forgotten by those who saw it, as the veterans filed past, many of them being barely able to walk. Many of them were Soubahbars and Jemidars, who had risen from the ranks since the days of the Mutiny. As they went by, saluting the Prince, at the bidding of General Probyn they held out the hilts of their swords, which the Prince touched, and saluting again, each native officer passed on. It was long since many of them had been on parade, but the golden maxims taught by discipline were remembered still; though some there were disposed to linger and gaze wistfully into the pleasing open face of the *Burra Sahib*. "Oh, let me see him!" exclaimed one who was nearly blind; then, peering into the face of the Prince, he thanked Heaven for having "lived till to-day."

Among those present was old Ungad, once famous as a scout, and Carronjee Lal, the com-

panion of the gallant Kavanagh on the night the latter left Lucknow to meet Sir Colin Campbell. The Talookdars of Oude gave an evening fête to the Prince in the Kaiser Bagh, and presented him with a crown—a somewhat significant gift, as the place in which it was given was the ancient palace of the monarchs of Oude.

The black and shot-riven ruins of the Residency were carefully inspected; there, happily, the spot where each particularly gallant deed was done is indicated by tablets—indicating Inglis' quarters in the Sikh Square, the house where Gubbins lived and where brave Lawrence died; nor was the beautifully-kept cemetery where his bones lie, with those of others who died during the long siege of Lucknow, forgotten.

At Cawnpore, as at that city, clearances on a great scale had been effected, and ruins swept away, so that nothing remains of the old station, from the site of Wyndham's *tête du pont* to the Memorial Church, which stands outside the line of Wheeler's old entrenchments.

On Monday, the 10th, the Prince halted at Cawnpore when *en route* from Lucknow to Delhi. He drove from the station to the Memorial Church, and afterwards visited the Memorial Gardens, where he stood for some minutes in silence by the monument that covers the well where our dead are lying.

"A full moon had risen in a cloudless sky when we started for these historic places," says a correspondent, whom we are tempted to quote at full length. "Of course, there was a certain order to be observed—quite different from what the chronological course of events would warrant; but in the end everything was shown us. The first place to which we drove was the well, situated in the centre of magnificent gardens, at the gates of which all natives were requested to remain. Slowly moving up the pathway, between richly-flowering beds of roses, the cuttings for which had come from England, we came at last to the Memorial, 'sacred to the perpetual memory' of the slain. As is already well known, the well is covered by a marble seraph, which, with outstretched wings, watches over the place where the dead were hidden. I cannot describe the effect of the bright moon's rays on the white marble work—how the whole memorial stood out in its lonely grandeur on that delightful night. They did well to exclude natives from the place: the feeling aroused by the sight of that memorial and the adjacent graveyard is not congenial to them. The slaughter-house where women and children were hacked to pieces is gone; but scores of graves, some with monuments erected by 'passers by,' by

'brother soldiers,' by 'men of the regiment,' and some without either name or date, tell their own story. Over each hang roses from England; the grass is carefully tended, the pathways admirably kept. If they must be buried in alien soil, no more beautiful spot could be discovered in the world. From thence to the Memorial Church, which is an extremely pretty red brick building, and built on the site of Wheeler's entrenchment, was no very great distance. It has only just been consecrated, and has, therefore, an appearance of newness, which does not quite accord with the objects around it. It also boasts an echo, which, I am told, bewilders the clergyman and astonishes his hearers; so that, on the whole, it is scarcely a success. But we had little time for a prolonged inspection, having to hurry away to the river side where the Nana began his miserable butcheries. Coming to the top of a slope which led down to the water's edge, we were requested to dismount, there being no road for carriages; and quitting the vehicles, therefore, at the corner where the victims first gave themselves into the hands of their destroyers, and where, later on, the brother of the Nana was hanged on a gallows, we passed down the gully which was before us. It was no great length—some 200 yards, perhaps—and then the Hindoo temple in which the Nana planted his cannon was reached. The scene of so much villany is happily a ruin, yet not so greatly destroyed as to prevent a full appreciation of what took place on that memorable day. On the left of the pile was the place at which the fugitives embarked; their desire was to pass the temple, and so go down the river. The Nana had stationed his men all along the shore on the opposite side of the river, and in the temple too; and how he used them need not be related again. An aged Hindoo said that the Nana, after giving the order for the massacre, ran away. I cannot trust myself to give expression to the feelings which we experienced as we looked at the astonishing scene in the bright moonlight."*

The Prince did not visit the Sutteé Chaura Ghaut, now better known by the evil appellation of "The Slaughter Ghaut," chiefly because his time was short. In the evening his special train started for Delhi, for which place he travelled all night, and arrived at eight next morning, to find that beautiful city *en fête* to welcome him, the son of a mightier monarch than even Aurungzebe. There were few decorations, for the authorities of Delhi relied on the architectural grandeur of the city, and the military display they could make, as sufficient for the occasion. Thus, the route to the cantonments, through the heart of Delhi, was four miles in length,

* *Daily Telegraph*, Jan., 1876.

and lined by 18,000 troops—Horse and Foot, British, Sikhs, and Ghoorkas, in scarlet and blue, in grey and buff, in green and yellow, with bands playing and colours flying, formed the double line, through which he passed on horseback, accompanied by Lord Napier of Magdala and Sir R. H. Davies, till he issued from the Lahore Gate, and across the long rocky ridge, the scene of many a fierce contest in 1857, and from thence to the camp near the race-course, where he was to be lodged in the heart of the army. In this route he skirted the glacis of the fort, behind the ramparts of which rise the red and white marble domes and cupolas of the royal palace; the Selinghur, once the abode of the Great Mogul, the Tartar Emperor of India; he passed the beautiful Jumna Musjid, on the thirty-two great steps of which were throngs of officers in full uniform, and ladies in gay dresses; past the Kotwallee, where Hodson hung the corpses of the princes he had shot; and through the magnificent "street of silver," while the red morning sun, piercing through the haze, was gilding dome, and tower, the ruins of old Delhi, and the ribbed shaft of the mighty Koutub Minar. On the evening of the 12th a grand ball was given, in splendour exceeding anything that Delhi had witnessed since its kings were lords of all India. In the centre of the suite of rooms, thronged on this occasion, was the hall of the famous peacock throne, carried off by Nadir Shah in 1739, and the original ceiling of which was silver. Of 1,500 guests who were present, only 300 were ladies. The lieutenant-governor gave the Prince an open-air entertainment on the 13th, at the base of the Koutub Minar, which stands in the ruin-covered plain, ten miles from modern Delhi, and to the summit of which he ascended. He also visited the stately tomb of Houmayoun.* Some brilliant military manoeuvres, performed by the great force of all arms in Delhi, closed the royal visit on the 14th; and four days subsequent found the Prince in the city of Lahore, the capital of the Punjaub.

In addition to the large assemblage of Europeans who welcomed him, on the plateau before the fort were the encampments of the chiefs of the Punjaub, who had come with all their followers to do him honour, and whose tents extended for miles. In front of each camp floated the great banner of a rajah. Their elephants, gorgeously trapped, with howdahs of gold or silver, stood in lines; and there were also their beautiful led-horses, caparisoned in gold and silver; and every rajah's troops, regular and irregular, lined the roadway under arms. Thus "lance and sword sparkled, armour flashed, morion, cuirass, plume, banner—

all were bright and beautiful, with such a combination of colours as fairly astonished the beholders. The very spirit of chivalry hovered over these martial faces and noble forms—the stately chiefs making obeisance amidst the roll of the drums, the blare of the trumpets, and the clang and outburst of strange instruments."

Along these varied lines, for four miles, the Prince rode to Government House, an edifice which had been originally the tomb of a cousin of the Emperor Ackbar, where stood a guard of honour of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, with their colours and pipers; and hither came the native municipality, attired in turbans of the finest muslin, in gowns and robes of gold brocade, with coils of rubies, emeralds, and pearls around their necks, to present an address from the citizens of Lahore.

After holding a levée, the Prince visited the gaol, which was filled with wild and ferocious ruffians. Among these were two Thugs, who were brought before him for inspection. One, aged seventy, had murdered more than 250 persons in his time; the other admitted that he had disposed of only thirty-five. They showed the Prince how the strangling-cord was used. The Prince then asked for the liberation of two unfortunate Englishmen, who had been sentenced for embezzlement, and of twenty-eight other prisoners who were natives. He visited the fort, palace, and tomb of the old Lion of Lahore—Runjeet Sing, of famous memory—and saw the sun setting over the broad fertile plains, and the placid flow of the majestic river. A grand fête in the Shalimar Gardens followed; and next day he crossed the Cashmerian frontier to visit Jummoo the Magnificent, which occupies the right bank of the Taui, a tributary of the Chenab, and is governed by its own maharajah. He was met by the latter with his suite, all mounted on richly-caparisoned elephants; and the route from the river to the town was lined by his troops, clad in picturesque uniforms and gaudy antique costumes, the most striking of which were bright suits of chain mail, in the fashion of the first Crusade; while others had helmets and cuirasses, like those of the French Cent Gardes, but with crooked swords and old flint pistols.

This was about sunset: beyond the town were silent and solemn-like hills, and all around it was dense jungle. The evening was cloudy, but the sun burst out ere he sank, and lit the landscape with marvellous effect. "Pink, orange, dark purple, fell upon the snow-capped ridges," says an eye-witness; "threw the three-peaked Tri-canta into bold relief; glittered upon the dome and minarets, the golden spires and white stone buildings

* *Times.*

of Jummoo; lightened the dark green of the jungle; and then left us in gloom." But the city was illuminated, and thickly studded with blue lights.

Next day saw the city filled with Cashmerian troops in honour of the Prince, and many were the strange costumes seen. Among them were those of the Persians, with high, black Astrakhan caps, long cloaks, gaiters, and sandals; some with bell-mouthed blunderbusses slung across their backs. The maharajah presented the Prince with a sword worth, at the lowest calculation, £10,000. It was studded from pommel to chape with precious stones.

On the 22nd the Prince returned to Lahore, and was present at a ball, given by the Sikh sirdirs and wealthy natives, in the hall of the Government College. His throne was placed under a canopy; along the walls were the emblazoned shields of the Punjaub chiefs, and under each stood, motionless on a pedestal, a Punjaabee, either in chain armour or uniform, armed to the teeth. Among those presented on this occasion were some remote members of the royal house of Delhi and of the royal family of Afghanistan, one of whom, the Shahzadah Shapoor, had been seated on the throne. There were also descendants of Nanak Shah, founder of the Sikh faith in the fifteenth century; and of Govind Sing, who made the Sikhs a great

military power. There, too, were Rajpoots, Patans, and wild-looking Beloochees, gathered from the most distant slopes of the Suleiman range, the representatives of fallen dynasties, of lost causes, and fierce antipathies of caste and creed, who now salaamed before the Prince of Wales, and frequently kissed the edge of the golden carpet on which his feet rested; and many were summoned, one by one, to receive from him the medals and ribands, which were fixed on the breast by an aide-de-camp. After this, from the roof of the edifice, the Prince looked down upon Lahore illuminated, when every street and edifice were traced out in lines of vivid light. A nautch followed, and a supper, at which the band of the 1st Royal Scots sang glees.

At Wuzeerabad the Prince performed the ceremony of opening the Alexandra Bridge of the Punjaub Northern State Railway, which spans the Chenab, and had been constructed by Alexander Grant, C.E. Commenced in November, 1871, it is one of the greatest works of its kind, being 9,300 feet long, in sixty-four spans, with foundations seventy feet deep.

From Lahore the Prince travelled to Agra on the 24th, pausing only at the holy city of Umritsir to see the Golden Temple of the Sikhs, to which 600 *ukalees*, or priests, are attached.

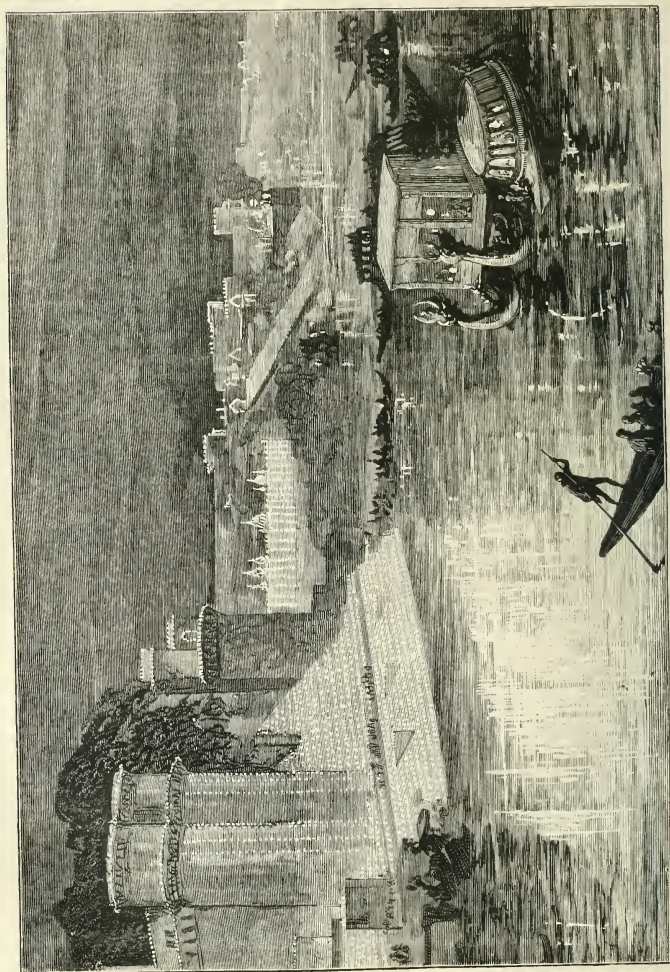
CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AT AGRA, GWALIOR, JEYPORE, AND THE TERAÍ OF NEPAUL, ETC.

At nine in the morning the royal train came in sight of Agra, the Parasu Rama of the Hindoos, and one of the keys of Western India, towering up amid the golden haze, for a strong wind was blowing, and clouds of dust were drifting upward from the sandy soil. Sir John Strachey, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, received him at the station with the usual staff and guard of honour, while beyond it, lining the roadway, were 200 elephants, belonging to powerful rajahs, bearing howdahs of gold and silver, with long trappings of wonderful splendour. Outside this was a veritable sea of turbaned heads. Among the armed retainers were men accoutred with matchlocks, javelins, and old-fashioned pistols. H.M. 10th Hussars and 15th Bengal Cavalry formed the escort; along the route were erected

platforms, whereon were bands playing and women dancing, under bright streamers and triumphal arches.

High over all rose the stately fort of Agra, with its massive walls of deep red sandstone, seventy feet in height, with double, and in some places triple, lines of crenelated battlement; while opposite was the Jumna Musjid, the great mosque of Agra, with its three swelling domes of alternate red and white courses rising from richly-arched cloisters. In a howdah of gold, on a caparisoned elephant of vast size—the same on which Lord Lake rode into Agra in 1803—the Prince proceeded through the streets, with a gilded umbrella held over him. The suite followed on elephants two abreast, each person alone in a howdah. The latter were all painted claret colour, with a crown in front, while the

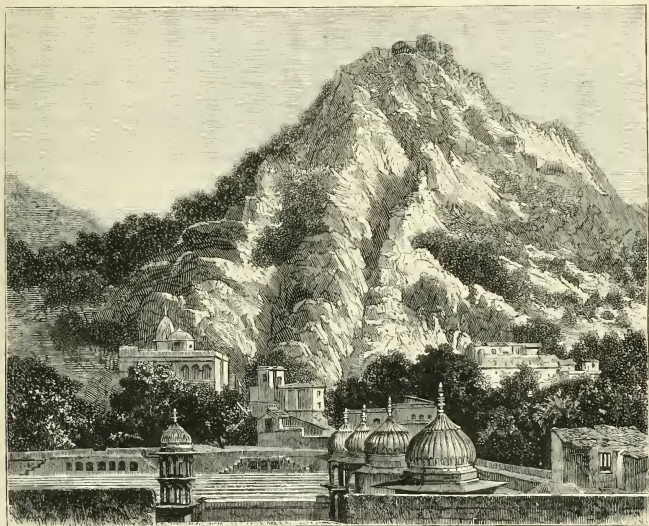


ILLUMINATIONS AT BENARES IN HONOUR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

housings were scarlet and black. He proceeded thus to the camp of Sir John Strachey, pitched on the same ground where General Greathed fought a cavalry battle when advancing to raise the siege of Delhi.

"When the Prince's elephant arrived in front of the durbar tent, before which the royal standard floated from a lofty staff, the animal faced round. Then in succession, like old-fashioned men-of-war

had less than twenty elephants, fifty camels, six pieces of cannon, twenty led-horses, and about 200 horse and foot, though many had thrice that number. The vanguard was composed of infantry in scarlet; then came two elephants, banner-men, and matchlock-men on foot; twenty camels with gingals; two brass guns drawn by white oxen; cavalry, clad in red, or blue, or cherry colour, some with casques and back and breast-plates, some in chain armour;



VIEW OF THE PYRAMIDAL HILL, ULWAR.

ranking themselves in order of battle one after the other, all the elephants passed before the Prince, wore round, and backed into the station in a curved line. Upwards of 150 elephants, bearing European authorities, civil and military, nawabs, rajahs, and sirdirs, passed in review, saluting the Prince. All this formed a spectacle well conceived and admirably managed." Yet the scene lost much of its splendour owing to a whirlwind of dust.

"Next day, after a general levée, preparations were made in the afternoon for a grand procession past the Prince of all the native rajahs and nobles, with their followers, on the Maidaun. Few of these

and ever and anon bands playing a species of music that can only be described as a noise; while the Rajahs of Boondi, Bekomeer, Kishingar, Bhurtapore, Ulwar, Tonck, Dholapore, Ourtcha, Dutka, Cheskari, Shapone, and Alipore, defiled past with their suwarries."*

The oldest Anglo-Indians averred that they had never witnessed a procession so vast and so varied. The long array of elephants and gingal-camels, the variety of the infantry uniforms, the costumes and armour of the cavalry, the beauty of the led-horses, the gorgeous trappings, the bullock-gharries with

* *Standard*, &c.

their dome-shaped canopies, and the singular combination of the really magnificent with rather stage-like trumpery—all made up a unique and marvellous whole.

In the evening there was an illumination of the Taj-Mahal monument and the adjacent gardens. The scene was one of wondrous effect. A lime-light played steadily upon that snow-white edifice—the glory of Agra, wherein lies the favourite wife of Shah Jehan—and the clouds of a dark and starless night formed an effective background to its mighty mass, which is 1,000 feet in breadth by 1,860 feet long. It is formed of pure white marble, and rises, from a base of solid masonry, twenty-six feet above the gardens, 313 feet square. Its domes and minarets are covered with the most exquisite carving. It occupied 20,000 men twenty years to complete it, at an outlay of £2,000,000. In honour of the Prince the fountains were all playing, and the gardens were lit up by coloured lamps; but when looking on all the wondrous scene, an eye-witness wrote, it was impossible to forget the thousands of workmen who had toiled for years to its completion, “and of the sightless crew who issued from yonder gates when the top stone was added, and the decree went forth that not one of them might ever see again, lest some other potentate, jealous and envious, might essay to build a structure as handsome in some foreign land.”

There would not have been sufficient light had the object been merely to illuminate the gardens; but it was in good taste to keep them as dark as possible, in order that the Taj might stand out clearer and brighter in the light. The whole glare of the lime-light was thus thrown upon its vast façade; and the Prince, while standing in shadow, could see to the full the exquisite details of that matchless monument.

The Prince devoted the afternoon of another day to visiting the tomb of the great Ackbar, at Secundra, near Delhi. He died in 1605, or two years after the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the British throne, when a few wandering merchants and mariners were all that represented the future great fighting and trading company of the East Indies. His tomb consists of a solid pyramid, surrounded by cloisters, galleries, and domes, and is of such vast dimensions, that for a year after the conquest of the adjacent district, a whole regiment of our cavalry was cantoned in it.

Like all his buildings and doings, the tomb of Ackbar is exceptional, but of great magnificence. The lower terrace is 320 feet square by thirty feet in height. From this rises another, more ornate, measuring 186 feet each way; and a third and fourth

are added, all of red stone. Within and above the last is a white marble enclosure, 157 feet each way, the outer wall of which is entirely composed of marble trellis-work of the most beautiful patterns; and within this is a colonnade of the same material. In the centre of this cloister, on a raised platform, is the tombstone of Ackbar—a splendid piece of arabesque tracing. This, however, is not the true burial-place, as the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer stone in a vaulted chamber of the basement, thirty-five feet square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the mausoleum.*

The road to it still shows the coshminars, or round stone pillars, which were put up, at the distance of every two miles, along the imperial Mogul routes, extending for more than 700 miles—from Agra to Lahore.

The Prince also visited Futtchpore Sikri, twenty-four miles from Agra. Founded chiefly by Ackbar, surrounded still by a battlemented wall six miles in length, enclosing mosques and palaces, temples and halls—a wilderness of stone it presented in its desolation and abandonment to owls, snakes, and jackals—the most impressive scene of ruin in the world, half buried amid the gathering soil and the decayed vegetation of years. Then the Prince was shown over the ruins by the eleventh descendant of a Fakir, whose tomb crowns the mountain on which the city stands, and to whose prayers Abul Fazil asserts Ackbar was indebted for the birth of a son.

The scene of his next visit was Gwalior, to which we have so often referred in these pages—the great national fortress which dominates, so to speak, all Central India. In a carriage drawn by artillery horses he crossed the Chumbul by a bridge of boats on the 31st of January, and was met by a cavalry escort seven miles from the capital of Maharajah Scindia, which was long visible from afar over the plain. All the way the route lay between lines of Mahratta Horse, in yellow tunics with scarlet turbans, and horse-housing of the same colours; there, too, were halberdiers in claret colour, their weapons shafted with silver; camels with gingal-men; elephants painted in arabesques and fantastic patterns, colared with silver plates and strings of bells, cruppers of silver, gilded howdahs on their backs, and tinkling bangles round their enormous ankles. Seen at any time, says the correspondent of the *Standard*, or in any light, the streets would have been beautiful; but with such a crowd, such a mixture of gold, silver, and bright colours in the wide roadway, “it was one of the brightest and most lovely scenes I ever witnessed.”

* Fergusson's “Handbook of Architecture.”

The drawing-room of Scindia's palace is the most wonderful saloon in the world, with all its marvellous chandeliers and enormous mirrors. The bedstead of the prince, the whole of his washing-service, and his bath, were of solid and burnished silver.

On the 1st of February there was a review of Scindia's troops in the broad plain below Gwalior, bounded by low hills with pretty villages in front; and in the march past there were five strong battalions of infantry, dressed like our native troops, but with white helmets instead of turbans; three of cavalry, two batteries of horse, and two of heavy bullock artillery, all in a splendid state of discipline. Some of the cavalry wore scarlet, with blue turbans; and one regiment of Lancers was clad in a kind of blue French uniform. On the following morning the courteous and stately Scindia came early, to await the departure of the Prince, to whom he said:—"It has been much to see your face. I can hardly hope to see it again; but, when in England, sometimes turn a kind thought to me, for all I have is yours."

On the 4th the Prince proceeded to visit the Maharajah of Jeypore, a Hindoo State of considerable extent, with a million and a half of population, and the capital of which, unlike all other Eastern towns, is regularly and uniformly built. A wall surrounds it twenty feet in height, nine feet thick, and smoothly coated with red plaster, having seven gates and nine circular bastions. A street 110 feet wide traverses the whole city, which others divide into six equal portions. At five, on the evening of the 4th, the Prince was met at the railway station by the Maharajah; and after a two miles' drive they mounted on elephants, entered by the Ajmere gate, and passed through the city by torchlight. The crowded streets were kept by the Jeypore troops in their ancient native costumes, armed with clumsy matchlocks, round shields, and many weapons of antique warfare. Elephants, camels with gings, and bullock-batteries, made up the procession: the most singular feature in which was one hundred Naga swordsmen dancing, brandishing their long blades, cutting and slashing right and left, to the dissonance of tom-toms, pipes, and long horns of serpent shape. None of them were dressed alike; many had vests of spotted tiger-skins, and others had hoods rising high at the back of the head; but all wore tufts of black feathers on their heads.

The next day was deemed one of interest, when the Prince shot his first tiger from the roof of a parapeted lodge overhanging a ravine, into which the animal was driven, till within rifle range, by the beaters; and the carcase was borne in great state

to the palace of the Maharajah, when the Prince paid him a visit in durbar. There were present three hundred Rajpoot Thakoors, whose pedigrees exceeded anything that Europe could produce, and who were clad in chain armour, brocade, silk, satin, and jewels. The gallery was filled with ladies; and as evening closed in there was a Rajpoot nautch and an entertainment of jugglers and musical glasses. A banquet followed, and then illuminations, the chief of which was an exhibition on the face of the rock crowned by the fortress of Jeypore. It was the sentence—"We welcome thee," in letters sixty feet in height, formed entirely by coloured lamps.

Six miles north of Jeypore stands the town of Amba Ramba, the temples and palaces of which command a wooded defile, crested by old fortresses and fragments of battlemented walls, offering a combination of the finest scenery with interesting ruins; and this place the Prince visited on the 6th. On the following night he left Jeypore by railway for Moradabad, from whence he proceeded to Nynce Tal in Kumaon, and entered the Terai or wilderness on the frontiers of Nepal, to have three weeks' tiger and elephant shooting. "This was to be the agreeable recreation, before leaving India, which should compensate for the fatiguing routine of state ceremonies and splendid public exhibitions in so many famous Indian cities and courts of the native princes."

The "Terai," or scene of the Prince's hunting operations, is the border of prairie that lies along the great forest at the base of the Himalayas, and runs from east to west, at the base of the vast triangle which is formed on one side by the mountains, and on the other two by the ocean. An evil repute has for ages been attached to the place, which the natives dread so much, that nothing will induce them to venture within its recesses at certain seasons of the year: for the fever of the Terai is a deadly pest when fully established. Cassids, or runners, in 1859, objected to cross the jungle; and Lord Clyde, when following up the discomfited rebels, was assured that if he approached the dreaded Terai all his native camp-followers would abandon him.

Those mutineers and others who followed Nana Sahib, the Begum, and other leaders, into those malarious regions, in 1858-59, perished in thousands; but privation contributed quite as much as local disease to decimate them. It is after the wet season and when the leaves are falling that the Terai is most perilous; yet old residents, who take due precautions, think little of passing through the worst districts, provided they do not linger there;

but whatever its perils may be, the vast wilderness of the Terai is full of attractions to the sportsman, as an infinity of game find shelter in its recesses. There the elephant, the tiger, and the rhinoceros roam in freedom; and all manner of other wild animals peculiar to Hindostan find their lair amid the rank luxuriance of its vegetation.

The Chief Commissioner of Kumaon, Major-General Sir Henry Ramsay, K.S.I., had established a camp on the skirts of the Terai, on the road leading from Moradabad to Nynsee Tal, that the Prince might have his first experience of jungle life before proceeding eastward, as he intended to meet Sir Jung Bahadoor, the Minister of Nepal. Ramsay's camp was somewhat extensive, as he had on the ground 200 elephants, 120 horses, 550 camels, sixty ox-carts, and 1,526 camp-followers and coolies, with the band and seventy-five of the 3rd Ghorkas, twenty of Probyn's Horse, and a detachment of police. It was a veritable canvas city, admirably organised, with tents as white as the snow that capped the Indian Alps. That of the Prince, though smaller than his stately pavilion at Agra, was handsome and simple.

The part of the Terai selected by Sir Henry is ancient forest, intersected by streams, that form in some places morasses so deep that the tallest elephants are sunk therein to their shoulders; while amid the prairie the grass is so gigantic, that the course of the game can only be tracked by the waving of the lofty reeds and the motion made by the elephants; while all around the leafy wilderness teems with partridges, peacocks, paroquets, vultures, plover, quail, snipe, and other water-fowl, wolves, jackals, foxes, porcupines, deer, and antelopes. Here, then, the Prince found himself on the 12th of February, with the royal standard floating over a sea of tents.

In beating the jungle, a correspondent says at the time, "the march is done here after breakfast; and instead of taking the line by which the tents and baggage are carried, the Prince of Wales and a number of his suite go through the jungle upon elephants, and shoot along the route, reaching the new camp about sunset. They all start in lines to beat the jungle. Between every sportsman there will be two, or perhaps three, pad elephants, which have only a pad on the back to carry the game on; but the animal does duty as a beater as well. As the Prince's shooting-party, with about fifty elephants, is much larger than tiger-shooting parties usually are, some experienced hands are with it to direct the route, and keep them all as near in line as possible. Sir Henry Ramsay, who is an experienced sportsman, accompanies the party, and has

charge of all the arrangements till the Prince enters the Nepal territory. Mr. Macdonald, who is the Burra Sahib of the district, and Mr. Elliot Colvin—both shikares of repute, who well know the haunts of the tiger in this locality—are also in charge, and direct the operations. Everything is done according to the usual custom among sportsmen who frequent this part of the world; and the Prince has to take his chance with the others of a shot at whatever is started. At times, a deer or hog will be knocked over at the first or second shot; but some animals will run the whole gauntlet, with guns blazing from every howdah, and may get off without a wound. The long jungle grass much increases their chances of escape. Some of this jungle grass is at times from a dozen to twenty feet high, and the heads of the sportsmen only are often all that are visible as they pass through it."

The Prince saw little more of Nepal than that portion of territory which was presented by Lord Canning to the Government of Khatmandoo; and though the worst part of the State, it teemed with game; otherwise, Sir Jung Bahadoor, whose sole object was to give the Prince sufficient sport, would not have suggested the locality for his visit. It was on the 12th of February they met. Tents had been sent forward and pitched on the banks of the Sarda, which Sir Jung crossed on horseback, with his brother and sons, several officers, a battery of guns, and a regiment of the Nepalese army, which numbers about 15,000 men. Pitching his tent near where that of the Prince was standing, he rode to a clump of trees, and waited the arrival of the former, whom he dismounted to meet and salute and welcome, and to whom he expressed the pleasure it gave his master and himself to see him in Nepal. Everything would be done to render His Royal Highness's visit an agreeable one, and to gratify his every wish. The speaker said, in conclusion, that he had never forgotten the visit which he paid to England in 1850, and the reception extended to him by Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the late Prince Consort. It was his intention to have gone to England last year had not an accident prevented him, but he hoped to be able to repeat his visit on a future occasion.

The Prince of Wales, in reply, thanked Jung Bahadoor for his expressions of goodwill, and for the services of the Nepalese Government to the British cause during the Indian Mutiny. His Royal Highness had always strongly wished to visit Nepal, and was glad to have had an opportunity of doing so.

Jung Bahadoor assured the Prince that nothing in his career gave him greater satisfaction than to

be able to assist the British Government during the Mutiny; and should the necessity again arise, at any future time, he would feel it his duty to render England the utmost assistance that lay in his power.

Sir Jung gave His Highness two tigers in cages, many other wild animals, and a splendid collection of birds from the mountains of Nepaul.

It was on the 21st of February that the greatest hunting expedition took place. "According to the best authority," says Dr. W. H. Russell, "there never has been, at any rate in recent times, such a bag of tigers made in Nepaul as there was to-day, save on one occasion, when eight, instead of seven, fell to the rifle; but, I believe, the Prince of Wales is the only sportsman who ever shot six tigers in one day in this country. Of these one was killed before twelve o'clock; the others were killed in what was really one beat, which did not last more than an hour. The Prince killed two of these with single shots—one for each; he disposed of three in two or more shots each, and one was accounted for by outsiders. The scene of this great slaughter was an immense tract of deep prairie on one of the branches of the Sarda—an island with sparse forest and thick jungle, such as tigers love. The afternoon's sport was inaugurated by a display rarely given to any one to witness. With imperfect knowledge on the subject, I hazard the assertion that such a spectacle was never beheld by living man; and, indeed, it may be doubted if the like was ever seen in past ages. This was a procession of 700 elephants, in single file. The Prince sat in his howdah, waiting for three-quarters of an hour, and watching the wonderful column cross the arm of the Sarda. As I saw them afterwards they reminded me of an immense army, seen at a distance moving in column. There were 600 elephants belonging to Nepaul, and about 100 which had come over with the Prince. To each elephant there were at least two persons, the mahout and the man on the pad; but several carried three or four. It is not too much to say that there were 1,800 natives engaged in the beat. The money value of the animals was very great, for all were good; and Sir Jung Bahadur had sent away 200 of the 800 he had assembled, because they were not up to the work, or fit to do duty with the Prince of Wales in the jungle. Unless you have seen what mountains of sugar-cane and green food an elephant can stuff down his throat, you can form no idea of the vastness of the commissariat arrangements for this hunting-party. When the elephants were all in position, they wore ship from line, stem and stern, to line ahead, and began to

move over the prairie like a vast fleet sweeping over the face of the deep."

One of the animals slain that day was a man-eater—a tigress that had but recently devoured a human being, whose bones were found near its lair. Another had killed nine bullocks and buffaloes belonging to an adjacent village. It is said to be only the old and sickly tigers that take to man-eating. Too slow or weak to overtake an antelope or deer, they pounce on some benighted wayfarer, and on discovering how easily he becomes their prey, they seldom seek for any other food.

On the following day, when the tents were pitched at Jamao, the Prince and Sir Jung Bahadur, with their attendants, rode out with a pack of tame elephants, to see the mode in which the wild ones are fought and captured. In Nepaul there are certain elephants, of vast size, strength, and cunning, trained to the work; and, it would seem, that nothing pleases the captive animal so much as to beat and batter one of the free into such a state of stupor that the hunters can, with ease, slip round his legs the chains and ropes that take him to captivity. On this occasion there was brought forth an enormous elephant, named Jung Pershad, who had but one tusk, having lost the other in some engagement. His whole head and part of his body were painted a brilliant red. Eastward of the camp there were two herds of elephants, and it was Sir Jung's desire to capture them under the eye of the Prince. "Horses were ordered at an early hour," says the journalist before quoted, "and the fast elephants with the pads were sent on ahead for the Prince and his party. Howdahs cannot be used for this work, as they would be swept off by the branches of the trees. The Prince had to get astride on a pad, holding on by a strap—the mahout in front, with a *kookerie* (Ghoorka knife) or bill-hook, to cut creepers and urge his elephant on with twitches in the ear, and a man behind with a mallet to hammer the creature into full speed. These trained racers will do seven miles an hour, the usual pace of the animals being two miles and a half. When the party had ridden a few miles, they found the pad elephants and a number of others. The fighting fellows were on ahead, engaged with some of the wild ones, who, headed by an old tusker, were showing a bold front and giving battle resolutely. 'Forward!' was the word. The Prince had, at least, a novel sensation now; for the elephant, 'kookeried' before and 'malleted' behind, dashed on at a speed that would have been exhilarating enough. But he went crashing through trees, down ravines, up nullahs, through jungle, in the most reckless

manner; and he had a store of water in his proboscis, which he replenished at every pool, and sluiced himself with to cool his sides as he ran. After two hours of this wild career, over difficult

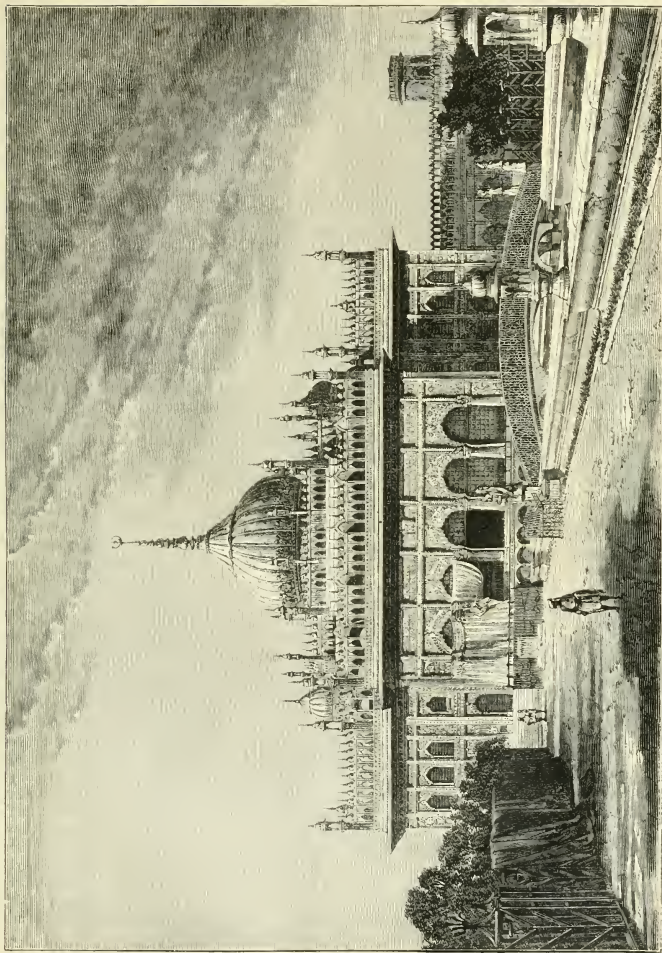
had broken back. 'Mount at once!' exclaimed Sir Jung, 'you are not safe! Get on your elephants.' Another scout came to report that the tusker had struck to the left, and that the fighters were engaged



PORTRAIT OF THE MAHARAJAH OF DHULEPORE.

country, Sir Jung called a halt, and suggested they should have the tents moved up to the place where they were, and continue the chase. But it was considered best to return to camp, as it might be difficult to have the tents struck, moved, and pitched by the evening. . . . As they were dismounted, taking some refreshments, some of the runners came up to announce that the wild herd

with him. Off went the Prince and party full speed again; but they did not see the battle. They only beheld the result; for, about ten miles back, they came on the captive—his legs tied, an elephant on each side, and one before and one behind him; his proboscis dejected, his tail bleeding, his ribs punched, his head battered, and his bearing exceedingly sorrowful."



VIEW IN LUCKNOW: HOOSHINABAD IMAMBARA.

In the course of the night the whole herd, fourteen in all, were captured, and fastened up to undergo training and taming, one young creature being reduced to milk diet by hand. This elephant-hunting was such rough work that none of the Europeans would have cared for a repetition of it; and one of the Prince's suite, Mr. Rose, was actually chased by a wild elephant—one with a broken tusk—and he had a narrow escape of being torn or trampled to death, as for one moment he was almost within reach of its trunk.

On the 5th of March the Prince bade adieu to Sir Jung Bahadoor, and, quitting the territory of Nepaul, took the train next day at Bareilly, and passed again through Lucknow and Cawnpoor to Allahabad, where he was received by the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and by Sir John Strachey, the Lieutenant-Governor. The streets were crowded, but the people were remarkably quiet, though the native display of flags and decorations showed the desire to celebrate his arrival in the holy city: which, being at the delta of the Jumna and the Ganges, is full of associations sacred alike to the Mohammedan and Hindoo. There he held a solemn investiture of the Star of India; and, after visiting the fort and Canning-town, he had a long conference with Lord Northbrook before departing to Indore to visit Holkar.

His reception in the capital of the Holkar States, on the banks of the Seepra, had nothing very special in its character. There was not the usual display of elephants and paraphernalia, but for five miles of the way the road was lined by the princely Holkar's feudal cavalry and artillery—the former well mounted and, like the latter, having fine uniforms and excellent weapons. The great chief took his leave of the Prince at the Residency; and His Highness drove, under escort, to visit the chiefs of Central India, whose camps, with banners flying, were pitched at some distance from the town.

After holding a durbār with Holkar, in the great hall of the Lalbagh, when all the great sirdirs were presented to him by that prince and by General Daly, our Resident, on the 10th of March His Highness took his departure for Bombay, by railway.

On arriving there, next morning, he was met by the Governor of Bombay, Sir Philip E. Wodehouse, Sir W. M. Westropp, the Chief Justice, Lieutenant-General Staveland, and other officials, and received on board the *Serapis* an address from the municipality, which was the last State appearance of the Prince in India. On the same day Her Majesty the Queen, in order to commemorate his visit, appointed His

Royal Highness honorary colonel of eight native regiments, four of which were in future to be designated "Queen's Own," and the other four "Prince of Wales's Own." The final leave-taking was, however, deferred till Monday, March 13th, when a farewell address from Bombay was presented to the Prince on board the *Serapis*, from whence he addressed the following letter to the Viceroy:—

"Her Majesty's ship *Serapis*, Bombay,
"the 13th of March, 1876.

"MY DEAR LORD NORTHBROOK,—I cannot leave India without expressing to you, as the Queen's representative of this vast empire, the sincere pleasure and the deep interest with which I have visited this great and wonderful country.

"As you are aware, it has been my hope and intention for some years past to see India, with a view to become more intimately acquainted with the Queen's subjects in this distant part of her empire, and to examine for myself those objects of interest which have always had so great an attraction for travellers. I may candidly say that my expectations have been more than realised by what I have witnessed, so that I return to my native country most deeply impressed with all I have seen and heard. The information I have gained will, I am confident, be of the greatest value to me, and will form a useful foundation for much that I hope hereafter to acquire. The reception I have met with from the princes and chiefs, and from the native population at large, is most gratifying to me: as the evidence of loyalty thus manifested shows an attachment to the Queen and to the throne, which, I trust, will be made every year more and more lasting.

"It is my earnest hope that the many millions of the Queen's Indian subjects may daily become more convinced of the advantages of British rule, and that they may realise more fully that the Sovereign and the Government of England, have the interests and well-being of India sincerely at heart. I have had frequent opportunities of seeing native troops of all branches of the service, and I cannot withhold my opinion that they constitute an army of which we may feel justly proud. The 'march past' at Delhi of so many distinguished officers and of such highly-disciplined troops was a most impressive sight, and one which I shall not easily forget. I wish also to state my high appreciation of the Civil Service; and I feel assured that the manner in which their arduous duties are performed tends greatly to the prosperity and the contentment of all classes of the community.

"I cannot conclude without thanking you and

all those in authority for the facilities which have enabled me to traverse so rapidly so large an extent of country; and, rest assured, I shall ever retain a grateful memory of the hospitality tendered by yourself and by others who have so kindly received me.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Northbrook,

"Yours very sincerely,

"ALBERT EDWARD."

Amid a general salute from thirteen vessels of war, the *Serapis* sailed at four o'clock, followed by the *Osborne*, the *Raleigh*, and the *Rifleman*, for shore despatches. The ships in the harbour were dressed with flags, and had all their yards manned. The wind was strong and the sea rough; but so soon as the *Serapis* was fairly ahead, the *Undaunted* (flagship), the *Doris*, *Diamond*, *Vestal*, *Arab*, and *Fumna*, with the ironclads *Abyssinia* and *Magdala*, manned their yards, cheered and thundered forth a royal salute, while Admiral Macdonald signalled "God speed you!"

Rissaldar Anoop Sing, of the 4th Prince of Wales's Own Bengal Lancers, and Rissaldar Mahomet Afzul Khan, a well-known native officer, of the 11th Bengal Lancers, accompanied the royal party to England on board the *Serapis*.

The Prince remained upon the bridge till the *Serapis* was fairly in the offing. The night was very

fine, and there was a dead calm when the shore of Western India sank into the sea. The voyage to Aden occupied six days, though the sea was smooth as glass, and the speed of the squadron averaged 272 miles in twenty-four hours. The *Osborne* ran under the quarter of the *Serapis* to exhibit her two elephants, which salaamed to the Prince as she shot ahead. On board the latter, the menagerie—for such it was, consisting as it did of eighty animals of all sorts—seemed to be very comfortable. The elephants walked about the deck, the deer were perfectly tame, and even the tigers from Nepal seemed quite domesticated, though showing their teeth at times. On board there were three which were usually kept in cages, but were sometimes led about with a chain by their native keeper. Some tame spotted deer, of the cheetah species, were allowed to run loose about the decks, where the young carnivorous beasts made every effort to get near them, as if in their native jungles. A small pony, eight feet three hands in height, shared the kennel of a Thibet mastiff, of which there were several specimens on board. The *guinees*, miniature oxen, not much larger than an English calf, had their daily exercise on the upper deck, where, like the rest of the Prince's menagerie, they proved a source of endless amusement to the tars of the *Serapis*, as she sped across the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE INDIAN "ABSTRACT," 1873-74.—LORD NAPIER RESIGNS THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY.—LORD NORTHBROOK'S ADMINISTRATION.

On the 9th of March, Major Sandeman was sent to Khelat, at the head of 1,000 men, to protect the caravans which traversed the Bolan Pass; and he was also deputed by the Viceroy to settle the differences that existed between the khan and his subjects. About the same time, serious agrarian outbreaks occurred in the Bustar district of Madras, where report alleged 30,000 ryots, mostly armed, had assembled; but troops were sent against them from Vizagapatam.

In the North-west, too, discontent appeared among the ryots, several thousands of whom assembled clamorously before the Government House at Allahabad to complain of the increased land-tax, but dispersed after stating their grievances.*

* *Bombay Gazette*, 1876.

On the 27th of February, a noted Delhi prisoner of State, Feroze Shah, great-grandson of the Emperor Shah Alum, who was rescued from the hands of the Mahrattas by Lord Lake, died at Moulmein; while, about the same time, in the death by epilepsy of the Maharajah of Pattiala, the British Government lost a most faithful and intelligent adherent. Staunch at a time when our authority was shaken to its foundation, the suppression of the Mutiny brought him a deserved reward in the form of increased territory and accession of honour. A warlike prince, in whose veins flowed the gallant Sikh blood, he was nevertheless ardently attached to the cause of education and progress; while his wealth was a subject for marvel even among those who were used to Oriental pageantry and prodi-

gality. He it was who became possessor of the magnificent jewels of the Empress Eugénie; and for many a year to come, the story will be told in caravanserais and Hindoo households, how splendidly he entertained the Prince of Wales when journeying from the North to the great city of Agra; but, "probably, the proudest moment of his life was that which he passed when, in presence of the Prince and Viceroy, and thousands of personages of high degree, he followed his knightly banner into the encampment of the Star of India on the 2nd of January, and took his seat immediately in advance of the little Begum of Bhopal."

During the administration of Lord Northbrook, much new and original information concerning India was given by the publication of "*An Abstract of Surveys, and other Operations in India, for 1873-4*," under the able editorship of Mr. Clements Markham, and almost every page of which records some great work in progress, some novelty of interest respecting the ancient cities and great temples of the land, or some promising discovery in the way of mineral or vegetable wealth, with glimpses of the inner life of India hitherto unknown. This "Abstract" records the great loss of life and craft among the native shipping. Hundreds of vessels, it would seem, are annually constructed in British Indian ports without any competent authority to class or inspect them during the progress of building. They are formed of the most cheap and common materials, we are told, and "barely nailed together:" the native owners being exceedingly parsimonious, and picking up scraps of iron gear and fittings anywhere.

This "Abstract" also treats of the trigonometrical survey of India, and shows that in Goojerat maps have been prepared which give every tópe, field, and tree, while the vast forests of the Dehra Doon have been drawn on the scale of four inches to the mile. Among the topographical researches, Mr. Markham's work contains descriptions of the cities of Devla and Pertabghur, which are noted for the manufacture of that peculiar kind of jewellery now so fashionable among Indian ladies, consisting of green glass in all kind of forms, on which hunting and other scenes are depicted, and the secret of which is so jealously guarded that workmen will not permit their wives or daughters to enter their workshops, lest its mysteries should become known. The "Abstract" also reports on the ruins of a wondrous old city named Mando, the walls of which are thirty miles in circumference, and which occupies a plateau, surrounded nearly on every side by the precipitous Vindhya mountains, and presents an "enormous mass of

mixed palaces, temples, and tanks," while the adjacent towns and villages attest it to have been for centuries the residence of vast armies and now forgotten kings.

In the course of their work, it would seem that the surveyors in Rajpootana came upon a singular old contrivance, by which the modern mode of telegraphy had been anticipated. This was a method of signalling practised across the sandy desert, from Ajmere to Bikaneer, and extensively used by the traders in opium, who thus made known the rate at which the drug was selling in Calcutta.

In the mountainous abode of the Nagas the surveyors found some tracts hitherto unknown; and the Patkoi ranges were discovered to be both rich and populous. On the lower spurs the india-rubber-tree is found to be common, and in the cold season the Nagas tap the trees in the jungle for the collection of gum; and when the price rose from ten to forty rupees per maund, the trees were tapped to such an extent that they were nearly all destroyed. In another direction beyond the Indus we have a report on the immense salt beds of Kohat, where the saline deposit is, in some places, more than 1,230 feet deep and exceedingly pure; while reefs of veritable gold are also reported to be at Wynaad.

Not the least interesting portion of the "Abstract" is that which embodies the fifth report of General Cunningham upon an archæological tour made by him in the Punjab during 1874, when he opened the mounds in the plain of Yusufzai, and beheld the remains of the people who saw the Greeks of Alexander on their march. He also reported that the ruined temples of the district exhibit a singular blending of Indian with Grecian art, showing Doric, Ionic, and even Corinthian columns, decorated with Hindoo gods and Indian water-plants.

General Cunningham procured a copy of Asoka's rock inscription, which identified the cave of Sudatta, "the illustrious giver," as its name implies, who gave away whatever he was asked for, till he was banished by his people for bestowing a famous white elephant on the Rajah of Kalinga. When exploring, in 1874, the ruins of Sahri-Bahlol, where Buddha gave away his eyes, he found near it an inscription which referred to King Gondophares, who is said to have had St. Thomas as his teacher and slave; and one vast Buddhist monastery near Harapa, on the Ravee, was utilised so far that its materials afforded the sappers and miners ballast for fully 100 miles of the Moulton Railway.

In Great Thibet our surveyors reached and

described the Tengri-Nur lake, in a wild, cold land, where, in winter, the water-falls become transformed to cliffs of ice. The mighty Thibetan tarn, known as Namcho, or the Lake of the Sky, from its altitude—which is 15,200 feet above the level of the sea—is a noble sheet of water, fifty miles in length by about twenty-five in breadth. It receives two considerable rivers and several minor streams, yet, strange to say, has no exit. To the south, the surveyors reported it to be bounded by snowy peaks and mighty glaciers, that culminate in the magnificent Alp of Jang-Ninjinthangla, 25,000 feet in height. In every way the "Abstract" referred to is, from its contents, one of the most important recent works on the Eastern possessions of the British Crown.

On the 10th of April, 1876, Lord Napier of Magdala resigned the command of the Indian army; and in a farewell order, issued on that occasion, his lordship said:—

"In laying down the chief command of Her Majesty's forces in India and the special command-in-chief of this presidency, it is expedient to advert to the circumstances of importance which have affected the army during the period of my command.

"The improvements in artillery, and more especially in small arms, and the extension of the range of deadly fire, rendered necessary a change in the form of attack.

"The Government of India liberally allowed the assemblage of troops on a large scale for manœuvres during the years 1871 and 1872; also, on a smaller scale, at Roorkee in 1873; and at Rawul Pindiee, Umballa, and Peshawur, in 1874; and, finally, at Delhi, for the inspection by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

"These camps have afforded opportunities of practising on an extended field the new forms of attack, the principles of which were ordered by H.R.H. Field-Marshal the Duke of Cambridge. The army has adopted the change of tactics with intelligence and alacrity, and will be found very handy for attack or defence in whatever form the nature of the enemy, the country, or circumstances, may demand. The labour and exposure entailed by the camps of exercise have been met by the officers and men of all arms with the best and most soldier-like spirit.

"It is highly satisfactory to note that the discipline of the army has improved. One hundred and sixty cases of insubordination, which occurred in 1869 and 1870, have been reduced to forty-nine cases in 1875. This reduction may be attributed, in a considerable degree, to the attention paid to

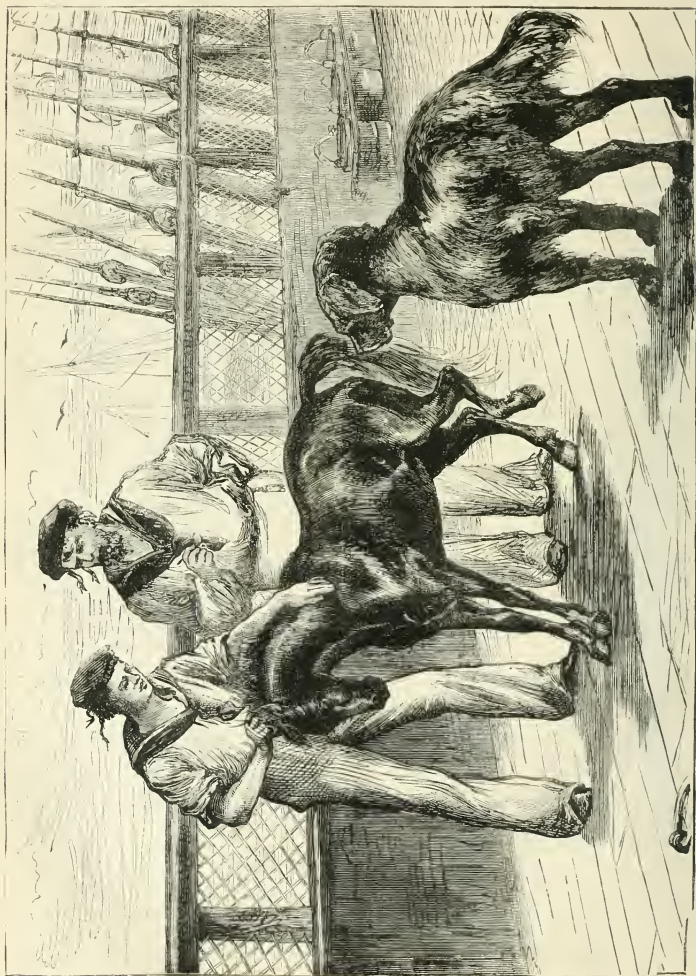
the rational employment and amusement of the soldiers, to the occupation given by the camps of exercise, to the greater comfort in barracks, and to the action of temperance societies. An extension of all these points, for which there is ample room, will produce better results. A complete record of the offences committed by about 18,000 men in the last five years, shows that the number of court-martial annually has been reduced from 1,177 to 514. The offences of the temperance men, compared with those of non-abstainers, are as one to forty nearly. The progress of the musketry instruction has been excellent, and the figures of merit show great progress. . . . The facts mentioned show that the army, during the past six years, has made a steady advance in all essential points. But, in congratulating it on this result, I would earnestly counsel all concerned to press on in the endeavour to improve, so that, when the day of trial comes—that day for which the army has alone existed—its success may be complete, and be won with the least possible loss.

"I would strongly advise the captains of companies more generally to identify themselves with the men of their own companies; to devote much of their time to their training, instruction, and amusement, so that a bond of union and confidence may always exist between them. To the officers of the native army, where they do not already follow the course advised, I would urge that they should lose no opportunity of studying the characters of their men, that they should carefully instruct their native officers, and, by associating with them in all general plans of regimental administration, and by treating them with kindness and confidence, they should make them feel that their place is on the side of authority. The native officers and soldiers will never shrink from the strictest discipline, provided their *amour propre* is respected."

Of this army, of which Lord Napier gave so favourable an account, the estimated strength, in 1875, stood thus:—Artillery: British, 652 commissioned officers, and 11,653 non-commissioned officers and gunners, with about 795 natives employed in various ways; but since the Mutiny care had been taken that cannon should not be entrusted to native troops.

Our cavalry numbered—British: 252 officers, and 4,098 non-commissioned officers and troopers; Native: 43 officers (Europeans), and 18,558 non-commissioned officers and men. Our engineers and sappers: 353 officers, with 3,011 non-commissioned officers and men.

Our infantry numbered—British: officers, 1,650,

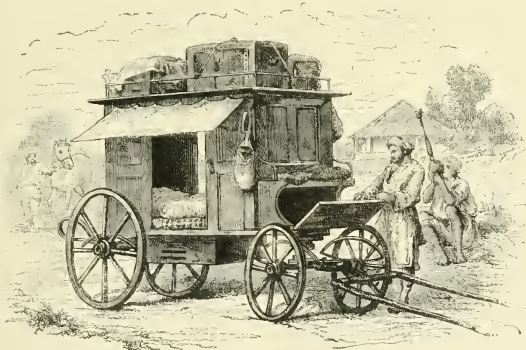


ON BOARD THE "SERAPIS;" THE PONY AND THIBET MASTIFF.

and 44,312 non-commissioned officers and men. The Native infantry: officers (British), 136, with 101,110 non-commissioned officers and sepoy. With this force—something less than 200,000 men generally—we control an empire which is bordered by China on the east, by the Afghan mountains on the west, and which stretches southward from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean; and, in case of foreign invasion, the Government of India could with ease enrol 100,000 more from among races the most warlike of the Eastern world. The army is a vast power in India, and nothing can be said of that country without some reference to it, as the sword underlies all the administration.*

and staying for a short time as the guest of the Governor of Ceylon, it was justly said of him that, whatever were the deficiencies of his administration, he left the country with a flourishing exchequer and nothing to indicate that days of evil were to come. This was all the more remarkable as he had to encounter a period of calamitous drought, with its inevitable and consequent inroads of famine, causing an expenditure of treasure which, if it had not been otherwise employed, would have been shown as a handsome surplus.

Notwithstanding the peril which menaced Bengal, the revenue for 1874-75 reached more than £50,000,000; while in 1875-76 it reached nearly



THE DAK-GHASI, OR POST-CHAISE.

On the resignation of Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton was appointed his successor; and on the former leaving Calcutta in the *Tenasserim* on the 15th of April, taking Colombo on his way home,

* Among the many irregular corps attached to the Indian army, perhaps the most singular is Macdonald's battalion of Meenas, formed by Captain (afterwards General) Macdonald. Like the first recruits of Sir James Outram's Bheel corps, raised in 1831, the Meenas were armed with spears, matchlocks, and bows and arrows. Dressed like Zouaves, they wore Glengarry bonnets; and, to gratify the taste for shrill music possessed by all the Purriar Meenas, "the big war-pipe of the Scotch clans was introduced," says the *Homeward Mail* of 13th December, 1875, and Deolee became vocal with pibrochs, while the Deolee Irregulars marched to such airs as "Johnny Cope" and "The Campbells are coming," played by six sepoy pipers, who wore over their uniforms flowing plaids of the colonel's clan tartan. "The chief sepoy architect answers to the name of Christopher Wren. Another savage of scientific tastes is known as Isaac Newton; and it sounds odd to hear a sepoy bag-piper addressed as Roderick Dhu, and another as Fassifera, so named after the gallant Highland colonel who fell at Waterloo."

£51,000,000; leaving in both these years—though £2,900,000 were applied towards the expense of the famine—a very considerable surplus. The extraordinary expenditure, which would be a source of no danger provided it were reproductive, went on at the rate of £4,000,000 during the two preceding years; and for the then current financial year it was about £3,759,000. The real pressure upon the vast resources of British India comes from the large outlay on necessary public works, which frequently fail to repay it; and, because no fixed principle animates the source of authority, money has often been wasted in the department of railways.

"It is a good sign," says a public print at this time, "that the Government has diminished the estimate for works to be constructed out of the produce of loans. Perhaps we may regard it as still more gratifying that no more taxation is con-

templated, and that money will not be borrowed except for the railways and cognate works. The new Tariff Act is said to work well, and all the branches of revenue are in a sound condition. We may observe, however, that the cash balances, after ranging high, are returning to a lower figure. They are now (April, 1876) upwards of £16,000,000, and it is estimated will be £13,500,000 next year. Consequently, they are approaching the limit below which prudence indicates that they should be allowed to fall.*

On the retirement of Lord Northbrook the state of the Indian finance was declared satisfactory—all the more so when there was considered the drain on the Treasury caused by losses occasioned by the adverse rate of exchange. Though some points of his administration—such as the Baroda experiment—were open to criticism, more or less severe, for the general acts of it he merited alike the gratitude and respect of his compatriots.

One of his last public acts in Calcutta was to preside at a meeting held there on the 11th of April, when resolutions were passed urging upon the public to assist in the creation of a bishopric at Lahore, in memory of the late Bishop Milman.

Unlike many of his predecessors, he waged no wars, he annexed no kingdoms, and did not add an acre to the already vast empire of British India; yet, for a whole year, he had to fight a hard battle with one hydra-headed enemy—the famine; and it has been said that were it only for the part taken by him in meeting that deadly danger which in 1873 and 1874 overhung Bengal, he would deserve the highest praise; for it was chiefly due to him that the horrors of the famine in Orissa were not repeated under his régime.

In Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, he had an able coadjutor, one whose energy was astonishing, and who personally inspected almost every quarter of his vast government—possessing a population double that of France—from Balasore in Orissa to the jealously-guarded frontiers of Thibet. “Like a Calmuck Tartar, he rode enormous distances without the slightest fatigue, thus showing himself an excellent example to all young Bengalees desirous of sharing some day in the work of governing their native country; for, according to the system introduced by Sir George Campbell, every competitor for the Native Civil Service must show himself as much at home in the saddle and gymnastics, as in English and mathematics. In the promotion of primary as well as high education in Bengal, Sir Richard Temple has been even more active than his predecessors.

* *Daily Telegraph.*

In spite, too, of his rather jealous restrictions on the new elective experiment in Calcutta, he rendered excellent service to the cause of local self-government throughout the province. . . . Time will show that the ex-Viceroy's estimate is the right one, and that there are excellent reasons why Sir Richard Temple is by far the most popular of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal.”*

At the same time, it is certain that Lord Northbrook was one of the most popular of Viceroys. He did not go to India to dazzle or be warlike; and we are told that he was met on his arrival there by many a petition for some respite from the heroic style of government, in words like those which ran:—“If the administration of India for the last few years points to anything more than another it is this: the necessity for giving her rest—rest from over-legislation, from over-taxation, from over-anxiety for change in the name of progress, from over-activity for ambitious administrative improvements.”

His policy was peaceful and just; order was well preserved and religion respected; and he sought to soothe the agitation the increase of taxes occasioned among the people; and by striking off Lord Mayo's great programme of public works, and other economies equally necessary, he was able to repeal the odious income-tax.

The new import duty levied on long-stapled cotton, which embittered national jealousy against Manchester, and an ordinance he issued against obscene and seditious plays in native theatres were alike oddly condemned by certain parties; while others alleged—and notwithstanding Lord Napier's high eulogium—that he should have attempted some re-organisation of the Indian army, and that he should also have turned to some account the mass of information collected by the Poonah Ryots Commission; but, in addition to repealing the income-tax, which was fast becoming obnoxious and dangerous, he was able to remit the non-agricultural cess in Bombay and the house-tax in Madras, while reducing the Pandari levy in the Central Provinces, and abolishing the Southern Customs line, which, by stretching like a barrier of obstruction across Southern India, caused so much discontent and ill-feeling.

He methodised the system of public works, encouraged liberal education in Bengal, and turned wisely to the instruction of the Mohammedan population, who had hitherto been carelessly left outside our educational establishments. Deserving natives he favoured when able to do so. One he appointed Director of Public Instruction in Berar, and two others to be attachés in the diplomatic service.

* *Examiner*, 1876.

As regards Afghanistan, it is said he followed the foreign policy of Lord Lawrence, in simply "waiting and watching" the turbulent clans of that mountainous region; and, while averting the misfortune of another war with Ava, sent an embassy to Yarkand.

Had Lord Northbrook not grappled with the famine, and had that scourge spread, with its twin-brother disease, the heir of the British Throne had not made so brilliant and successful a visit to India.

"Ever memorable," says a native journal, "will this rule be for the grand and generous policy adopted by Government; for the vastness of the preparations made in the pursuance of that policy; for the promptitude, energy, and self-sacrifice with which all the officers of Government, from the highest to the lowest, laboured in the mission of

humanity, and for the warm sympathy and active benevolence which it evoked both in Britain and in India. This was the first time in the history of British rule in the East, that the State recognised its duty to maintain its suffering subjects at a time of general scarcity, and performed that duty with a consideration, devotion, and liberality which have not only filled the hearts of the Indian subjects of the Queen with the most lively feeling of gratitude, but the whole civilised world with the highest admiration."

Such praise from the lips of the Hindoos was more ennobling than any patent of nobility; but for his eminent services in India, the Queen was pleased to raise the ex-Viceroy in the peerage of Great Britain, by creating him Viscount Baring of Lee, in the county of Kent, and Earl of Northbrook, in the county of Northampton.*

CHAPTER LXXIX.

LORD LYTTON VICEROY.—THE KOHAT PASS.—"THE ROYAL TITLES BILL."—THE QUEEN EMPRESS OF INDIA.

LORD NORTHBROOK'S successor as Viceroy was Edward Robert Bulwer, Lord Lytton, a writer, poet, and diplomatist of considerable eminence, and only son, moreover, of the great novelist, dramatist, statesman, and orator of the same name. Born in 1831, he had been educated at Harrow, and then at Bonn, in Germany; after which, at the age of eighteen, he entered the diplomatic service of his country in 1849, when he was appointed attaché at Washington, where his uncle, Sir Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling and Bulwer), was the British ambassador, and to whom he acted as private secretary.

In the diplomatic service he was successively at Florence, Paris, and the Hague. In 1858 he was paid attaché at St. Petersburg, and afterwards at Constantinople and Vienna. He was twice in positions of great responsibility in Servia, and in 1860 was Acting Consul-General at Belgrade, when he was employed on a special mission to prevent the renewal of hostilities between the Turks and Servians, after the capital of the latter had been bombarded. In reward for his services on this occasion he was employed as second secretary; and in January, 1863, was promoted to be Secretary of Legation at Constantinople. He was afterwards

at Athens and Lisbon; and, after concluding the negotiation of a commercial treaty between Britain and Austria, he was transferred to Madrid.

During this active career he published many able works of fiction, &c., under the *nom de plume* of "Owen Meredith;" and eventually, after being our ambassador at the Court of Lisbon, was offered the Governorship of Madras, when vacant, in May, 1875, by the death of Lord Hobart; but accepting the Viceroyalty of India, in succession to the Earl of Northbrook, he left London on the 1st of March, and landed on the 7th of April at Bombay, after which he arrived at Calcutta. Upon reaching Howrah, he was received by several high Government officers, by whom he was escorted in procession to the Government House. The route was lined with British and Native troops. There were large crowds of spectators, and the Viceroy met with a warm reception. On reaching the Government House, His Excellency was received by the Lieutenant-Governor and the civil and military officials; Lord Northbrook meeting him at the top of the grand staircase, and conducting him to the throne-room, where he took the oath of office on the 12th of April, 1876, when in his forty-fifth year.

* *Gazette*, June 9th, 1876.

At the close of the interesting ceremony, his lordship, contrary to the general custom of his predecessors, addressed the Council of India. He felt, he said, that on assuming his high office he became "the inheritor of a great duty bequeathed to him by great men, whose manner of discharging it had made their names a part of British history."

He nevertheless did not, and could not, shrink from the unsparing obligations of the arduous task before him, because he relied on the loyal support of able and experienced colleagues, on the sympathy of all Britons, the generous appreciation of the people of India, and the confidence of his sovereign the Queen.

"The vast development which has lately been effected in the means of intercommunication," continued the new Viceroy; "the recent and rapid march of events, both in Asia and Europe; the ever-increasing proximity of the Eastern and Western worlds—all these things have undoubtedly rendered more complex, and therefore more laborious and more anxious than of old, the duties of the Government of India; but what our position has thus lost in simplicity it gains, I think, in grandeur, as the interests affected by it become more numerous, and its influence more widely felt. Discussions have recently been raised, in Parliament and elsewhere, on the relative position of the Home and Indian Governments. If I now allude to those discussions it is because my own name has been introduced into them, and I therefore deem myself entitled to take the earliest opportunity in my power of endeavouring to remove from your minds any doubt that such discussions may have suggested, as to the profound sense of personal responsibility with which I assume my place at this table.

"As the mariner, who knows the noble nature of the elements to which he trusts his course, so, fearlessly confiding in that frank and open spirit which I believe to be the special attribute of the British character, I say broadly that, from whatever party the Queen's Government may at any time be formed, I, in my personal capacity here, shall at all times, on your behalf, be ready to welcome its timely and constitutional co-operation, as a guarantee for the salutary freedom of our deliberations and the undisputed dignity of our authority.

"By the generous confidence with which I am already honoured on the part of my noble friend, the Secretary of State for India, and Her Majesty's responsible advisers in London, I feel myself strongly supported; but I trust, gentlemen, that it may be my good fortune, as it certainly is my earnest desire, to win from your sympathies a support no less generous, no less considerate, and no

less gratefully appreciated. Aided by your advice, and relying on your trusted experience, it will be my unremitting endeavour to keep a strict watch over the economical management and cautious progress of our administration.

"Such economy and caution are, indeed, especially imposed upon us by the unprecedented disturbance of our currency at the present moment; but I shall also claim your co-operation in providing with unflinching firmness for the safety and repose of the empire.

"Gentlemen, it is my fervent prayer that a Power higher than that of any earthly government may inspire and bless the progress of our counsels, granting me, with your valued assistance, power to direct them to such issues as may prove conducive to the honour of our country, to the authority and prestige of its august sovereign, and the progressive well-being of the millions committed to our fostering care, and to the security of the chiefs and the princes of India, as well as of allies beyond the frontier, in the undisturbed enjoyment of their just rights and hereditary possessions. In that case, gentlemen, I shall indulge a hope that, if life and health be vouchsafed to me to reach the term of my official tenure, I may then have merited some measure of that esteem and regard with which your thoughts will follow hence my distinguished predecessor when he quits these shores—some claim upon kindly feelings, akin to those with which our wonted sympathies and good wishes will assuredly accompany his progress through every fresh phase of a career already conspicuous and already rich in high achievements."

On the 22nd of the same month, Lord Lytton, accompanied by Lady Lytton (Edith, daughter of the Hon. Edward Villiers), left Calcutta, and took up his residence at Simla, the Court sanatorium of Bengal, to which we have had so often to refer.

It contains many houses, which are scattered along the crest of different mountain ranges, at an average elevation of 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. Many of these mountains are mere vassals of the mighty Himalaya, but would be the boast of other countries. Over these the snowy range extends from N. 30° W. to N. 70° E., embracing consequently an angle of a hundred degrees. The appearance of this mass of snow is that of a wide undulating plain, from which peaks rise in every imaginable shape. Between these peaks are the passes that lead into Kunawar and Chinese Tartary.

The first barrier is but the screen to other assemblages of higher mountains, which again are still the inferiors of the world-like bulwarks on the left bank of the Indus, from whence they slope to

the steppes of Tartary, and are at length lost in the deserts of Cobi and the deep woods and marshes of Siberia. Between the plains of Bengal and Simla the hills are devoid of trees; but on gaining the summit of the range crowned by the latter, we enter a fine forest, consisting of every species of evergreen, oak, and rhododendron.

One of the most pleasing places near the Court sanatorium is a deep dell, named (by some Scottish officer, probably) Annandale, wooded with pine and larch; but, like other forests near Simla, thickly inhabited by baboons, with white or straw-coloured bodies, and black hands and feet. Among the Puharries, the native or resident tribe, infanticide once prevailed to a dreadful extent, as these hill-people had a great aversion to female children; and marriage among them being virtually buying on the part of the husband and selling on the part of the parents, it is an undisputed fact that two or three brothers of a family, if too poor to support a wife each, buy or marry one, who will belong to them all; and the children of these unions are called the children of the first, second, or third brother, according to the order of their birth.*

At Simla the Trades Association presented an address of welcome to Lord Lytton, who, when replying to it, vindicated the policy of the Indian Secretary (the Marquis of Salisbury) regarding the cotton duties, and said that their abolition, or reduction, at the cost of adding to taxation, was never intended; and he spoke with warmth of the marquis' assiduous devotion to the interests of India. For himself, he added that nothing would ever induce him to tax the people of that country for any exclusive benefit to their British fellow-subjects. At that time, however, the smallness of the surplus, and the constantly increasing expenditure, with the unforeseen consequences of the depreciation of the currency, rendered it impossible to make the smallest reduction in the country's limited sources of income.

At the same time a great public meeting was held in Bombay to denounce the Revenue Jurisdiction Act, which was generally condemned by the Indian press; and a resolution was passed to memorialise the Secretary of State against it; while the refusal of the Government to grant the use of the town hall for the meeting produced much bitter comment.

In April, there occurred upon the Punjaub frontier several skirmishes between our troops and the restless and lawless Afreedies, in which several men were killed and wounded. The dispute arose thus:—For some time previously, the Indian

Government had paid the Afreedies a yearly subsidy to keep the road through the Kohat Pass in repair, and to protect all travellers.

Kohat is a town and fort of Afghanistan, in the province of Peshawur, and the pass referred to lies on the south side of the Khyber mountains, midway between the town of Peshawur and Kalabagh, in the gorge of the great Salt range. The Sikhs long held possession of Kohat, though surrounded by the Afreedies, one of the most intractable of Afghan tribes.

Towards the close of 1876, they broke their compact by totally neglecting the road; on which we blockaded the pass, and prevented the entire tribe from trading with British territory, thereby causing them much pecuniary loss. On this, the whole of the Afreedies—save one section—professed a desire to submit, and troops were sent from Peshawur to keep possession of Cherat.

The census of Calcutta, taken in the beginning of April, 1876, showed a population of 420,000; but these figures were supposed to be liable to correction.

While the Prince was on his Eastern tour there came to pass that event which caused so much speculation, argument, and discussion at the time—"The Royal Titles Bill," which ended eventually in Her Majesty the Queen, on the 16th of March, 1876, being declared, by a majority of 105 in the House of Commons, Empress of India—a fact which has now passed into the history of the nation, and on which comment is needless, though the actual value of it has yet to be tested.

On the 28th of April, this increase of the royal dignity was thus formally announced in the gazettes:—

"VICTORIA R.

"Whereas an Act has been passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled 'An Act to enable Her Most Gracious Majesty to make an Addition to the Royal Style and Titles, appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies,' which Act recites that, by the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, it was provided that after such union the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies should be such as His Majesty, by His Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, should be pleased to appoint; and which Act also recites that, by the virtue of the said Act, and of a Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal, dated the 1st day of January, 1801, our present Style and Titles are, 'Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,

* *E. I. U. S. Mag.*, 1834.



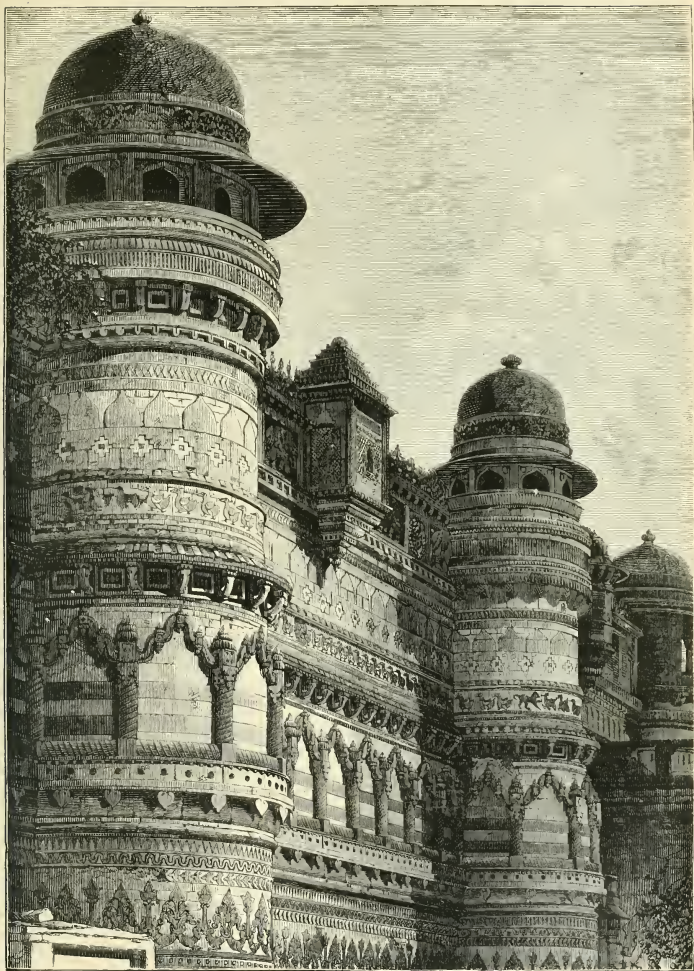
A CARAVAN.

Queen, Defender of the Faith;' and which Act also recites that, by the Act for the better Government of India, it was enacted that the Government of India, theretofore vested in the East India Company, in trust for us, should become vested in us, and that India should thenceforth be governed by us and in our name, and that it is expedient that there should be a recognition of the transfer of Government so made by means of an addition to be made to our Style and Titles: And which

Act, after the said recitals, enacts that it shall be lawful for us, with a view to such recognition as aforesaid, of the transfer of the Government of India, by our Royal Proclamation, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, to make such addition to the Style and Titles at present appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies as may seem meet; we have thought fit, and by the advice of our Privy Council, to appoint and declare, and we do hereby, by and



TRAVELLING BY ROAD.



SIDE WALL OF THE PÁL PALACE, GWALIOR.

with the said advice, appoint and declare, that henceforth, so far as conveniently may be, on all occasions and in all instruments wherein our Style and Titles are used, save and except all charters, commissions, letters patent, grants, writs, appointments, and other like instruments, not extending in their operation beyond the United Kingdom, the following addition shall be made to the Style and Titles at present appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies; that is to say, in the Latin tongue in these words: 'Indiæ Imperatrix.'

"And in the English tongue in these words: 'Empress of India.'

"And our will and pleasure further is, that the said addition shall not be made in the commissions, charters, letters patent, grants, writs, appointments, and other like instruments, hereinbefore especially excepted.

"And our will and pleasure further is, that all gold and silver and copper moneys, now current and lawful moneys of the United Kingdom, and all gold, silver, and copper moneys which shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the like impressions, shall, notwithstanding such addition to our Style and Titles, be deemed and taken to be current lawful moneys of the said United Kingdom; and further, all the

moneys coined for and issued in any of the Dependencies of the said United Kingdom, and declared by our Proclamation to be current and lawful moneys of such Dependencies, respectively bearing our Style or Titles, or any part or parts thereof, and all moneys which shall hereafter be coined and issued according to such Proclamation, shall, notwithstanding such addition, continue to be lawful and current moneys of such Dependencies respectively, until our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon.

"Given at our Court of Windsor, the 28th day of April, 1876, in the 39th year of our reign.

"God save the Queen."

On the 1st of May the Proclamation, announcing the Queen's assumption of the title of "Empress of India," was publicly read at the foot of the column in Trafalgar Square. The under-sheriffs and other officials were in four carriages, with the trumpeters inside; and it is a curious fact that barely 200 persons were present at the ceremony.*

On the 3rd, the event was proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh by the Scottish heralds, with a guard of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, on which occasion a very large concourse of spectators attended, and the band played the National Anthem.†

CHAPTER LXXX.

OUR INDIAN POLICY.—MISSIONS IN CHINA.—DEATH OF SIR JAMES WEIR HOGG, ETC.

ABOUT this time there was a lull in the affairs of Khelat, and Major Sandeman's advance by the Bolan Pass was greatly retarded by an outbreak of cholera among his troops; but the north-west frontier of Scinde and the Punjaub were a source of uneasiness to the Government of India, which was anxious to assist the Khan of Khelat in rescuing his khanate from anarchy, and, if possible, to place the whole frontier under one administration, as anarchy there was always pregnant with peril. It was urged by some that there was neither hatred nor mistrust of us in Beloochistan, as there were among the Afghan tribes; that in bygone times small risals of the Scinde Horse were wont to patrol the country in every direction with perfect safety, and that such would be the case again if the policy of befriending and supporting the khan, then

embroiled with his own people, were strongly carried out; and this was, to a certain extent, the object of Sandeman's expedition.

It was suggested to take the robber-tribes upon the frontier into pay as police, in which capacity they would recognise Britain as a Power not to be trifled with, and respect us accordingly; and that the Khan of Khelat should be subsidised in a sufficiently liberal manner to enable him to influence and control his subjects, while we took possession of those positions in his khanate which would afford him support, both moral and physical, and thus enable him to maintain order with ease within his own bounds; and that, by these means, we should at once have a friendly State on our borders, peace instead of contention with Afreedies and others on

* *Daily Telegraph.*

† *Scotsman.*

our frontier, and also secure the advanced strategic posts in that line of defence which may yet be wanted in order to guard the approaches to India. But the spring of the following year found Major Sandeman's force still necessary to secure peace in the province of Khelat.

The intended occupation of Merv by the Russians seemed to introduce a new, or additional, element of danger on our frontiers, from the fact that it lies so near the Afghan borders, and that a skirmish, however accidental—a few shots exchanged by scouts or outposts—might bring Russia and Cabul into collision, and thus precipitate in Central Asia the whole question between Great Britain and Russia, which the latter asserted they were as anxious to avoid as ourselves.

Merv, or Mervi-Shah-Jehan, is a town of Turkomania, some 300 miles south-east of Khiva, in an oasis of the same name. An earthen wall, four miles in circumference, girds its population of about 3,000, who are chiefly Persians; and though but a poor place now, since pillaged in 1786 by the Usbec Tartars, it was for ages one of the four great cities of Khorassan.

Granting that the occupation of this place would imply no ulterior or unfriendly views towards British India, the risk of disturbing friendly relations by the presence of the Russian flag there could not be small; for the question to be immediately considered is: What would be the effect of the invasion and gradual occupation of all Afghanistan by Russia? "We do not hesitate to say," affirms a writer on this important subject, "that the steady and unresisted advance of our great rival, distorted by a hundred rumours, would unsettle the imaginative Indian mind in a dangerous degree. The elements of disturbance latent among 200,000,000 people must necessarily be numerous; and however devoid of cohesion in quiet times, the spark that would fuse them into formidable union might be kindled at any moment. It is significant how the views of all responsible politicians on the subject of 'Russian aggression' seem converging towards a point of agreement. It is generally admitted that no interference with Afghanistan should pass unchallenged. The more passive school, fairly and ably represented by Mr. Grant Duff, though they refuse to see a menace even in the occupation of Merv, and would remain inactive, though observant, until Herat was attacked, would then declare 'war with Russia all over the world.' The more active school, on the other hand, would rather seek to avert this catastrophe by preventing the occupation of Merv. This they would effect by pushing forward a force to Quetta—whence we have a right by treaty to do—and

then representing that the occupation of Merv would make it necessary for us to advance to Herat; and considering the danger to peace which we have shown to be involved in the Russian occupation of Merv, the more statesmanlike policy seems to lie in this direction. . . . Whereas every year finds Russia improving her communications and accumulating the means of offence, the resources available on our side for a campaign in Afghanistan do not appreciably increase. Even as matters now stand, the probable difficulties in her way between the Caspian and Herat or Merv, are fewer than those we should encounter in a march from India to either of these points; while from Cearjui on the Oxus to Merv the distance is, of course, trifling. . . . Meanwhile, the danger to peace which it may involve is not lessened by the tone taken by the Russian press. There the prospect of the occupation of Merv is exulted in: as a menace to Britain, as the occupation of a point of vantage, whence, at a critical moment, she might be seriously embarrassed, and even a force, raised from the surrounding countries, hurled against our Indian frontier. It is enough that the extent of the power which we might be driven to exert, should not be lost sight of by those whom it may concern. Hitherto, perhaps, it is rather the will than the power which has seemed in abeyance; but there are signs of a change in this respect which it would be dangerous to ignore. If this be recognised, as we hope in the interests of peace it will be, it is difficult to believe that a firm but courteous representation of the case would not, while as yet no point of honour is involved, suffice to prevent the Russian occupation of Merv.*

The spring of the following year saw the Afghan chiefs on the most friendly terms with the Russians, and seconding the efforts of the Ameer to get a force ready for some purpose. Hence, in February, he had twenty-eight regiments of horse, each 600 strong; seventy-two battalions of infantry, each 800 strong; four heavy gun batteries, seventeen smaller batteries, and five brigades of horse artillery.†

In connection with all these matters, the assumption by the Sovereign of Great Britain of a title implying imperial supremacy in India may possibly have a great—perhaps useful—significance. "It declares to all the world," says the *Quarterly Review*—speaking, it may be supposed, on behalf of the Conservative party, the leaders of which were responsible for the "Royal Titles Bill"—"that she is the personal head of a great Asiatic empire, and that the position is, emphatically, one which can

* *Quarterly Review*.

† *Homeward Mail*, 1877.

never with honour be abandoned. Her position towards the native princes cannot be better expressed than by the title of 'Empress'—a title which indicates a supremacy over other sovereign rulers, and, as such, was assumed by the King of Prussia to mark his supremacy in Germany. The attempts made during the recent discussions (on the Titles Bill) to establish an analogy between India and the colonies showed, we think, a complete misapprehension of the position of both."

In February, 1876, the Russian troops, under General Scobelev, had overrun all Khokand, and made themselves masters of twelve towns there.* And in November it was asserted, by telegram from Lahore to Bombay, that "The Russian ambassador requested the Ameer to restore Abdaal Rahman Khan's estates: otherwise, the Czar would make him Governor of Bokhara, and encourage attacks on Maimana and Badakhshan, invite the inhabitants to revolt, and permit Sikander Khan to invade Herat; and that the chiefs agreed to petition the Ameer for the restoration of Mohammed Yakooob Khan."†

We have stated, in its place, that Lord Lytton, on taking the oaths of office at Calcutta, deemed it expedient to adopt the somewhat unusual step of addressing the Council. Of this speech we have only given an extract, but the whole tenor of it was evidently meant to correct any misapprehension that might have been caused in India by the encroaching spirit of the Home Government.

Lord Salisbury had indicated a desire to control or direct, as Secretary of State for India, the course of legislation in the East. A Bill was framed, embodying these pretensions, which, had it become law, would have gone far to lessen the powers and the position of the Viceroy; and, eventually, it was withdrawn; but Lord Lytton came to rule over the vast empire of British India while the impression produced by Lord Salisbury's movement was fresh in the minds of men, and when there were some gloomy forebodings of what might be the sequel to it; and Lord Lytton, wisely considering that he should dispel these, referred in his speech to the "discussions which have recently been raised, in Parliament and elsewhere, relative to the position of the Home and Indian Governments."

He evidently felt that the man who accepts the post of Viceroy of India has duties towards that empire which require fulfilment, even should his mode of performing these duties be displeasing to the Secretary of State for India; for any excessive interference from home, while lessening his conception of personal responsibility, would impair

his authority over the ever-watchful native princes. It was urged in more than one publication at the time that this was a point of capital importance, and that if ever we lost India it would be, too probably, by home pressure and home intermeddling; that, instead of lessening, we should uphold and fortify the Viceroy; for too often it might happen that no wise reflections, born in London and wired to Calcutta, could be an efficient substitute for independent judgment, formed, with a full knowledge of the subject, upon the spot of action.

The month of March saw some troubles likely to ensue with the Chinese by their attacks upon our missionaries. Some time previously the Mission of the Church of England rented a building for the purposes of a chapel in the city of Kien-ning. Thither one of their catechists was sent, with three students, having orders to prepare themselves for future usefulness there.

All was quiet for a time; but after that, for several days, an unusual interest was manifested by the inhabitants, who came to the chapel, bought numbers of books, and pretended to be very friendly in their demeanour; but one day a member of the literati came, and announced to the catechist that he must substitute the name of Confucius for that of Jesus in his books: otherwise, instead of staying where he was in peace, he would get into serious trouble.

Two days after, a number of men burst into the chapel, and said, "What are you doing with all these children here? You are collecting them for evil purposes!" The mob then seized the English catechist, the students, and Church members who were there, dragged them out to the front of the Emperor's temple, stripped them nude, and hung two of them to trees by their thumbs.

A false alarm that the prefect was coming led them to take their victims down; but when they found that official was not approaching they tied ropes to the queues of four Christians, and led them naked through the principal streets of the city, calling out, "Come and see the foreigners we have here!" After long delay the magistrate sent runners, and had the Christians taken to his yamen; but some of the literati went to the prefect and demanded their expulsion from the city. The demand was complied with; and then the English chapel was entirely destroyed, as mob-law reigned supreme at Kien-ning and Yeng-ping, till representations were made on the subject by H.B. Majesty's representative.*

But in the subsequent July these events were

Punjab Courier.

† *Madras Times.*

* *China Mail.*

followed by a fearful attack upon the Catholic Christians at Ning-kuoh Fu, in the province of Ngan-hwuy, when a crowd, consisting of 1,000 ruffians, chiefly soldiers, under the guidance of officials, burst into a chapel during Divine service, and brained several members of the congregation. They forced the officiating priest down upon his knees, and demanded that he should cease to promulgate the Christian doctrine. He declined to do so, whereupon the most frightful outrages occurred. He was tortured to death, and then hacked to pieces; a little child whom he had adopted was literally rent limb from limb. The corpse of a clergyman who had died some days before was torn from its grave and mutilated. These outrages were all traced to a military mandarin named Wu, who openly expressed a malignant hatred of the Christian religion; and the result was that the Inland Mission had to abandon all that neighbourhood, while the clergyman in charge of it proceeded by steamer to Wuhu to pray for inquiries, too probably in vain.*

In the summer of 1876 there were lost to India the services of two of her most eminent civilians. On the 27th of May, Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart., died. Born in 1790, he had gone to India at an early age, and practised as a barrister with such success that he became Registrar of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. He was afterwards a Member of Parliament. In 1839 he became a Director, and in 1846 Chairman, of the old East India Company.

On the 23rd of June there died General Lord Sandhurst, G.C.B. and G.C.S.I., so well known in the wars of India under his name of Mansfield, who served with distinction in the Sutlej and Punjaub campaigns, and as Chief of the Staff in 1857, under Lord Clyde, during all the various operations which led to the suppression of the Mutiny. He was only in his fifty-seventh year; and it is worthy of notice that, at the time of his death, with the exception of the Prince of Wales and Duke of Cambridge, he was the youngest general officer holding the colonelcy of a regiment—the 38th, or Staffordshire.

On the 24th of July there died Sir William John Kaye, K.S.I., the eminent Anglo-Indian historian, in his sixty-third year. He began life as a subaltern in the artillery of the old East India Company, and established the *Calcutta Review*. In 1856 he entered the home Civil Service of the Company, and on the transfer of the Government he was appointed Secretary to the Political and Secret Department of the India Office, in succession to John Stuart Mill—a post which he held

with honour for nineteen years, retiring into private life in 1874. The histories of the war in Afghanistan, of the sepoy revolt, and many other works, have fully established his reputation as an Indian historian.

On the 15th of October, the supposed Nana Peishwa, Jumna Dass by name, died in the Maharajah Scindia's jail at Gwalior, where his arrest and detention excited much hostility against the prince among the people of his province.

In 1876, Mr. Henry Cottam, a Ceylon planter, made a bold but unsuccessful attempt, with another Englishman, to explore a new overland route from India to China. With a party he started from Assam, and travelled by the way of the Senga-pani River, their intention being to make their way into the Chinese province of Yunnan, through the Khampti and Sungphoo country, and from thence across the Irawaddi.

They were, unfortunately, brought to a standstill mainly through the failure of the provisions for their native followers. In the course of their journey, Mr. Cottam and his companion visited the Brahm Kund, or Sacred Pool of Brahma, which is fed by the Brahmapootra, a stream which traverses the long valley of Assam, in its passage through which it receives no less than fifty-nine tributaries from the Himalaya and Garro mountains.

The 30th of June this year saw one of the most remarkable events in the East—the opening of the first railway in China, the short line from Shanghai to Kangwan.

On the 18th of August, Lord Lytton, as Viceroy of India, officially notified his intention to hold an imperial assemblage at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1877, to proclaim the Queen as Empress of India; and on the 1st of the following month there occurred the first municipal election at Calcutta.

In November, some interest was excited among military circles in India by the appointment of the two native officers, already mentioned as having accompanied the Prince of Wales to London—Sirdir Anoop Sing Bahadoor, Rissaldar 4th Regiment (P.W.O.) Bengal Lancers, and Sirdir Mohammed Azful Khan, Khan Bahadoor, Rissaldar 11th Regiment (P.W.O.) Bengal Lancers—to be native orderly officers, or aides-de-camp, to His Royal Highness, prior to their return home. As these were both officers of distinction and high intelligence, it is impossible to doubt that, during the seven months they spent in Britain, their minds must have been largely expanded and impressed by the riches, resources, and good government of the paramount State in the British Empire.

* *Celestial Empire*, August 5th, 1876.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE MOHAMMEDANS OF INDIA ON "THE EASTERN QUESTION."

THE war waged between the Turks and Servians now began to attract much attention among the Mussulman population of India; and in November subscriptions were raised in aid of the sufferers

sovereign of these Christian realms, possessed much interest. Though dated from Calcutta, it was the result of the local committees established in Hyderabad, Patna, Lucknow, Lahore,



RIVER-VIEW IN CHINA.

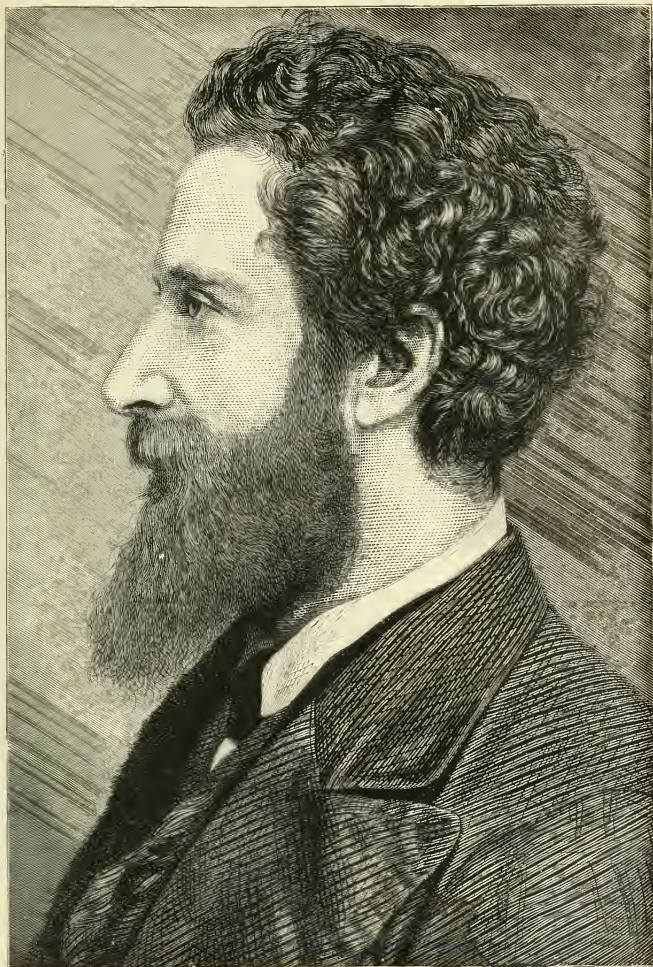
in the Turkish war; at Hyderabad a committee of wealthy Mohammedan gentlemen was formed, with the sanction of the Resident and Prime Minister, and funds came pouring in from all quarters.*

The excitement on this subject, aided by the powerful influence of the native press, spread fast, and culminated in an address to the throne on the subject of the expected war between Russia and Turkey, and the support of the power of the latter. This document, coming as it did from a vast Mohammedan community like that of India to the

Peshawur, Bombay, and elsewhere, and may be taken as the voice of the 20,000,000 Mohammedans in Bengal. The strongest feeling of the Moslem of our days is an apprehension of Christian aggressiveness; and with this is combined a knowledge that the formidable Europeans, who can unite vast military force with wealth, art, and science, can eventually subjugate all Mohammedans of every creed and nation, unless the latter combine so as to save each other from ruin.

Though this singular address—which was duly laid before Her Majesty—had no political effect, it

* *Times of India.*



PORTRAIT OF LORD LYTTON.

naturally excited some comment among the press; and some there were who hinted that—which was probable enough—though Bengal Mohammedans signed it, the wording and general ideas seemed to indicate the hand of a European—in the vicinity, perhaps, of Government House, Calcutta.

The Mohammedans of India are quite cognisant of how, for political reasons, Britain has supported the power of Turkey; and, in its place, we have referred to the remarkable speech made by Lord Northbrook, to the effect that the war in the Crimea had retarded the Indian Mutiny for some time, and lessened its force when it did break forth; and, perhaps, it was the result of the then remoteness of India, and tardy diffusion of intelligence, that when we smote the Turk at Navarino, it created not the smallest interest in Bengal, or anywhere else in the East.

The Sultan, although styled Defender of the Faithful, assumed that title at a comparatively late date; and the real head of Islam is the Scheriff of Mecca, who is recognised as such by millions of Mohammedans, and, above all, by the Asiatics. Like the Christians, the Moslems are split up into many sects; of these the two great divisions are the Sunnees, or Sunnites, and the Sheeans, or Shiites, who hate each other bitterly; thus, in India, where both abound, Government have often had to introduce Hindoo police and British troops to prevent riot and bloodshed between them. In Afghanistan the greater number of the people are Shiites, who are the Puritans of the "True Believers;" in Central Asia and Persia they are generally of that denomination; while the Osmanli Turks, including the Sultan, are Sunnees; and hence arose some of the disbelief in the genuine Mohammedanism of the long address to Her Majesty.

On the other hand, it was alleged that India possessed men like Sir Salar Jung, Kazi Shabudeen, Finance Minister at Baroda, and other men quite capable of composing excellent English, either verbally or written, and who could write with eloquence and elegance in their own language; and it was further urged that there was a great accord in the faith of our Indian Mussulmans, in many congregations of whom the Sultan was prayed for; and people were reminded that the first monarch of Bejapore was an Ottoman of Constantinople, and the far-famed great cannon there was cast by Roomi Khan, or "the Turk of Roumelia."

Early in December, a Mohammedan meeting of sympathy was held on a Friday in the Coolootollah Mosque at Calcutta, when it was estimated that 10,000 persons were present; and, after prayers

for the Queen as Empress of India, and the Sultan of Turkey as Defender of the Faithful, the memorial to the former was read by the committee, adopted, and signed for transmission to London. The *Times* correspondent relates that the proceedings were marked by much earnestness.

On the 28th of November there was an event, which occurred at Rawul Pindi, having in it some of the elements of the late Mutiny, when Lieutenant Harris, of the 21st Punjab Infantry, was shot dead at rifle practice by a Patan Sepoy. A sudden outbreak of insubordination occurred among the whole detachment at the butts, and when Lieutenant Harris fell, five other shots were fired at the colonel and adjutant, who rushed forward to protect him.* He had simply found fault with the man for his bad shooting, and asked him if "he thought he could hit an Afreedie." Fixing his bayonet the murderer made off, and kept up a fire till his ammunition was expended, after which he surrendered to his fate.

On the 30th of November the Judicial Committee gave judgment in a remarkable Indian appeal—involving the worship of idols and the old Indian right of adoption. It was the case of Koonwar Doorganath Rao *versus* Ram Chunder Sem and others, in a very curious matter to be adjusted by an English court of law—as to the property in a large amount of land, left for the maintenance of idols, and the keeping in repair of the temples "where the worship of the gods and the offering of funeral cakes and libation of waters" was carried on, from the fees of the estates.

Mr. Leith, Q.C., and Mr. Williamson were for the appellant, who claimed to be the custodian of the idol known as Radharoleun Tha Roer, and to set aside certain deeds by which money had been raised, and which had not been wholly devoted to the service of the idols.

Mr. Cowie, Q.C., and Mr. J. Graham, were for the respondents, who had purchased the property, and in whose favour the High Court at Calcutta had decided, and in which the plaintiff, who had a judgment in the Zilla Court, appealed to the Queen in Council. Sir Montague Smith, as one of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, gave a lengthened judgment. Their lordships saw no collusion with the parties who had advanced the money, and held that the widow had the management, until the appellant became the "adopted son," to keep up the services in the temple. Her Majesty was advised to dismiss the appeal with costs, affirming the judgment of the High Court at Calcutta.

* *World*, 10th January, 1877.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE GREAT CYCLONE OF 1876.

ON the 1st of November, there occurred in the Backergunge district of Bengal a terrific calamity, the cyclone, involving the greatest engulfment of man since the Noachian Deluge. These circular hurricanes are no uncommon event in the Indian seas, though none of such magnitude as that of 1876 is upon record. Backergunge, the scene of this calamity, had a visitation of the same nature in 1584, forming a desolating sequel to an invasion of the Mughls; and other parts of the Indian coast have been similarly visited.

Splinter Stavorinus, Admiral of the States-General, records several cyclones in his time; and how, in the month of October, 1754, five ships of the Dutch East India Company were torn by one from their anchors in Fulta Roads and cast ashore.

Thus Coringa, on the coast of Coromandel—one of the best ports on that side of the Bay of Bengal, and defended from the south-west monsoon by the Point of Godavery—twenty years after we took it from the French, was utterly destroyed in December, 1789, by three great storm-waves, which rolled upon it in succession during a cyclone. M. de la Place, of the French frigate *Favorite*, who collected his account on the spot,* says:—

“Coringa was destroyed in a single day. A frightful phenomenon reduced it to its present state. In the month of December, at the moment when the high-tide was at its highest point, and the north-west wind, blowing with fury, accumulated the waters at the head of the bay, the unfortunate inhabitants of Coringa saw with terror three monstrous waves coming in from the sea, following each other at a short distance. The first, sweeping over everything in its passage, brought three feet of water into the town; the second augmented these ravages by inundating all the low country; and the third overwhelmed everything.”

The town and 20,000 of its inhabitants disappeared, vessels at anchor in the mouth of the river were uprooted from their moorings, and swept like corks into the plains surrounding Yonaon—a French village (nine miles above the embouchure of the Godavery), which suffered very much. In retiring the sea left vast heaps of sand and mud, which rendered all search for property or bodies impossible, and shut up the mouth of the river for large ships. The only trace of the ancient town

now* is the house of the Master Attendant and the dockyards surrounding it.

Coringa was visited by another of these inundations in 1839, by a single wave from the sea, when again 20,000 persons are said to have perished,† though this must be an exaggeration, while “vessels were drifted from the docks and rivers, and a large sloop (of 50 to 100 tons burden) was carried four miles inland.”

In 1805 a cyclone tore H.M.S. *Sheerness* from her anchors, and cast her a bulged wreck on the rocks in the harbour of Trincomalee; while on the Madras coast, which lies north and south, there are cyclones, at times, of such fury that no vessel can lie with the remotest hope of riding them out, and the surf breaks in nine fathoms water. It did this in 1809, when H.M.S. *Dover* was lost, and the wreck of an old vessel which had been blown up twenty years before was upheaved from its oozy bed in the sea, and flung upon the shore. Our great expedition to Java, consisting of many transports and men-of-war filled with troops, had sailed but a few days before, but, steering southward, fortunately escaped.

“In the Bay of Bengal,” says Mr. Piddington, President of the Marine Courts of Inquiry, Calcutta, “my researches, both published and unpublished, enable me to say that the storms (cyclones) travel at the rates of from little more than from two to thirty-nine miles per hour; but this last very high rate has occurred only in one instance, and from three to fifteen miles may be taken as the usual rates. The low rate of little more than two miles an hour (fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours) is that of the tremendous storm and inundation of Burrisal and Backergunge, at the mouth of the Burrampooter [*sic*] and Ganges, in June, 1822, in which upwards of 50,000 souls and vast property in houses, cattle, &c., perished. The great rise of the waters was probably owing in part to its long action over one point, and in part to its being then a south-east storm all day at Burrisal, which is exactly the wind required to dam up the stream of the great estuary of the Burrampooter and Ganges.”‡

On this occasion no fewer than forty children were brought to birth by their terrified mothers

* Piddington's “Sailors' Horn-Book; or, Law of Storms,” 1848.

† *Asiatic Society's Journal*, Vol. IX., &c.

‡ “Sailor's Horn-Book; or, Law of Storms.”

* About 1840. Vol. I., p. 285.

taking refuge in tree-tops—a circumstance which sufficiently depicts the terror and peril of such a visitation.

Backergunge, the scene of the last great cyclone, is one of the strangest tracts of land in British India. It is in the Eastern Sunderbunds, bounded on the east by the Puddah or Great Ganges, on the south by the Bay of Bengal, and on the west by the Hooringotta, comprising a superficies of 4,564 square miles.

This territory, notwithstanding its proximity to the sea, is in some places remarkable for its fertility, though much of it is singular marsh land, called *chars*, *khals*, and *dones*, or islands—a kind of wilderness. Periodically overflowed by the waters of the Ganges, and enriched by their alluvial deposits, every portion of the crop-growing part of Backergunge has been brought down from countries hundreds of miles away, and piled up by the restless rivers and the sea till a district has been formed large enough for a principality.

“Two of the mightiest streams of earth are for ever at this silent work—the Ganges and the Brahmapootra—and their discoloured waves roll perpetually down, from the mountains of Thibet and the plains of the north-west, that red and yellow mud which has formed a province. The larger part of their labours is hidden under the Bengal Sea; and when the leadsmen brings up silt off Sangor Island, it has, as likely as not, come 2,000 miles, from Gangotri or the Jumna. The two great rivers unite in the estuary called Meghna, sending out to the left a labyrinth of arms and branches which interlace the alluvial soil with a thousand channels, and turn into an archipelago the province which the Brahmapootra and its Indian sister have created.”

Flat and monotonous, yet fertile and green, these isles are like nothing in the world save themselves, and in some places raise two rice crops, which render them the principal granary of Calcutta; but in others the soil and the water are alike infested by wild animals. In 1801 the population was estimated at only 926,725, of whom five-eighths were Hindoos, and the majority of the remainder Mughls and Mohammedans. Some Portuguese colonists, descendants of those who in 1666 were invited by the Nabob Hagta Khan to enter his service, still exist, but in a deplorable state of degradation.

They are chiefly remarkable for the extreme darkness of their hue. The river Dacoits—a piratical horde, by whom the waters were long infested—have long since been fully suppressed by the arm of legislative authority. The town of Backergunge, formerly the capital of the district, is

situated on a small inosculation of the Ganges, to which it gives its name; but it has greatly declined since 1801, when, in consequence of the separation of the district from Dacca Jelalpoore, the courts of judicature and revenue were removed to Burrisal; yet it has still an extensive commerce in rice, salt, and cotton fabrics.

It is a moist and steaming corner of India, the whole district of Backergunge, yet not an inch of it fails in fertility; canes and reeds cover the shoals, mangroves fringe the banks, and nowhere in Bengal are there richer rice-gardens, more feathery topes of palm, or more fruitful orchards of plantain, tamarind, and mango, with plantations of sugar-cane, betel, and cocoa. Yet those who tend them, amid their toil have to contend, ever and anon, with snakes, tigers, and alligators; and there yearly a tribute of human life is paid, especially by the woodcutters.

The waters teem with fish, some of which are great in size, and are the food of man and his four-footed enemies alike—as the spotted leopards devour them if they fail to find a child at the wells or a peasant in the woods. “It is a land,” says a writer, “of strange swooning sounds, of sweeping tempests and sudden dislocations, of earth undermined and carried off by the rushing rivers. There is an unusual thundering noise heard here, called the ‘Burrisal guns,’ and to this day nobody knows its origin. A well-to-do land-owner will wake up to find his property wafted away, by the Meghna or Madhumati, to the other side of the creek; and others who have painfully constructed valuable tanks for fresh water, see a single wave of the dreaded ‘bore’ sweep into the hollow and destroy it for ever. There is a regular name for such victims of nature in the Sunderbunds: they are styled *nadi-bhangi-lôg*, or ‘river-broken people;’ but, for the most part, the enormous population of these Indian swamps fares prosperously, growing betelnuts for half Asia, catching fish for Calcutta, weaving reed-mats and covers for the boatmen of the Ganges, and producing vast crops of paddy and sugar-cane. They are, on the whole, a gentle and simple people, largely Mohammedan in creed; for the Hindoo hates and dreads the sea: and in these islands there is a marine peril twice a month, with a far more tremendous danger periodically. At new and full moon the ‘bore’ comes up the Meghna in a wall of white water fifteen feet high, crushing every boat not drawn up—a terrible rolling bank of foam, which, on account of its speed, the people call the *shar* or arrow; and, now and again, the cyclone sweeps the Meghna and depopulates its islands and shores.”

There no help avails man or any living thing caught in the swiftly-moving folds, or the irresistible tidal-wave that comes rolling in from the Indian Ocean, wrenching up, throwing prostrate, sweeping away, and submerging all that the hand of man has made. Such a wave, on the last night of October and 1st of November, burst, without premonitory warning, upon the unhappy people we have described, submerging, almost in a minute, three large islands—Dakhin-Shahabazpore, Hattiah, and Sundup—numerous smaller ones, and also the coast for five miles inland, destroying, as reported by Sir Richard Temple, 215,000 human beings.*

These islands are all situated in or near the estuary of the Meghna, the stream formed by the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmapootra. The largest, being the first-named, is 800 miles square in extent, with a population of 240,000. That of Hattiah and Sundup together was about 100,000. Up to eleven p.m. there was not the slightest danger; but before midnight the storm-wave had swept across the isles—in some places to the height of twenty feet—and all was over.†

The natives usually go to rest at sunset, in the little huts under the bamboos, of which there are long clumps stretching everywhere; and, happily, it is the custom in these districts to plant dense groves of trees, but more especially of cocoa-nut and palm, round the villages; and almost all who survived saved themselves by climbing into the branches, when the strange screaming sound—the din of the cyclone, amid the dead silence that always reigns at night in Bengal—was heard, coming from the south-west. It is not, says a print of the month, the continuous whistle of a Western tempest, but a fierce overwhelming uproar, like the thundering of surf upon leagues of stony beach; and, in an instant, the isles of the Meghna and its broad channel became the very centre of that terrific circular storm of wind and water combined. The latter, piled up, “turned almost like a wheel over Lakhpar, and, whirling downward again, drove with its western segment the heaped-up waves of the two great rivers in a wall of death thrice as high as the ‘bore,’ washing clean over the rich and populous islands. They stand some twenty feet above mid-tide, yet this dreadful wave of the cyclone rose, at least, another twenty feet, high over the dry land, submerging every hamlet and cattle shed; drowning men, women, and children in their sleep; bursting over tank, and garden, and temple—in a few minutes slaying nearly a quarter of a million of human creatures. Imagine

the horror of that scene—of that death so abrupt, pitiless, and inevitable. From the moment when the first howl of the cyclone was heard tearing upward from the ocean, to the awful return stroke of the tempest, herding before it the dark waves of water, scarcely *thirty minutes* elapsed. Tens of thousands of human beings were by that time caught up and washed like drift-wood into the boiling bay; tens of thousands more were choked in their beds by whelming waves and ruined buildings; and all the work of their hands, all their possessions, and all their cattle were similarly seized in the black flood and destroyed.”*

A few escaped, but their sufferings were great; in one instance no less than 100 were saved together, by floating on the strong roof of a large bungalow, belonging to Mr. Harvey, a wealthy European Zemindar of Dacca. In many instances, the water on entering the houses burst up the roofs, and the recession of the tidal-waves took them out to sea, with the wretched people shrieking as they clung to them. A few were actually taken thus from Sundup across the channel, ten miles broad, to Chittagong; but the vast majority were never heard of again. The flatness of the country made trees the only secure refuge, and almost all perished who failed to reach them. The whole town of Dowlut-Khan, the head-quarters of a subdivision, was swept away; and save one official, named Baboo Uma, and his family, all the people perished. In the town of Burrisal 3,000 houses were swept away, with their inhabitants, and the paddy-fields destroyed.†

All the boats were swept away, and, as wheeled carriages are unknown, the survivors were thus deprived of all means of communication. Of those who escaped, many were betel-nut pickers and cocoa-gatherers, who are wont to be dexterous in clambering and swinging their light frames from tree-top to tree-top. Thus, these men, on finding themselves dashed against the stems of palms and areca-trees, managed to climb out of the whirling waters, and cling to the tossing branches till the wave subsided and the dry land was seen, covered with mud, the *débris* of houses, and the bodies of the drowned, with their cattle of every description.

All the civil officers and police officials at Dakhin-Shahabazpore perished, save the deputy-magistrate in charge. “A strange fact about the disaster,” says the *European Mail*, “is that, in Dakhin-Shahabazpore and Hattiah, most of the damage was done by the storm-wave from the north sweeping down the Meghna. Several theories have been

* *Calcutta Gazette*, November 25th, 1876.

† *European Mail*, November 23rd.

* *Daily Telegraph*.

† *European Mail*; *Calcutta Englishman*, &c.



CYCLONE AT CALCUTTA.

started to account for this. One is that the cyclone, forming in the bay, struck the shore first near Chittagong, went north for some distance, and then turned southward again. Another is that the wind blew back the waters of the Meghna, which re-

bounded with terrific force when the pressure relaxed. A third supposition is that there were two parallel storms, with a centre of calm between them. The first or third theory seems most probable, as the destruction came from the south."

In this terrible calamity—the most devastating ever known—the Indian officials were not slow in doing their duty. Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, with a numerous and active staff, was speedily at Backergunge, from whence he reported that 3,000 square miles had been laid desolate; the whole of that space, shore and island, being left ghastly, drowned, and bare; while there was every fear lest the as yet uncounted bodies of the dead, with the carcases of the cattle and of all the carrion-eating creatures in the jungles, where the rats, the snakes, and even the insects, had all shared one common fate, might infect the humid air and breed a pestilence.

It was reported that even the birds had been destroyed by this stupendous storm-wave. The stench from the thousands of corpses soon became insufferable, and a general outbreak of cholera was hourly expected; but at Nookholly only did it manifest itself.*

Ere long it was found that the condition of the survivors was better than might have been expected, and that they were not suffering very seriously from want of food, while their recuperative energies asserted themselves in a remarkable degree. For some days there was much distress; but as Backergunge is a great rice-producing district, the stores of its peasantry are ample, and mostly kept under ground. These were, of course, thoroughly soaked,

but not destroyed; and wherever Sir Richard Temple and his staff went, he found the scared people drying their grain in the sunshine. The ripe cocoa-nuts also gave subsistence till the next harvest, the growing crops of which had been seriously injured, and in many places swept away.

The timely distribution of relief roused the people at once from dark despondency, and enabled them hopefully to apply themselves to such forms of self-help as were possible in their circumstances. One of the chief causes for apprehension, after that of disease passed away, was as regarded cattle for agricultural and other purposes; for, as the destruction of these exceeded even that of human beings, relatively to numbers, it was evident there would be a difficulty in meeting the requirements of the next sowing season as regarded the preparation of the land.

Distance precluded the transport to Backergunge of the Bombay cattle, which were, at that very time, perishing for lack of sufficient food; otherwise, in that way the calamities of the



THE DJANGÂL, A SAVAGE OF THE SIRGOUJA.

two places might have been mutually relieved. For some days much disorder prevailed, and several robberies were attempted; but this state of matters was speedily rectified. About sixty relief centres were established; persons absolutely destitute were at once relieved; but no large sums were spent.*

Sir Richard Temple went personally over the

* Government Gazette, &c.

* European Mail.

terrible scene, going from village to village making inquiries; but great credit is also due to a Mr. Barton for his prompt action and assumption of responsibility in the first place, and to him belongs much of the credit of dealing with the case when instant action was necessary.*

There were now not wanting scientific men who urged that some such system as that adopted by the Meteorological Committee of the Royal Society for issuing storm-warnings at home, might be adopted in India for the protection of those regions subject to cyclones, and increased attention to study of Indian meteorology was advocated. Prior to this, indeed, on the occasion of the destructive cyclone of 1865, the question of protecting the

districts along the banks of the Hooghly by great dykes or embankments was seriously discussed; and on the advice of the Astronomer-Royal being asked, he gave an opinion, founded on reasons which were held to be sufficiently good, that any attempt of the kind would be full of peril.

By some it was considered possible to protect the villages of Backergunge from such calamities by the device of the ancient Assyrians, in forming near them great and lofty mounds of earth and clay as hills of refuge; but even these would have been unavailing on such a night as that in which the pent-up tides of the two mighty rivers sent their united storm-waves over every house and home.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

PROGRESS OF THE VICEROY.—THE INDIAN TEA TRADE.—NAVIGATION OF THE OXUS.—THE NAWAB NIZAM.—MADRAS AFFAIRS.—FAMINE THREATENED.

IN December the attention of the Indian authorities was drawn to the circumstance that slave-girls were reported to exist in Bengal, and that forlorn and friendless girls were purchased by wealthy Bengalees from the small towns and villages near their residences; and it was added that the harsh treatment these girls often met with, had been brought to the notice of some of the magistrates, in consequence of the girls frequently attempting to commit suicide to put an end to their misery.†

In the same month the Viceroy had a cordial meeting with Ranbir Sing, the Maharajah of Jumoo and Cashmere, one of the grand crosses of the Star of India, at Midhapore, and was greatly gratified with his reception; and the prince, in replying to Lord Lytton's expressions of thanks, said—with reference, no doubt, to the cloud gathering in Afghanistan, though the Ameer had recently sent a friendly greeting to the Viceroy—that "he was willing to place his life at the service of the British." The Viceroy replied that he hoped matters were not so serious as that. The salute of His Highness the Maharajah was now raised from nineteen to twenty guns, and his offer of service was not forgotten when the Delhi durbar came; in extolling the preparations for which, we find the *Punjabi Akbar*, of about the same date, recommending an increase in the amount of State pensions

granted to the surviving princes of Delhi, whose condition seemed deserving of compassion, "as some of them got not more than four rupees a month, and may be said to be actually in a state of starvation."

Under date of the 3rd of December, it was announced that Holkar had established trial by jury throughout his dominions: the jury to consist of four persons, two chosen by each side, with a presiding judge to give the casting vote—a remarkable innovation; but a judge with assessors would have been a more correct description of the system.

At this time the Viceroy was at Peshawur. There he had a review of 4,000 British troops, and held a successful durbar of all the chiefs of the British districts on the frontier of Peshawur, and even met various chiefs of the Afreedi and Momund tribes; and while there he commenced his inquiries into those measures which had become necessary for the re-organisation of the boundaries in a personal conference with the lieutenant-governor, the commander-in-chief, Sir Frederick Haines, and the superior local officials; but it was found that nothing could be settled until there had been a military inspection of the whole frontier, and the full sanction of the Home Government had been obtained. After this the Viceroy departed for Rawul Pindi, and passed from thence through Lahore, Mooltan, and Bhawalpore, to Jacobabad.

* *Indian Daily News.* † *Bombay Gazette.*

Those Afreedies whom he had met at Peshawur having manifested a friendly spirit, the blockade was now restricted to only 1,100 men of the Kohat Pass section : all the other tribes having separated from them, so far as even to express a wish to be regimented in the British service, which was unnecessary, though it could be done at any time to the extent of many thousand men, all hardy and active mountaineers.

In an address presented to the Viceroy by the tea-planters of Kangra, in the province of Lahore—of old known as Nagorkate, wherein Mahmoud of Ghizni found the accumulated riches of its idols—he was urged to afford them further facilities for the transmission of specie through the Government treasuries, as it would seem that, during the preceding ten years since 1866, the quantity of tea exported from British India had risen to 28,126,100 lbs. The Indian tea was used principally in Great Britain for mixing with other teas ; but some progress had been made in the consumption of pure and unmixed Indian tea. The proportions then supplied by the different tea-growing districts of British India were :—Assam, fifty per cent. ; Cochin and Thibet, twenty-six per cent. ; Darjeeling, thirteen per cent. ; the Himalayan districts, six per cent. ; and British Burmah, five per cent.

The quantity now grown is but a small part of what India, if called upon, could produce, as she possesses every advantage of soil and climate for the growth of tea, and might, if needed, supply all the wants of Britain in that respect, and perhaps the wants of all the world beside.

In replying to the address of the tea-planters, the Viceroy said :—

“ In the excellent results of the tea-plantations of the Kangra Valley, which have been fostered and encouraged by the Government of India, I recognise imperial benefits so considerable as to entitle the authors of those benefits to a special claim on the consideration of the Government. Your undertaking has afforded lucrative employment to thousands of the population of this district. The effect of its example, no less than its results, is not merely local ; and so far as its social and political influence extends, besides being eminently creditable to the British character, it is also conducive to the stability of the British Raj.”

At a meeting held subsequently on this subject by the Indian section of the Society of Arts in London, it was stated that India now produced, and was capable of producing in any quantity, teas which were of a quality, strength, flavour, and purity, not only equal to, but superior to those of China or any other Eastern country, and which

were adapted to all tastes, the plainest or the most fastidious, and at moderate prices ; and one speaker urged all who heard him, “ in their own interests as consumers, and as a duty they owed to their countrymen in India—men who had long toiled and struggled to meet their wants, without as yet any adequate profit in their investments—to a more direct and extended use of Indian tea, thereby affording a fair harvest of profit to the cultivators, for which nothing was now wanting but an increased consumption of their produce in this country.”

While at Lahore, Lord Lytton made a handsome donation to the fund being collected for the restoration of the Imperial Mosque, the work of which was then in progress—a liberality which was received by the Mohammedan population with the liveliest satisfaction. He also directed that the pupils of the Normal School, whom he met in passing the Hazaree Bagh, should be feasted at his expense ; and, as an instance of his hospitality, he gave orders for the entertainment of 300 guests daily for a fortnight.*

It was on the morning of the 7th of December he started for Jacobabad, escorted by a troop of the Scinde Horse—smart soldier-like men, in dark green uniforms, armed with swords and short double-barrelled Jacob rifles. He stopped at Shikarpur, where he was received with great cordiality, for luncheon, and went through the usual formalities. The Chairman of the Municipality having read an address, his lordship responded in the following terms :—

“ Gentlemen,—I feel much gratification in receiving, in my flitting passage through Shikarpur, the kindly address which you now present to me on behalf of yourselves and the inhabitants of this ancient town. The sentiments of loyalty and devotion to the throne, to which you give expression in your address, afford a fitting proof of the affection with which our beloved sovereign is regarded by her subjects in this distant part of her Empire. The assumption by the Queen of a title which closely associates her royal person and family with this country is, as you truly infer, an emphatic expression on her part of the solicitude which she feels in your welfare and prosperity. It is a cause of as much regret to myself as it can be to you, that the financial exigencies of the moment have compelled the Government of India to temporarily withhold those loans which, under other circumstances, they have so freely accorded to municipalities. It is averred, however, by one of the proverbs of our Afghan neighbours, that the cloud which thunders much rains little. And, though

* *Indian Public Opinion.*

I cannot disguise from myself or you the dark colour of the cloud which still obscures our otherwise bright financial horizon, and obliges us, like wise husbandmen, to reckon the rainy day, I have much confidence in the truth of our own English proverb that 'every cloud has its silver lining;' and I trust that a patient and conscientious study of the phenomena to which this cloud is attributable, may ere long enable us to disperse it, and thus, whilst duly regarding the general and imperative financial interests of this varied Empire, to comply with representations which command my sympathy and shall receive my careful consideration."*

In the month of December, the problem of the navigability of the Amon Daria (or ancient Oxus), near Pitniak, was solved. A steamer, named the *Samarcande*, ascended the stream as far as Meshekli—that is to say, to the very frontier of the Khanate of Bokhara. At that point the river takes a sharp turn, and it had hitherto been feared that the rapidity of the current might prevent either screw or paddle steamers from ascending beyond it. This fear was not, it would now seem, well founded; the channel of the river was thus discovered to be free, with a minimum depth of five feet. The *Samarcande* was enabled to perform the journey at an average speed of five versts an hour, which near Pitniak was reduced to three versts.†

Flowing westward, the Oxus enters the State of Bokhara at a point thirty-five miles north-east of Balkh, and seventy miles west of the city of Bokhara it enters the desert of Khiva. Near the former it is no less than 1,000 yards in breadth (and when the snows are melting it spreads to a breadth of four miles), thus corroborating Arrian, who states that the Oxus, when his hero crossed, was three-fourths of a mile broad and unfordable.

With reference to the affairs of the Nawab Nizam, some attention was excited, when, on the 2nd of December, the Government of India published a supplement to the *Official Gazette*, containing certain rather unusual statements.

It distinctly affirmed that the prince's accounts, while in London, when he occupied a whole wing of the Alexandra Hotel, included payments of very large sums of money to certain individuals for services rendered to his cause by their influence, chiefly through the agency of the British press, and his resentment of the interference of Government, with the reckless extravagance he had pursued ever since his accession to his hereditary title.

The very persons against whom this charge was so gravely made by a Government document were

categorically specified by name. "Among them," says the *Globe* (10th January, 1877), "figure a former member of Parliament, a literary man of high reputation, and, we regret to say, a large number of the lesser lights of British journalism. The sums that are said to have been distributed vary from £2,000 to £10, the latter being set down as payment for an article in a provincial paper. It is palpable that if the Nawab was so foolish as to behave in this liberal manner, he had a definite object in view. This was nothing more nor less than to bring journalistic pressure to bear upon Parliament, so that it might be the more ready to accede to his claims."

If any English journalist actually took the sum set down against his name in the *Indian Gazette*, he must have done so with his eyes quite open to the nature of the service his pen was expected to perform in return for the bribe; and whoever did so, adds the *Globe*, took money for the performance of work which he well knew would be valueless to the Nawab Nizam.

It would appear that, unchecked by the warnings of the British Government, the Nawab and his two sons, whose career, says the *Madras Times*, "has been marked by a hideous combination of Eastern and Western vices and follies," while in Britain drew from India £26,000 yearly for his expenditure there, without making the least effort to regulate his outlay by his means; and some money-lenders, by lending him his own funds at high interest, dragged him further down. Still, our Government had hesitated to take extreme steps until his second son advertised for sale certain lands and jewels, in which his father had only a life interest. The sale was stopped, and a commission appointed to investigate the claims made against his property, and thus terminate his career, which might cast discredit on our Indian administration. Meanwhile, he was restricted to an allowance of 500 rupees a month, paid from the India office; and the commission appointed in January, 1874, consisted of three members—men of the highest position in India—who found that they had no easy task before them to unravel and arrange the monetary affairs of the prince; but in doing so they brought to light the singular revelations which were given at length in the *Official Gazette* and other Indian newspapers.

The great harbour works of Madras—for so many years a matter of discussion and debate, a scheme which had only of late received the approval of the Indian Government, and the memorial stone of which had been laid by the Prince of Wales—were now in full progress, according to the original plan

* *Pioneer*.

† *Turkestan Gazette*.

of two great piers, containing 711,000 yards of cubic stone and concrete blocks, designed by Mr. Parkes. By October, 1876, about £60,000 of the estimated sum had been paid.

The actual work of construction had been commenced in the preceding year, and the northern groyne, which alone had been taken in hand, abuts 1,000 feet into the surf. There is no tide worth mentioning, the greatest difference between high and low water falling short of two feet. On the other hand, during the south-west monsoon a very strong current sweeps along the coast, hurrying with it a vast quantity of loose sand.

Madras stands close upon the shore, and is unfavourably situated, either for the purposes of commerce or the requirements of a capital. The coast forms nearly a straight line, swept by the current above-mentioned; and until the construction of the new harbour, with its double piers, there was neither port for shipping nor island to break the tremendous surge. Thus, large ships generally moored at two miles from the shore, and in nine fathoms' water; but the station in the roads was always very hazardous during the monsoon. There was also very great difficulty, and even no small danger, in landing from vessels, in consequence of the furious surf, which, even in the mildest weather, breaks upon the shore, and which no boats of European construction can withstand.

The craft of the country, generally called *masulaks*, or accommodation-boats, which are used for crossing this dangerous surf, are singularly formed: without ribs or keel, with flat bottoms, and without any iron in their whole fabric. Their planks, which are very thin, are sewed together, having straw in the seams instead of caulking; and they are thus so flexible that they yield like leather to the impulse of the waves. They are large and light, with a bench at one end, cushioned and curtained, so that passengers may be kept dry while the wild surf is breaking all around them. An European boat, enduring one-half of the concussions which these *masulaks* hourly undergo unharmed, would infallibly be torn to pieces.

The new harbour was intended to obviate this peril and discomfort; but one peculiarity of the Madras coast is, that whenever a groyne—as at the fort, for example—has been abutted into the surf, the sand drifts about its base, and the sea recedes therefrom to some considerable distance; and the northern breakwater of the new harbour has proved no exception to this rule. Hence, a large tract of dry land was formed in front of the Custom House, which but a few months before—even at the time of the prince's visit—was permanently covered by

the sea; and the surf now breaks at the foot of the landing-stairs, where, until quite recently, the long swell rolled past in one unbroken volume.

Much of this has been caused by the two groynes or breakwaters not being carried on simultaneously, in which case they would mutually have protected each other: the southern groyne intercepting the sand-drift from the south, while the other stopped it from the north. Another mistake in the construction of these important works has been alleged to be the employment of nodules and small pieces of laterite, instead of great blocks of granite, which is procurable within a distance of nine miles.

The engineer, we are told, “assures the Chamber of Commerce that he is perfectly satisfied with the progress already made, and is quite confident that the work will be completed within the estimated cost. At the same time, he recognises the probability of a serious accumulation of sand at the mouth of the harbour in about fifty or sixty years, by which time the silt will have travelled along the outer edge of the groynes and thrown the surf ever so far out to seaward.”

But many discomforts would seem still to attend the shipping at Madras, for in January, 1877, we find a shipmaster complaining bitterly of the manner in which the steamers and other vessels are moored together, “so that, were it to come to blow, the result would be most disastrous. Every one is more anxious than his neighbour to get close in shore, so as to ensure a supply of boats, until some, at last, have anchored with their sterns nearly in the breakers, and no room is left for ships coming in from sea to pass in shore and pick up a berth. Another serious cause of complaint is the manner in which a net-work of dhonies has been allowed to spread across the southern entrance to the anchorage. These wretched craft, with a long scope of coir cable ahead and astern, seem placed on purpose to catch the unwary, and disable their propellers. It used to be the rule, that these vessels were only allowed to anchor to the northward in the north-east monsoon.”*

The attention of the Indian Government now became occupied by a more serious matter than the silting of the Madras roadstead, for immense tracts of land, in both the eastern and western presidencies, were being threatened with a scarcity bordering on famine. It seemed but too probable that in the Deccan, not only a failure of crops, but also of fodder and water, was expected; and the last official report from Sholapore, a productive district advantageously situated between the rivers Kistna and Bimah, was contained in one gloomy

* *Madras Times*, Vol. XVII.

sentence: "No rain, no crops—condition of people unchanged." The Bombay Government began to send large quantities of grain; but the collectors were directed not to distribute gratuitous alms except in cases of extreme necessity, and, so far as possible, to exact a fair day's labour on the relief works.

Subscriptions were opened in Bombay, when the cholera appeared and began to increase; while in Madras there was much distress, during November, in the districts of Kurnaul, Cuddapah, and Bellary.

district of Godavery, one of the noblest of Indian rivers, which is computed to be 900 miles in length.

Distress was also beginning to be felt in Tanjore, so commonly called the Garden of India; and riots took place in many towns, resulting in the plunder and waste of rice and ghee. Immense quantities of rice were fortunately procurable from Orissa, itself once the scene of a most disastrous famine, but now the veritable granary of the eastern coast; and the greatest activity prevailed at every



VIEW OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH, LAHORE.

There was much destitution in Mysore, but the prospects were less gloomy there than in the Deccan, which, having been gradually denuded of its pine forests, the natural result has been to check the rainfall, for, as the trees disappear, the clouds hold off longer every year.

In the early part of November, so far as authentic information had been received, the area of destitution exceeded 44,000 square miles, containing a population not much under 6,000,000, of whom 300,000 were officially recognised as belonging to the "better sort;" while very nearly 5,600,000 were relegated to "the inferior kind." Matters were then not quite so bad in Madras, though accounts were bad from the districts mentioned, also from Northern Arcot, and even from the well-watered

port between False Point and Madras to avert or soften the coming catastrophe.

As both the Godavery and the Kistna bring down such a quantity of detritus and other *débris* of their banks and beds, no vessel of good average tonnage can come within six miles of the shore. In consequence of this, all goods and grain for the distressed districts had to be taken off in open boats, that sailed well enough when wind and current favoured, but were apt to make slow progress and ship seas when impelled by oars alone.

At False Point there was only the semblance of a steam-tug, and at Coconada there was one steam-launch of indifferent power. There was no efficient service of tow-boats for such ports on the coast as possess fairly-sheltered anchorages; and it was now



INFANTICIDE ON THE BANKS OF THE JUMNA.

felt much, that with the exception of False Point and Coconada, there was no harbour of refuge between the mouth of the Hooghly and Trincomalee.

The Eurasian gentlemen of means had already begun in many places to give, at least, one substantial meal of rice and curry every day to hundreds of the most destitute families; while European employers humanely either raised their rates of wages, or distributed rice to the most needy of their people.

There is no doubt that in dealing with famines in India, the extension of railroads has proved the most effectual means of guarding against the calamity. Hence, during the time of the Bengal scarcity in 1873 and 1874, there were no less than 800,000 tons of grain-food brought into the famine districts by the railroads alone; but this scourge, ever recurring in a land of plenty, we shall have to deal with at a future period.

Early in September we find Sir William Gregory (who had been M.P. for Dublin in 1842, and had always taken an active part in politics whenever Ireland was concerned, and had been appointed Governor of Ceylon in 1872, when he restored the handsome palace of the Kings of Kandy) giving a good account of his stewardship. At the opening of the Legislative Council of Ceylon, on the 13th of September, he stated that the actual revenue for the island for the year 1875 was 14,443,980 rupees, and the expenditure 13,015,258 rupees; leaving a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 1,428,722 rupees. The revenue for 1876 he calculated at 14,200,000 rupees. When Sir William assumed the government of the island, the yearly receipts were 11,216,790 rupees; so that during his term of office he could now show an increase of 3,200,000 rupees.

About the same time, in a petition to the Ceylon Legislative Council from the natives of that fertile island and the British residents or colonists, we find the statement made, that in 1876, the Christian population amounts to 250,000 out of a total of 2,158,000, and that 60,000 are alleged to be Protestants of all denominations; that the Bishop of Ceylon had officially to supervise only twelve chaplains and a few catechists, and for this received 25,000 rupees yearly out of the sum of £140,000 spent on the ecclesiastical department.

In the end of October, the long and bitter disputes that have existed between the landlords and tenants in Eastern Bengal reached a climax in the barbarous murder of Baboo Purno Chandra Rai, Zemindar of Nazapara, in the Faridpore district. The usual misunderstanding existed between him

and his ryots regarding the question of rent; recently he had gained a number of lawsuits against them, and the ryots, unable to cope with him, resolved on his destruction. They invited him to a meeting for the purpose of adjusting their differences. It took place in Mofussil Cutcherry, where they promised him payment next morning; but in the night he was attacked by thirty ferocious Mohammedans, who nearly hacked him to pieces with their sharp swords. On his body were twenty-one great wounds.

The quarrels between the Zemindars and their tenants are the result of a very old measure; and it would be tedious, says an Indian print, to recapitulate now the steps which the government of Lord Cornwallis took to obtain exact information as to the relative position of the Zemindars and the cultivators of small plots, supposed to be their tenants. "To relate the grievous mistakes that were made, and the total misconception of the land-system of Bengal that so fatally misled Lord Cornwallis and his successors, would be to repeat a thrice-told tale. Suffice it to say, that the collectors of taxes were transformed, as by a touch of harlequin's wand, into landed proprietors, but with a distinct understanding that they should respect all existing privileges possessed by the ryots, and should actively exert themselves to promote the happiness and welfare of their helpless dependents."

In those days education was unthought of for the common masses, and it was not until the time of Sir George Campbell, when his scheme for vernacular education was introduced, that from the Lower Provinces was removed the reproach that the wealthiest portion of British India was the least educated. His road-cesses also produced good fruit, save that they were wrung from the ryots by the oppression of those same Zemindars who are pledged to protect that patient class of humble cultivators. One effect of the spread of education has been to teach the latter to take care of themselves, and, allowing for physical and moral differences, to become as intractable as the same class in other countries, and oppose by lawsuits all fresh imposts made in the name of progress.

The present Zemindars are rarely descended from those of the days of Lord Cornwallis. Indeed, the majority of the first generation were ruined by the severe terms imposed upon them, especially by the necessity for paying their dues to Government by the time of sunset on a particular day, on pain of the seizure of their estate and its sale by public auction.

"It was not, and is not enough," says the

Madras Times, "to offer nine-tenths of the amount with unquestionable security for the payment of the small balance on an early day. It was then, and is still, absolutely necessary that the total instalment should be paid up at the fixed date, with the alternative of the land being sold for arrears in thirty days. It is true there was, and is, an appeal to the Board of Revenue, submitted through the collector, but, as a rule, nothing comes

of it. At the same time, the Zemindar is precluded from applying the legal screw to his own defaulting tenants, through whose laches he may have been reduced to this ignoble embarrassment, though it is only too probable that he has already contrived to 'squeeze' them in some indirect fashion. Be that as it may, landed property in the Lower Provinces is not now such a favourite mode of investment as it was some years ago."

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

INFANT MORTALITY IN CALCUTTA.—"THE MODEL STATE."—A MOCK AMBASSADOR.—STORY OF
NARANDRA RAO BAHADOOR.

THE returns of infant mortality in Calcutta, brought forward in October, 1876, afford some curious statistics. According to Dr. Payne, the health-officer of the capital of British India, in his Quarterly Report, a native child born healthy in that city "has a chance of life considerably less than that of a person attacked by cholera;" and adds, that nothing has been efficiently done in the way of sanitation to prevent the frightful "massacre of the innocents," which for centuries has been going on all over Hindostan.

"Of every thousand Hindoo children," he states, "born about 1875, there died 596 within a year, and of the Mohammedans no less than 735; while the annual average of the latter was 598." In England certain districts have been styled "Herodian," in which the infant mortality averaged from nineteen to thirty per cent., whereas in Calcutta seventy-three perished out of every hundred in a single year. This does not result from the Indian climate being less favourable for little children than that of Britain; neither does it arise from careless nursing: for the Indian mother, whether at labour in the factory or in the field, has her babe ever within sight, and in her immediate custody; yet the melancholy fact remains that of native children, one, at least, out of every two surely perishes within the first twelve months after birth. After all, the cause, it would seem, is not far to seek, though generations will pass before any radical change is effected.

During the eight years from 1868 to 1875, both inclusive, there died in Calcutta 17,017 infants under the age of twelve months. Of these 4,204 were carried off by various febrile diseases; 2,358

by convulsions; 582 by complaints in the intestines; 7,538 by various ailments; and 2,335 by tetanus, which has been distinctly traced to imperfect ventilation and filth.

In Calcutta this disease, so easily preventible, rages almost exclusively in those quarters of the city which are inhabited by the lower classes of natives and by Eurasians. If the climate alone were in fault, the greatest mortality would naturally be looked for among the Europeans; but there the ratio is eighteen per cent., including the children of soldiers and those who are known as "poor whites;" while the well-to-do Eurasians show a much lower rate of mortality than either Mohammedans or Hindoos; though the lower order, we are told, whose habits are scarcely distinguishable from those of the natives, pay the penalty attached to every violation of the laws of hygiene.

That the cause of infant death is closely associated with its birth, is shown by Dr. Payne's description of a labour case as it usually occurs in the purely native quarters of the Indian capital:—"A chamber a few feet square, so situated that, at the best of times, its aperture must be close, has every aperture carefully shut. It is crowded with relatives and attendants, so that there is often barely room to sit, and a fire of wood embers, or even charcoal, is burning in an open vessel. The atmosphere is principally smoke, which is increased by herbs scattered on the fire for the purpose. The woman is lying generally on the ground in the midst of this. The feeling on entering the room is that of impending suffocation, and the first step the visitor takes is to enable himself to breathe. He opens the window and clears the room of as many persons

as can be got to leave it, who betake themselves to a balcony outside, or block the doorway, until his departure. He knows full well that, as soon as his back is turned, all will be as it was when he arrived; for it is among the first principles of native midwifery that air should be kept away from a newly-born child. This process of asphyxiation seems to be carried on for a variable period; but in no case, as far as I can ascertain, is the period less than seven days: it often extends to ten, and with Mohammedans much longer; nor does it alter under any extremes of natural heat."

Dr. Payne appeals to his brother practitioners to recognise the accuracy of his delineation in the matter referred to. Thus, it cannot excite much surprise, that in the entire number of deaths between 1867 and 1876, 8,000 took place within fourteen days after birth. Dr. Payne remarks in his report, that "human sacrifice—suttee and female infanticide—were once as deeply rooted in home life and tradition as obstetric suffocation is now, but they are no longer suffered to disgrace the administration. Death was intentionally caused by all of them; but, except in the last, the moral law violated was that of the foreign ruler, not of the people;" and he finds it easier to discover the immediate cause for this existing and pitiful infanticide than to suggest an efficient remedy against that which is "a national custom."

Human sacrifices were never practised by either the Aryans or Mohammedans; they were, doubtless, an institution of the country, as Thuggee, or the worship of Kali by the low caste Brahmins, abundantly proves. Under British rule human sacrifices have been practically confined to a few of the most barbarous hill tribes; and though the unnatural crime of female infanticide was falling into disrepute, even among the Rajpoots, when Mr. Duncan made his reports on the subject to Lord Cornwallis in 1789, it would be difficult now, even in the present day, to assert that female children are always suffered to live.

The "obstetric suffocation" referred to by Dr. Payne belongs to another order of abuses, and is the result of ignorance, "and will never be suppressed until light shines in the dark places. All legislation to be truly beneficial must be in accordance with the national character, and must be called for by the people themselves, through their most enlightened representatives. As knowledge—or what we erroneously call common sense—dawns upon a populace bound hand and foot by tradition and custom, the asphyxiation of babes will cease among those to whom the commonality habitually look up for guidance, and then the hour

of its suppression will be nigh at hand; but for the Government to interfere at present would be one of those blunders that are as bad as a crime."*

But genuine civilisation is making its way slowly, hand-in-hand with education, in British India, and, perhaps, nowhere so much as in Travancore, which is justly styled "The Model Native State of India." Of all the native chiefs who visited Calcutta to meet the Prince of Wales, none attracted more attention than the maharajah of that south-western province: not so much for the splendour of his costume or his jewels, as for his high position as a ruler. Much of the credit of having raised Travancore to a state so perfect has justly been given to Sir Madhava Rao, who was for many years its dewan; but it must be borne in mind that improvements in native states cannot be carried out without the entire concurrence of the ruling power. Fortunately, both prince and minister co-operated cordially at Travancore. British codes of law were introduced, and British judges were appointed to the Sudder Courts; an efficient police was organised; hospitals were built, dispensaries founded, and schools opened. Transit dues and other restrictions to free trade were abolished; and the second prince of the country has condescended to do that which no Indian prince did before—to give lectures on useful and popular subjects to the people.

That all these improvements are real, and not merely established in name, has caused the settlement of more Europeans (chiefly as coffee planters) in Travancore than in any other native state, and they all testify to the rapid improvement of the country. The maharajah who visited the Prince of Wales was born in 1832, and succeeded to the throne in 1860.

Two curious episodes, in the December of 1876, grew out of the Mohammedan *furor* and address to the Queen; one of these was a sermon preached by the Akhoond of Swat, and a mock Turkish ambassador making his appearance at Mandalay.

The former personage, who affected to be a prophet (and whose strange title afforded *Punch* so much amusement from time to time), preached a *fehād* to a great multitude in the Musjid, on a Friday; he foretold that the end of the world and the day of judgment were drawing near; that the great kingdom of Islam was in danger from heathen Feringhees; and that if Roum (*i.e.* Constantinople) fell into their hands, Islamism would be at an end; and, therefore, that all true believers should prepare for a holy war in the name of God and religion; that in the meanwhile they should assist the Sultan

* *Madras Times*, 1876.

with subscriptions of money, as the believers in India and Arabia were doing; and that he would induce the Ameer of Afghanistan to join in the *Jehad*.*

It has been said that since a King of France was imposed upon by a mock ambassador from the Shah of Persia, royalty had not permitted itself to be so hoaxed as His Golden-Footed Majesty—surrounded as he is by all the terrors of despotism—permitted himself to be by a sham ambassador from the Ottoman Empire.

This daring impostor proved to be an Abyssinian, or Arab, named Shereef Mohammed, a liberated slave, who arrived at Rangoon some time in the month of October. There he fell into the hands of some designing individuals, who, after representing to the King of Ava that a Turkish ambassador had arrived at Rangoon in a state of illness, induced him to send down to that place an official, named Moung Galay, with orders to cure and bring on His Excellency to Mandalay. This was actually done; and the Golden Foot, being flattered with the idea that the Commander of the Faithful had really sent an embassy, and that no doubt there were presents of immense value coming from some ship or fleet in the Irawaddi, entertained Shereef Mohammed right royally, presenting him with money for himself and precious stones for the Sultan, in anticipation of those which he believed to be on the way; and after transacting all the necessary business with His Majesty, the *pseudo*-ambassador and his attendants set off in all haste for Rangoon, where a quarrel about the division of the spoil led to a full exposure of the imposition. The cook of the "mission" had been promised a gift of 300 rupees on their return to Rangoon, and on applying for it found his claim repudiated. In a fit of rage he revealed the whole affair to the police.

Shereef Mohammed, the mock ambassador (according to the *Rangoon Gazette*), stated that he had been induced by Moung Galay, and a broker named Hassan, who acted as interpreter, and composed a letter in the name of the Sultan, to play the perilous part he did. The trio laid the blame on each other, and each in turn disclaimed having absorbed the spoils—somewhere about 30,000 rupees. Moung Galay, who was accused by one of the party of having taken the lion's share, was arrested in Moulmien and brought to Rangoon; but as it appeared that he had the express authority of the king to take up "the ambassador," which was an undoubted fact, and that it was improbable he would expose his family, who were all in Mandalay, to the cruel vengeance of an offended

despot, he was released, though strongly suspected by the British authorities to have been the head and front of the whole affair.*

So much confusion existed about this mock ambassador, that, some weeks before, the Rangoon paper stated that an Egyptian minister had gone to the Court of Ava, and that the impostor was the cook of the real mission, the members of which had died on their way to Burmah; and he had been thus encouraged to take their papers and assume their character.

Whether it was in connection with the intended proclamation of the Queen as Empress at Delhi, or with the anticipated famine, it is impossible to say; but in the December of 1876 a curious prediction was circulated by the seers and astrologers in Pudukottah, a town in the district of Tanjore, and formerly the capital of the Tondiman or Hereditary Poligar, that on the 6th of the ensuing Tamil month—corresponding with the 18th or 19th of December—there would appear a great comet, resembling a human figure, in the heavens, towards the east, and after three days it would fall into the ocean. This phenomenon, they alleged, would cause great and sudden calamities to all living on the coast, after which there would be much rain and great plenty throughout Bengal.†

In the middle of the month tidings from two frontiers far apart reached Calcutta. One told that the Luschais were becoming troublesome again. Suffering from a partial failure of their crops, as usual in such cases, they replenished their stores by a raid upon their neighbours; and another event, which made it likely to be more severe, was that, according to their religious rites, a certain number of human heads were necessary for the performance of their funeral obsequies: and for these, as we have elsewhere stated, they thought little of making an incursion on British soil.

The other tidings came in the form of a telegram from Kurrachee, to the effect that the Khan of Khelat stoutly declined to permit any railway to be carried through his territory, and that, consequently, the Government survey had been suspended, after Major Broom had detailed a party to survey the British side of the Bolan Pass, and the officers brought from Gwalior were ordered to return.‡

Yet, but some six days before, according to the *Pioneer*, the Khan of Khelat and all his sirdirs had been present at the presentation of an enthusiastic reception of and address to the Viceroy at

* *Rangoon Gazette*, 1876, &c. &c.

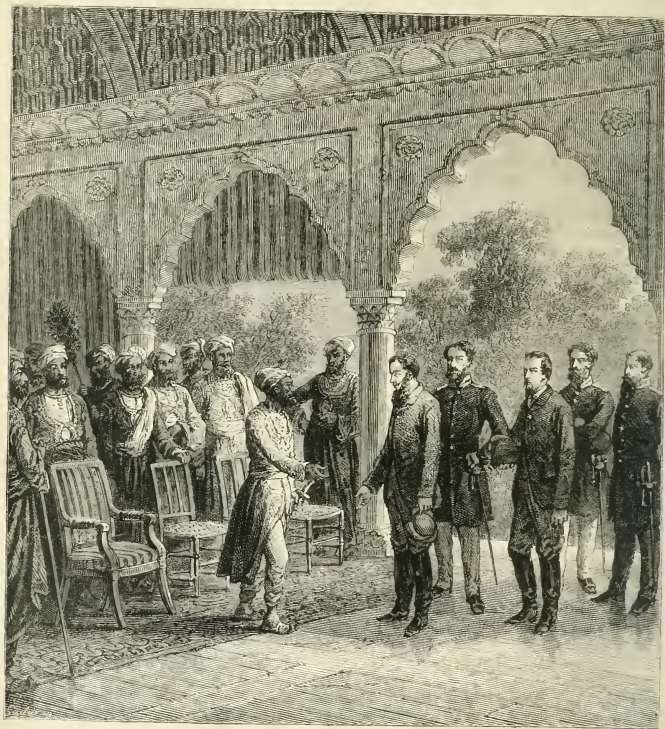
† *Madras Times*, December, 1876.

‡ *Times of India*.

* *Bombay Gazette*.

Shikarpore, when a formal agreement was entered into by that prince and Major Sandeman to refer all future quarrels to British arbitration, the negotiations arranged by the major being fully ratified by

a high craggy rock, surmounted by a temple, held by them in extreme veneration, and in the service of which 200 Brahmin priests are constantly engaged. Of the twenty-seven constellations of

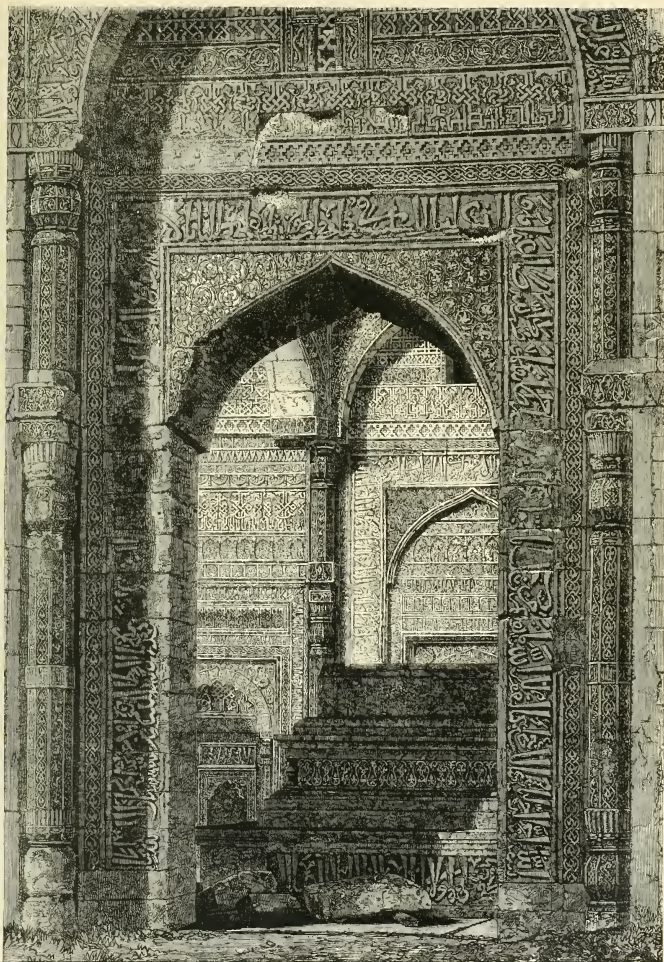


RECEPTION BY A MAHARAJAH.

Lord Lytton, who left him political agent at the request of the khan, and our troops to remain the while at Quettah and Khelat.

On the 1st of December, the great festival known among the Hindoos as the Krithricka Deepum was observed with unusual *éclat* at Trincomalee, a town and fortress in North Arcot, where there is

Hindoo astronomy *Krithica* is the third in order, and in the Tamil month Karthica (November) this constellation is supposed to have peculiar potency. The Deepum on the lofty rock of Trincomalee is lighted at six p.m. in honour of this constellation, and the caldron which contains it is flushed with ghee camphor, and new cloths, of greater or lesser



VIEW OF THE TOMB OF ALTAMSH, KOUTUB, NEAR DELHI.

value, according to the means of the donor, are thrown into it. In past times silks and shawls of great price fed the flames, which, on a clear night, illuminated the surrounding country for more than fifty miles, and burned for seventy-two hours consecutively.

As the proclamation of the Queen of Britain as Empress of India at Delhi was approaching, there was brought forward in some of the local papers the story of Viziamarazu Veerabahu Narandra Rao Bahadour, an unfortunate Indian gentleman, whose hard case—involving that fertile source of dispute in India, the right of adoption—it was hoped the Viceroy, on an occasion so auspicious, would consider with commiseration.

It would seem that about 300 years before there lived a man of some eminence in what is now called the district of Vizagapatam, which lies between the Eastern Ghauts and the coast of Orissa. He was named Stri Dhunnayinin Garu, and upon him was bestowed by the then Maharajah of Jeypure, the Zemindary of Palacondah in permanent possession to him and his heirs for ever; and to the latter this estate descended without interruption, even amid the stormy times of war, intrigue, and tumult, to the tenth generation.

This tenth zemindar possessed not only the lands of Palacondah intact, but a name of astounding length, which we shall shorten into Veerabahu Narandra Rao Bahadour. He, too, was gathered to his fathers, and with him passed away the prosperity of the family. Being a noble of high rank, he had many wives and female gholams in his zenana; but by these he left only one legitimate and two illegitimate sons; and at his death, in 1828, when George IV. was king, the rightful heir to the ancient zemindary had not completed his ninth year, while his illegitimate half-brother Kurmarazu was fourteen.

By the British Government the lawful heir of this long line was most arbitrarily set aside upon a representation made by Mr. Gardiner, the collector, and the illegitimate son was alleged to have been adopted by the first surviving widow of the zemindar, "and was thus acknowledged by all parties to be the proper heir."

By Mr. P. B. Smollet, at that time agent to the Government at Fort George, this decision was repudiated as a precedent; but right prevailed over might, and, accordingly, Kurmarazu was recognised as Zemindar of Palacondah, and the estate was placed in care of the Court of Wards. On attaining majority, it passed into his own hands, though the management of it was left entirely with his adoptive mother Camaliah, assisted by Patradoo, head of the

family of the previous dewan, who had been assassinated in 1828. Confusion, irregularity, and peril now ensued, as might easily be expected, from a weak youth amid the intriguing atmosphere of a zenana, and his succession was speedily disputed by the family of Pedda Lutchininasia, the legally married wife of the late zemindar.

Amid much quarrelling, a rupture ensued between Kurmarazu and his pretended mother; and on the 28th of July, 1832, he informed the acting collector that he had transferred the management of Palacondah to his natural mother, Pedda Juggiah. More evil now ensued, and some fighting took place among the adjacent hill zemindaries, and Purlah Kimeddy, the next estate, was a scene of great outrages. Martial law was proclaimed, and our troops occupied the district, when it chanced that a box of letters, which fell into the hands of the officer commanding, was forwarded by him to Mr. G. E. Russel, commissioner in the disturbed districts.

It was then discovered by these letters that a secret correspondence had for some time been in progress between some of the fair inmates of the Palacondah zenana and the rebel chiefs, Pedda Juggiah being most seriously compromised; but there was not a title of evidence to show that her son Kurmarazu was concerned in the revolt, or cognisant of it in any way. Notwithstanding this, as nominal head of the zemindary, he was brought to trial, convicted on unworthy evidence, and condemned to death, a sentence commuted to imprisonment for life, and he died in captivity two years after, while the zemindary was declared forfeited to the British Government, though that of Purlah Kimeddy, which had been in open rebellion, by some secret favour escaped sequestration.

In his special report upon the district of Vizagapatam, Mr. Russel acquitted the legitimate heir, the disinherited Viziamarazu Narandra Rao, of all complicity in the crimes alleged against his ill-fated supplanter; but, at the same time, harshly expressed an opinion that the restoration of the zemindary, though an act of justice, would weaken the impression it was necessary we should make upon the adjacent landowners. "But," says the *Madras Times*, "if an example was at all needed, it would surely have been more just to have singled out the most, and not the least, guilty of the refractory zemindaries. There was no occasion to entrust the management of the estate immediately to the youth, whose years were too delicate to undertake such a task. The true and simple course, and the one that would be pursued nowadays in a similar

contingency, would have been to appoint a British officer as a temporary administrator of the estate, and guardian of the zemindar, until such time as the latter showed himself capable of taking the reins into his own hands. Mr. Russel, indeed, looked forward to the restoration of the zemindary at some future date to one of the surviving brothers, in which case Government would scarcely repeat its previous act of injustice in excluding the rightful heir."

In 1835 the proposition came before Sir Frederick Adam, who declined to entertain Mr. Russel's suggestion, for no better reason than a harsh one expressed by old Sir Thomas Munro—that "no zemindary once forfeited for rebellion should ever be restored;" but many were of opinion that, in the case in point, even Sir Thomas Munro would have made a favourable exception. The British Government, it will be observed, was not asked to give back the zemindary to any one who had drawn a sword against it, but to the lawful heir, who had been illegally dispossessed of it since 1828. But the gross injustice did not end with the decision of Sir Frederick Adam, and most sad was the future of the luckless Narandra Rao Bahadloor.

Although declared perfectly innocent of the crimes falsely imputed to the intruding zemindar, he was actually confined in the State prison at Vellore, on a wretched pittance of ninety rupees; and then the fact of his existence became utterly forgotten. Years stole on, and he was suffered to remain in gaol until Lord Napier of Magdala, who doubtless had heard of that which was known as "the Palacondah case," released him in 1869, and raised his stipend to 110 rupees per annum.

This was subsequently increased to 150; and it was generally hoped that at the Delhi proclamation he might be restored to the estate of his ancestors. But it would seem that in a memorial he presented to Lord Lytton there was an unfortunate mistake, which may have prevented its favourable consideration. Therein he described himself as "Zemindar of the Zemindary of Palacondah," which he was not at the time, and to become which was the purport of his prayer.

Hence, as it stood, it had an air of defiance, as though it disputed the validity of the act of a former Indian Government, which was an unfortunate tone to adopt when soliciting a favour.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE VICEROY AT DELHI.

ON the afternoon of the 23rd of December, while preparations were in full progress for the proclamation of the Queen as Empress at Delhi, the Viceroy arrived at the terminus of the railway leading to the city of the Moguls, where he was received by all the authorities and many native princes, to whom he said, on alighting:—

"PRINCES, CHIEFS, AND NOBLES.—It is with feelings of unusual pleasure I find you here assembled from all parts of India to take part in a ceremonial which I trust will be the means of drawing still closer the bonds of union between the Government of Her Majesty and the great allies and feudatories of the empire. I thank you for the cordiality with which you have responded to my invitation, and trust the close of our proceedings will confirm the auspicious character of their commencement. Accept my hearty welcome to Delhi!"

A brilliant and imposing procession was then formed; very few were on horseback, the Viceroy,

his family, suite, and most of the attendant chiefs and princes being all seated on elephants; as were also the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the Punjab, and the North-Western Provinces, the Commander-in-chief, Sir Frederick Haines, the Governors of Madras and Bombay, each and all with staff and suite; the chief justices of Bengal and the North-West, the puisne judges, and many officers in full uniform. The whole procession was three miles long, and the route six, lined by troops and a vast concourse of spectators.

The escort was formed by troops of the Body Guard, six regiments of cavalry, and two batteries of artillery; and, conspicuous among all, rode the chief herald, a man of vast stature, Major Osmond Barnes, of the 10th Bengal Lancers (which had just marched into Delhi from Umballa), attended by twelve trumpeters—six European and six native—arrayed in ancient costume, with long, straight trumpets and square banners attached.

The steps and terraces of the stately Jumna

Musjid were crowded with excited spectators. The enormous masses of the latter everywhere, the appearance of the many chiefs in magnificent dresses of every brilliant colour, sparkling with jewels, who, with their armed retainers seated on elephants or camels, were grouped at various points of that wondrous and ancient city, produced a most splendid effect.

On the ground there were upwards of 1,000 caparisoned elephants. The procession occupied nearly four hours, till the Viceroy reached the royal tent, which he entered amid the blare of trumpets and the thunder of royal salutes from many batteries, waking the thousand echoes of the walls and forts of Delhi. The scene in the vast thoroughfare of Chandni Chowk—which runs straight from the palace to the Lahore Gate, a distance of more than a mile—is said to have been alike striking and bewildering, from the decorations, the countless crowds on roofs and shaded verandahs, and the many-coloured costumes of the people.

Nor amid all this Oriental splendour was the prosaic wanting, as, in consequence of the vast assemblage, several large and stately hotels were prepared and opened by Feringhee speculators: such as the "Northbrook," near the Moree Gate; the "Lyton" and "United Service," near the Cashmere Gate, that witnessed the first scenes of the massacre; and the "Empress Hotel," near the ridge that led to the cantonments, and was the scene of so many a bloody struggle ere the Mogul princes fell under Hodson's hand in the Tomb of Houmayoun.

It was on Saturday the Viceroy arrived. The following day was Christmas, which was passed in quiet. Divine service was performed with unusual solemnity in the English church at Delhi and the various camps around the walls; and many of those visits of ceremony, so necessary in Indian diplomacy, were performed.

On the following day the Viceroy received those of the Maharajah of Oortcha, the ambassador of the remote King of Siam and his suite, accompanied by the British Consul from Bangkok, the trading port of that remarkable country; then came a mountain deputation from Nepal; the Nizam of Hyderabad; the Maharanas of Dholepore, Shallour, Oodeypore, and Meywar; the Maharajahs of Cashmere and Travancore; the Maha Rao; the Rajahs of Tonk, Ulwar, Bhoondee, Bhawulpore, and Jheend; and many other princes, whose costumes, in the great viceregal tent, seemed to embody the most brilliant conceptions of the "Arabian Nights."

No order of precedence was observed. The more remarkable for the splendour of themselves and

their suites were the Nizam, the Maharajahs of Cashmere and Mysore, and the young Guicowar of Baroda. All were accompanied by armed retainers, and each great prince had a guard of honour furnished by British troops; and all received the usual salutes at their arrival and departure, twenty minutes being allowed between each. The 11th, or Prince Albert's Hussars, furnished the chief guard of honour; while the line from the city to the camp was entirely lined by the Bombay cavalry.

More receptions followed on the 28th, and the Viceroy presented to each chief a gorgeous banner, bearing his family insignia, embroidered in gold or silver on silk or satin, with the inscription:—"From Victoria, Empress of India, January 1st, 1877," together with a medal commemorative of the event. On that day there were gazetted as honorary generals in the British army (following the name of the King of Hanover), Jioji Rao Scindia, Maharajah of Gwalior, G.C.B. and G.C.S.I.; and Ranbir Sing, Maharajah of Jummo and Cashmere, G.C.S.I. To the former Lord Lytton presented an Arab charger, with the field trappings of a general. After this, he received the ambassadors of that singular Arabian potentate, the Imaum of Muscat; and day after day the cannon thundered and the clash of saluting arms was heard as princes arrived and departed, or were presented in hundreds; while the scene, as viewed from the Flagstaff Tower in front of the viceregal camp, was fast becoming unlike everything ever before witnessed, even in India.

On the 29th December alone, upwards of 2,000 presentations were made at one general levée, occupying three hours; and among those who came were the Princess of Tanjore and many chiefs of the Central Provinces and Central India.

It was evident that the approaching ceremony gave some peculiar satisfaction to the native powers of India, for never before had her royal princes and semi-royal chiefs gathered in such numbers, or with so much elaborate splendour, as at Delhi; yet it was evident that the great Maharajahs of long descent could derive no additional rank or local importance from the Queen of Britain being styled Empress of India.

Each in himself was the living representative of a long past history, embodying the most startling vicissitudes—the conquest of provinces, the fall of dynasties, the death of monarchs in battle, or by the secret dagger, the sudden elevation of daring soldiers of fortune, or bodies of bold marauders and invaders, to thrones and power—and they were now the representatives of a civilisation older

than the days when Cæsar poured his legions on the coast of Kent.

It was justly said, at the time, that for the ceremony "a scene more suitable than Delhi could not have been chosen. Nowhere else, save within its walls, has any Indian imperial chief resided. The present city stands near the ruins of three or four capitals; and on the field of Paniput, a few miles distant, several battles decisive of the fate of India have been fought. Calcutta retains, and will long retain, the realities of power; but Delhi almost monopolises its glories in the past. Here, then, upon a spot rich in associations—dark and awful, as well as bright and beneficent—Lord Lytton, surrounded by his assistants and a host of native princes, will proclaim his sovereign Empress; and, at the same time, throughout the wide realm, grand salutes of cannon will make the proclamation instantaneous and universal."

Well might the writer quoted term the scene of this great novelty in our Oriental career a spot rich in associations, where now was to be consummated the essay of that handful of Britons, "who, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated in course of a few years one of the greatest empires in the world."

Indraprestha was the ancient name of Delhi—one that carries us back to the Maharabatha, or great epic poem of the Hindoos, when, as tradition asserts, every tribe of fame assembled there, and where a Hindoo monarch, named Prithwaraja, lost his kingdom, liberty, and life, in some battle fought in days beyond human record. Both as a Hindoo and Mohammedan city, Delhi is associated with reminiscences of sovereign power; and it is alleged that in the zenith of its splendour it covered a space of twenty miles; but when the Mohammedan power overthrew that of the Hindoo, a new city, named Shahjehanabad, was founded by the Emperor Shah Jehan on the west bank of the Jumna.

Modern Delhi, with all its massive and graceful gates, the marble cupolas, towers, and minars of its wondrous mosques and palaces, bordered on one side by the flowery and fertile bank of the Jumna, is surrounded on others by ruins that extend from the south end of the present city, to the deserted forts of Rao Pitthora and Togluckabad, a distance of ten miles; the breadth at the northern end, opposite Feroze Shah's Kottla, is about three miles, and from the towering shaft of the Koutub Minar to Togluckabad is more than six miles—a wilderness of tombs and crumbling walls half buried among vegetation.

According to Captain Harcourt,* a popular and

well-known tradition ascribes the building of the city to the Rajah Delihu, who flourished about 57 B.C. The city was, however, the residence of a reigning dynasty for above 790 years, with a few intervals; and it seems to have been occupied by the Rajah Dhana, who erected the iron pillar which stands in the square of the Koutub about A.D. 319. With the exception of the iron pillar there are no traces of this old city. Those at the Koutub are said by some to be of Hindoo origin; but General Cunningham, the Archæological Surveyor of India, considers that none of them are older than the tenth century.

Delhi was apparently rebuilt by the first sovereign of the Tomara dynasty, Anang Pal I., about 736; but it is supposed not to have been the metropolis of the kings of Upper India, as the latter rajahs of the house of Tomara resided at Kanouj; and terminated in the nineteenth sovereign in 1130, after which there is a blank for twenty-two years, till Anang Pal II. established himself in a fort near the Koutub Minar, and his name is still traceable on the iron pillar. The last Hindoo sovereign was the Rajah Pitthora.

The only work attributable to him, says General Cunningham in his report, is the extensive fort to the north and east of Anang Pal's Lalkat, which is still called Killah Rao Pitthora. The entire circuit of the walls of these two forts is four miles and three furlongs, or more than half the size of modern Delhi, from whence we may gather what the power and wealth of those ancient princes were.

We find the Rajah Dhana in occupation of Pitthora's fort about the year 57 B.C.; and on the soil, after passing through the hands of successive kings and conquerors, we find the Sultan Alaooden founding a city named Siri to the north-east of the Koutub, as an offshoot of Delhi. In his reign the Moguls, under Targhan Khan, invaded India in 1303, and advanced against Alaooden, who intrenched himself at Siri (now Shahapore), and on the sudden retreat of the Moguls caused a city to be built where his tents had been pitched. "On this side," says General Cunningham, "the suburbs of old Delhi extended for a considerable distance. We know also that they were without walls, because the Moguls plundered them during their stay, and because they were afterwards enclosed by Mohammed Togluck, where they received the separate name of Jehan Punnah. Immediately in front of these suburbs, and facing the enemy, is the old ruined fort, where still exist the remains of a very extensive palace. This I believe to be the celebrated Kas-Hazar Siten, or Palace of the Thousand Pillars, which Alaooden built on the spot where

* "New Guide to Delhi."

he intrenched himself. This palace was also called Hazar Minar, or the Thousand Minarets. . . . Siri cannot be identified with the citadel that surrounds the Koutub Minar, for the walls were pulled

the Hindoo fort of Rao Pitthora and the Mohamadan citadel of Siri, as he remembered what they had undergone when Alaoodeen had been besieged. The north wall is one mile and three-quarters in



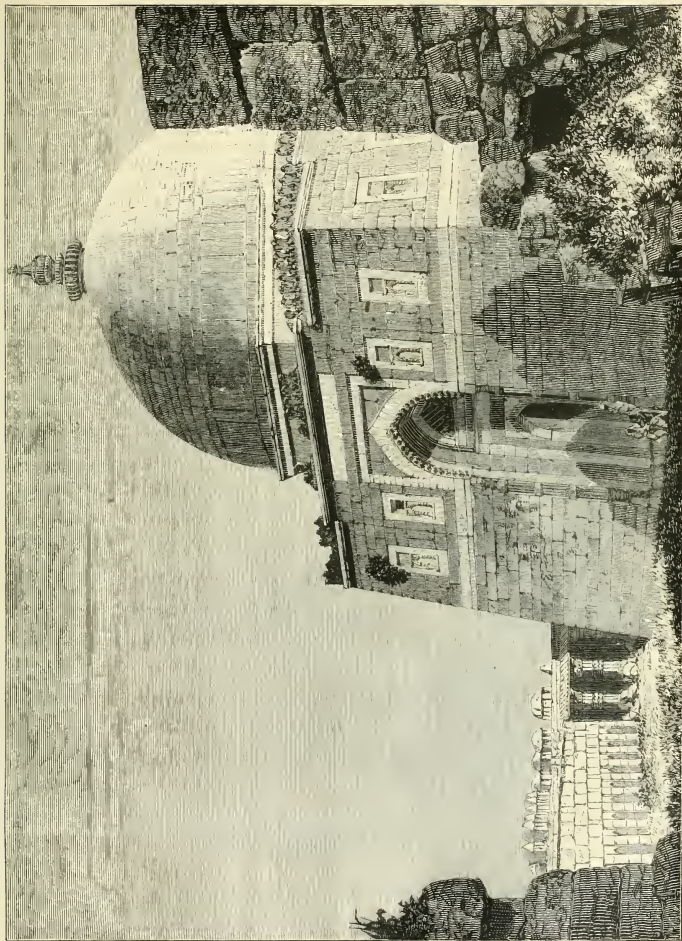
PORTRAIT OF SHEODAN SING, MAHARAO RAJAH OF U'LWAR.

down, and the material removed by Shir Shah (A.D. 1540-1545), while the walls of the Koutub Minar citadel are still standing."

Togluckabad was the next city built, a half hexagon in form, having three faces, with a circuit of four miles. It was finished in 1325, during the reign of the Shah Togluck, whose son fortified all the extensive suburbs of old Delhi that lie between

length, the south is two miles, and the whole length five, or somewhat more than the circuit of Rao Pitthora's fort. Sharifoodeen states that Jehan Punnah had thirteen gates, six on the north-west and seven on the south-west.* Of the seven ruined forts of ancient Delhi the same authority gives the following dates of erection :—

* General Cunningham.



VIEW OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMPEROR ILTUTMISH, AT TOGLUCKABAD.

1. Lalkat, built by Anang Pal	...	about A.D. 1052
2. Killah Rao Pitthora, built by ditto	"	" 1181
3. Siri, or Killah Alai, built by Alaoddeen	"	" 1304
4. Togluckabad, built by Shah Togluck	"	" 1321
5. Citadel of ditto, built by ditto	"	" 1321
6. Adilhabad, built by Mohammed Togluck	"	" 1325
7. Jehan Punnah, built by ditto	"	" 1325

Such are the wonderful remains of past princes and races, which cover, like a stony wilderness, the whole suburbs of the present Delhi for miles upon miles.

Delhi was taken by Mahmood of Ghizni about the year 1011. In 1206 the Gaurian inheritance was partitioned, and while one branch of the Afghan dynasty retained Gaur, and another Cabul, a third, in the person of Koutub, settled definitively in Hindostan, and for more than half a century his successors held their splendid court in Delhi. Then the Moguls, expelling the Afghans, settled, according to some accounts, in the latter. But this is not the case. "The Moguls, strictly so called—the people of Genghiz Khan—never did prevail against the Gaurian kings; on the contrary, they were repeatedly repulsed by those sovereigns in their invasions from the north-west, or, as they sometimes came, across the Nepaul hills; and more than one unfortunate prince, a fugitive from the swords of these terrible conquerors, found a refuge at the secure court of Delhi. When the days of Timour came, Moguls and Afghans were in pretty much the same predicament. The Mogul Empire was tottering, and the Afghan Empire was tottering too."

Shah Jehan was the actual creator of the present Delhi, and spent vast sums on the great mosque and palatial fortress. The different omrahs of the empire, imitating his example, raised other mosques and other superb palaces in different parts of the city, and the walls, with their many gates, were fully repaired. The canal which had been cut by the Sultan Feron in the fourteenth century for the conveyance

of water was lengthened and deepened, and Delhi became the boast of all India. The garden called the Shah-al-Imar cost a million sterling. Surrounded by a lofty wall, it contained every luxury of the East; and the prospect from the lofty buildings that were in this garden must have been one of the most enchanting nature, as it embraced, as far as the eye could reach, a wilderness of mosques, pavilions, marble cupolas, and carved minars, the gilded roofs of mausoleums rising amid dark cypress groves, the river winding between, and far in the distance Hoomayoon's mighty tomb—like the Taj Mahal, the second grandest in India—its marble dome glittering in the sunbeams, its marble fountains, its terraces and shady arcades, a mass of arabesques.

On the day that saw the Queen of Great Britain proclaimed Empress of India, many a relic was yet remaining of the recent fierce struggle at Delhi, and many a man was present who could remember it. For close by were the shattered ruins of the Badlee Ki Serai, where one of the early combats of the mutiny took place, and where "a handful" of British soldiers, all unaided save by their own stout hands and "the queen of weapons," routed the dark host that covered the plain, and hurled them headlong into Delhi with the loss of their guns. There, too, were still remaining in the Cashmere Gate, the breaches our cannon had made on that eventful day when, under a blazing sunshine, it was stormed by men as brave as any that ever wore the scarlet coat.

A rampart of earth might be seen to fill the stony gap through which our troops poured on that day, when their bugles rang out the "advance," and the rush was made along that narrow lane, which, we are told, was swept by the bullets of the enemy as a tunnel is swept by a fierce wind. Many must have thought of that terrible time; but, happily, the New Year's Day of 1877 saw another and a brighter scene around the walls of Delhi.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN AS EMPRESS OF INDIA—HONOURS CONFERRED—THE DURBAR.

THE time fixed for the ceremony was noon; but all spectators were requested to be in their places by half-past eleven. By that hour the governors, lieutenant-governors, the state officials, sixty ruling princes, and an infinity of other chiefs, with their

suites, standard-bearers, and recently-presented gorgeous memorial banners, were grouped, in a vast and glittering semicircle, before the viceregal throne. To the south of the dais were 15,000 troops under arms, including contingents from the Madras

and Bombay armies and the Punjaub frontier force. To the north were ranged the lesser chiefs, with their raj-troops and retinues, and by twelve o'clock more than 100,000 persons were on the ground, in every variety of Eastern costume and colour, giving the vast plain the appearance of a mighty garden gay with beds of brilliant flowers, and presenting a scene of unprecedented beauty and splendour, under a genial sunshine, that did not much exceed in heat an English day in July. Most of the surrounding camps, in addition to their other decorations, displayed the Danish colours, in honour of the Princess of Wales.

Very dramatic was the aspect of the assemblage—so much so that it was difficult to realise the fact that a scene in modern history was being acted there—especially when the eye fell on the retainers of the native chiefs, some of whom were armed with lances, curved blades screwed to the end of bamboo staves, matchlocks, blunderbusses, old flint Tower muskets, and Enfield muzzle-loaders, carbines, and ancient halberts; some were lancers on horseback, with tulwar and shield, and some rode Mahratta ponies capable of going sixty miles a day; and there, too, were camel artillery, with red cloth trappings and tinkling bells, and jingall-men; in many places all halted ankle-deep in dust—the well-known dust of Delhi.

Scindia's infantry, and those of other ruling princes, were dressed in new tunics; but we are told that, for wild ferocity and utter innocence of military array, the Tonk following bore away the palm, with their sorry nags and rusty-looking lances. Others wore uniforms of the days of Lord Lake, and coatees of those of Ochterlony, and many were there in armour, of plate and chain.* The first row of the chief men consisted of those mounted on elephants, having trappings and howdahs that glittered with silver and gold, their tusks loaded with brass rings, their foreheads painted in bright colours, and each chief, as he arrived mounted thus, was met by a guard with presented arms, and an officer who conducted him to his place. Great crimson standards indicated the position of the governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces. Green, the holy colour, generally indicated those of the Mussulmans; while the Hindoos were mainly distinguishable by pink or yellow, inscribed with recently-invented insignia, or somewhat absurd attempts at armorial bearings.

In the front row of the reserved seats were places assigned to foreign potentates and embassies, conspicuously among whom was the Khan of Khelat, with a group of wild-looking Beloochees; next these

were the swarthy Arabs of the Imaum of Muscat; then the Siamese, in enormous yellow trousers; and then the embassy of Nepaul, in scarlet uniforms, their tiny skull-caps ablaze with diamonds, and gay with tossing plumes. Close by were the Governor-General of Goa and all the foreign consuls.

The daïs and amphitheatre were designed by the Principal of the Lahore School of Arts. The former was hexagonal, with a platform about nine feet from the ground. The sides were painted pale blue, relieved by panels alternately square and oblong. On the former, which were cloth, were embroidered the Royal Arms of Britain; on the latter were the Imperial Crown, and the letters "V I" in gold. The floor of the daïs was approached by two flights of steps opposite each other, protected by an elaborate and gilded railing. In the centre was the viceregal throne; over the daïs, supported by silver pillars, was a conical canopy, broad at the base and sharp at the apex. From each pillar ran a long rope decked to the ground with red, blue, and white pennons. The upper part of this canopy shone like a sheet of solid silver; on the lower were embroidered the arms of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, separately. On its summit was a golden imperial crown. Beneath the whole was a silver chair of State.

Facing this throne was the semicircle we have described, marked off in territorial blocks, each calculated to hold about 2,000 spectators. The two front rows were for European ladies, whose gay and airy dresses were a relief to the eye, which grew weary of the thickly-jewelled head-gear and barbaric pomp of the chiefs and princes. There were three entrances to the semicircle. One of these was intended for the Viceroy only, and from it a red carpet led straight to the steps of the daïs. At intervals, around the great daïs, were placed the guns, with the artillerymen standing by the wheels. A guard of honour stood on each side of it, and infantry, with arms shouldered and bayonets fixed, lined the way from the entrance to the steps. In front the British troops were drawn up, with all their bands massed. The Royal Artillery in half batteries were to fire salvoes on the extreme right and left; and between these were the infantry, formed in two long lines with all their colours flying.

Unimpressed by all this unwonted splendour, the Khan of Khelat, it is related, true to his character as a haughty and untamed mountain chief, walked slowly but proudly to his place, eyeing each chieftain as he passed until he had come to the end, when he turned to his guide, and said:—"Sahib, there is not a man among

* *Pioneer*, &c.

them!" And on being asked, at the conclusion of the ceremony, "if he had ever seen such a durbar before?" he replied, haughtily, "No; neither have you, Sahib-logue; thus it is not strange that I have not." And at the evening reception, given by Lord Lytton, he was heard to remark that the women of the Feringhees "dress themselves in their own families and among friends, but undress themselves when they go into public."

At half-past twelve the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Lytton, preceded and followed by a cavalry escort, came upon the ground. Although the day's ceremony was only beginning, the Madras troopers of the escort felt the increased heat of noon so much that several of them fell fainting from their saddles. This caused but little delay, as the procession advanced at once to the throne, the chief herald, in his blazing tabard, with his trumpeters leading, sounding a fanfare, in which all the massed bands joined; after which a grand march was played, and there was a general salute, while all the assemblage stood.

The Viceroy wore the light-blue and silver of the Order of the Star of India; two pages bore his train—one a European boy, in the slashed doublet and hat of Charles the Second's time; the other, a nephew of the Maharajah of Cashmere, in his own native costume.

Then, by command of the Viceroy, the chief herald, "who, in his many-coloured tabard, looked by far the most gorgeous person present," and was, moreover, the tallest military officer in India, advanced to the steps of the dais, and, facing the territorial seats, read aloud the proclamation, whereby Her Majesty declared that, under the powers granted to her by the British Parliament, she had been pleased to assume the title of Empress of India.

Of this, Mr. Thornton, the foreign secretary, read a translation in Oordoo, after which the twelve trumpeters poured a flourish from their long silver trumpets, while the Imperial standard was hoisted for the first time, and the artillery began to thunder forth their salvoes of three guns at once. Of these salvoes thirty-four were fired, with thrice a *feu de joie* between, till 102 guns had been fired.

"The effect of the *feu de joie*," says the *Times* correspondent, "as it rolled down one long line, then doubled back, and rattled up the other, was really magnificent and worthy of the occasion; only the elephants and horses seemed not to appreciate it. The former, after each discharge, turned tail in wild stampede, and were with difficulty brought back to their places. It is said that some people in the crowd were killed and hurt by the

sudden rush of the huge and frightened beasts. I have not been able to ascertain the extent of the mischief, but it could hardly fail to be considerable. The National Anthem was then played by the massed bands, and it was followed by more salutes."

Lord Lytton then rose and addressed the assembled princes in a speech commensurate to the importance of the occasion, and of great eloquence, but much too long for insertion here. He then read the following interesting telegraphic message from the Queen:—

"We, Victoria, by the grace of God, Empress of India, and through our Viceroy, to all our officers, civil and military, and to all princes, chiefs, and peoples now at Delhi assembled, send our Royal and Imperial greeting, and assure them of the deep interest and earnest affection with which we regard the people of our Indian Empire. We have witnessed with heartfelt satisfaction the reception they have accorded to our beloved son, and have been touched by the evidence of their loyalty and attachment to our House and Throne.

"We trust the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects, that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule the great principles of liberty, equity, and justice are secured to them, and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity, and advance their welfare, are the ever-present aims and objects of our Empire."

This address was received with general and prolonged cheering, and while the Viceroy resumed his seat, the whole assembly rose and joined the troops in giving three cheers for the Empress, taking time from the Commander-in-chief, Sir Frederick Haines. Many native chiefs now rose to speak, but owing to the noise and confusion could only be heard by those in their immediate vicinity.

His Highness the Maharajah Scindia said:—

"Shah in Shah Padishah, be happy! The Princes of India bless you, and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast for ever."

The Begum of Bhopal spoke in a similar sense; then his Excellency Sir Salar Jung spoke thus on behalf of the Nizam:—

"I am desired by His Highness the Nizam to request your Excellency to convey to Her Majesty, on the part of himself and the chiefs of India, the expression of their hearty congratulations upon her assumption of the title of Empress of India, and to assure her that they pray for her long life, and for the enduring prosperity of her Empire, both in India and Britain."

The Maharajah of Jeypore urged, in the name of the united chiefs of Rajpootana, that a telegram might be sent to the Queen, expressing their loyal congratulations. Others still wished to speak, but the general breaking up of the vast assemblage prevented them.

The proceedings were now over. The Viceroy declared the assemblage dissolved, and descending from the dais retired. The chiefs and their retinues followed, crowding the roads for hours, and making it a work of no small difficulty to return to the camp.

On Monday evening the Viceroy gave a state banquet to the governors, lieutenant-governors, and high officials. In proposing Her Majesty's health for the first time as Empress of India, he made an eloquent speech, but made no references of political significance. At the reception in the drawing-room tent, many chiefs were present glittering with cloth of gold and jewels. The uniforms of every kind, the dresses of the ladies, the pearls and diamonds of the princes, made up a wonderful blaze of colour, amid which the funeral costume of the Civil Service appeared like black spots.

It was now officially announced that henceforth Her Majesty's salute in India will be 101 guns, and those of the Imperial flag and of the Viceroy thirty-one guns. The salutes of the native princes were revised, and additional guns granted them for life. Among the latter, the Maharajahs Scindia and Holkar, and the Maharajahs of Cashmere, Jeypore, Travancore, and Oodeypore got twenty-one guns, and forty-five others personal salutes, varying from nineteen to nine guns. After the list of salutes, the following announcement, signed by Lord Lytton, was published:—

"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India, being desirous of seeking from time to time the counsel and advice of the princes and chiefs of India, and of thus associating them with the paramount power in a manner honourable to themselves and advantageous to the general interests of the Empire, has authorised me, through her principal Secretary of State for India, to confer, in her name and on her behalf, upon the undermentioned chiefs and high officers of Government, the most honourable title of Counsellor of the Empress."*

The persons who received this distinction were the governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces; also the Maharajahs of Jeypore, Cashmere, Jheend, Travancore, and the Rajah of Bhoondee. Many additions were made to the military order of British India, and many titles were conferred

* Gazette Extraordinary.

on natives of high position. Eleven were made maharajahs, including two well-known gentlemen of Calcutta, Rajah Jotendra Mohun Tagore and Narendra Krishna. Three ladies were made Maharanees; eight gentlemen became Rajah Bahadoor; twenty-three became Rajah; thirty-two, Rao Bahadoor; twenty-nine, Rai Bahadoor; eight, Rao Sahib; four, Rao; five, Rai; one, Sirdir Bahadoor; one, Sirdir; one, Thakoor Rawut; four Mohammedan gentlemen became Nawab; two, Khan; and forty, Khan Bahadoor.

Of all these personal distinctions, only three hereditary titles were conferred on British subjects, namely, on the Guicowar of Baroda, *Fazand-i-kas-i-Doulat-Inglishia*, that is, "Child of the British Government;" on Scindia, *Hissan-us-Sultanat*, or "Sword of the Empire;" on the Maharajah of Cashmere, *Indar Mahindar Sipar-i-Sultanat*, or "the Shield of the Empire."

The Maharajahs of Adjeighur and Bijawur were styled Sawi; Maharajah Chirkari that of Sipahdar-ul-Mulk; the Maharajah of Duttia that of Lokendar. But one of the brightest features in the celebration was a release of prisoners.

Of general offenders, ten per cent. were set free, and partial remission of sentence was granted to those in confinement for short terms. This boon was restricted to those who were known to be not habitual offenders, and whose conduct while in durance had been exemplary. All civil prisoners whose debts were not over one hundred rupees were released, and their creditors were paid by the State. Altogether, including convicts in the Andaman Isles, about 16,000 prisoners were set free.

The terms of the amnesty of 1859 to the mutineers and actors in the revolt were enlarged, and it was announced that all would be pardoned on returning to their homes, reporting themselves to the district officers, and behaving well. Murderers—a class usually pretty numerous in India—were excepted from the amnesty, as was also Feroze Shah, a son of the late King of Delhi.

The Punjab College was raised to the rank of a university, with power to grant degrees; and it was ordered that the words "Victoria, Empress," should be substituted for "Victoria, Queen," on all the coinage.

At Delhi the Imperial assemblage reached its culmination in a review of about 30,000 men, on the 5th of January, when a spectacle was presented which would not be easily forgotten by those who were there. It commenced with a march past of the raj-troops, retainers, elephants, and gun-camels of the native princes—a motley and barbaric, if

splendid, spectacle. There was nothing present that could have withstood a single bayonet charge of any European regiment. There was small idea of marching, and none of dressing from the pivot or keeping in line. "Some corps," says a newspaper correspondent, "were attired in Mephistophelean garments, others were saffron from sandal to cap, some were dingy, others were dirty white; and their arms were as dissimilar

trumpeting. The gun-camels looked serviceable animals, but they are not really of much use, as they break down among the mountains. This procession lasted fully two hours, under a hot sun, quite 30,000 men and beasts marching past."

To the superstitious it might have seemed ominous that on this occasion the Royal standard was forgotten, and for a time the Union Jack (or

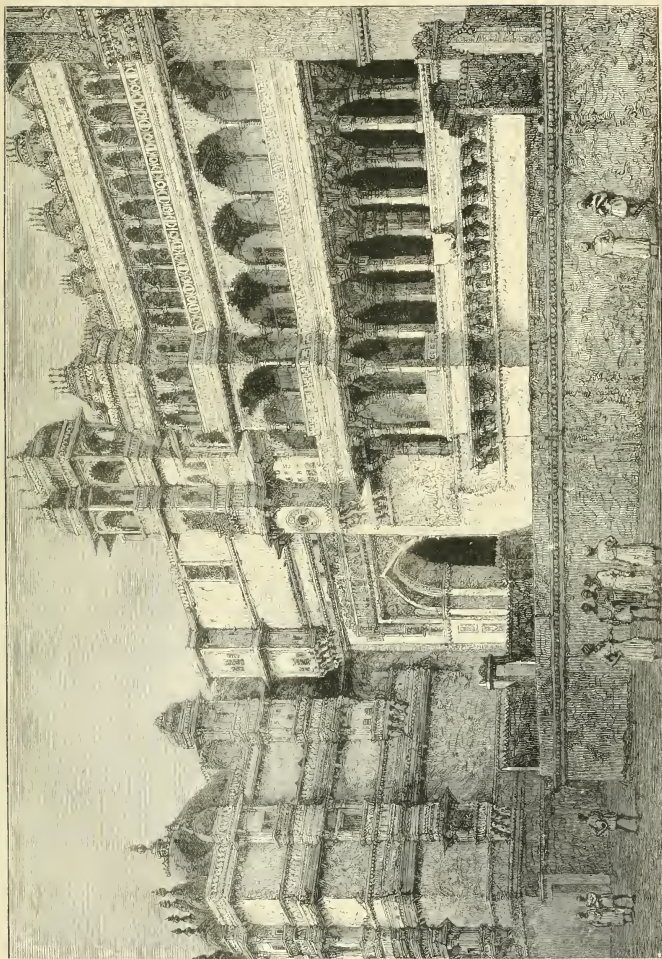


THE RAJAH OF PANNAH AND HIS SONS.

as their uniforms. Here and there appeared a trooper in a strange sort of cuirass, on a half-starved pony; by his side, perhaps, rode an individual with a small targe strapped to his back, and a round steel cap on his head. Some of their regular cavalry were splendidly mounted, but the elephants, with their magnificent howdahs and housings, were the great attraction of the day. Many of them were painted blue or yellow, or a mixture of colours; a few wore solid rings of gold round their ankles, and most of them had golden ornaments attached to their enormous tusks. In one instance the latter supported rose-coloured lamp-glasses. As they approached the Viceroy, they saluted by

St. George's ensign), hoisted in its place, was displayed upside down.

Scindia, who was averred to have shown signs of displeasure, left early, though it was alleged that his health would not permit him to witness the grand display of six batteries of the Royal Artillery passing in slow time. The Viceroy remained on horseback, with many of the native chiefs by his side. The march of the regular troops—about 14,000 strong, perfect in discipline, arms, and every point—served to efface greatly the memory of the undrilled but picturesque rabble that had preceded them. The 10th, 11th, and 15th Hussars were in splendid condition, as were



VIEW OF THE COURT OF THE PALACE OF OODEYPORE.

also our infantry—the first battalion of the 6th, the 39th, 59th, 63rd, and second battalion of the 60th Rifles, and 92nd Highlanders.

Among the native troops, the active little Ghoorkas were conspicuous. The Gordon Highlanders equalled their ancient reputation, “and it was a relief to the eye to see the line of kilts surmounting the bare, muscular legs, instead of the interminable monotony of the trousers of the other corps.”* The sense of irresistible might, as the solid ranks of our British infantry went past in all their glory, seemed to make a great impression upon the native mind; and the Khan of Khelat, who at much expense and pains had come from his mountains and forests to attend the *darbar*, “stared intently at the regiments as they went by, then, when the review was over, he galloped home, and went to bed. Next morning he told his political agent, ‘I always thought my cavalry was the best in the world, but when I go back I shall pay them off.’”

That night Delhi was brilliantly illuminated, and a vast concourse of people assembled on the plain, between the fort and the Jumma Musjid, to witness the fireworks, which in splendour were said to exceed anything of the kind ever before beheld in India.

Some curious incidents sprang out of this famous Delhi *darbar*. The Nizam of Hyderabad and the Guicowar of Baroda—the former a chief of the Mohammedans and the latter of the Mahrattas—met, and were introduced to each other. For a whole century the families these royal youths represent had been at feud. They had hated each other with all the intensity of Oriental hate and jealousy; and the matter might have culminated in an appeal to arms, it is said, but for the influence of Sir Richard Meade, who ended it thus:—

“The little Hindoo was led up by the Resident at Baroda, brought over the platform of the Delhi railway station to where his youthful rival was sitting, and was then introduced, with all his style and titles, by Colonel Meade. Fully aware of the precedence which his superior age gave him, the Nizam, without rising from his chair, graciously received the boy Guicowar, who, as in the presence of one slightly superior, stood to talk. Then they chatted, and told each other how they could ride, what horses they loved best, and such like things, till the pleasant interview ended, and the two separated, to go home and tell how the old feud was over.”

Another strange meeting was that between the Maharajah of Rewah and the little old Begum of

Bhopal; and strange, too, were those between the Maharajah of Cashmere and him of Travancore; and he, too, of Oodeypore, still called by his people “Chief of the Rajpoots,” met on friendly terms his hereditary rival of Meywah. Nor have political incidents been wanting to stamp the assemblage as one of great historical and local value; and great and elaborate was the care taken by the Viceroy and all officials that each who was present should have every honour accorded that was due to his rank.

Nor were the poor forgotten, for the new Empress rupee was lavishly distributed among them at Delhi. The total amount of the State expenditure on account of the assemblage was announced to have been £50,000 sterling. This included the sum of £22,000 for military charges, which, however, was defrayed by economies in the budget, while the charges falling to the share of the Home Government were estimated at £10,000. Yet, barely were the lamps of the illumination at Delhi put out and the fireworks over, than strange and discreditable rumours began to circulate among the millions of India.

There was, unquestionably, much disappointment, if not indignation, among the military men present, when the “*Gazette Extraordinary*” was issued on the evening of the eventful 1st of January, 1877, and it was found that not a single honour had been conferred on the representatives of the army—an omission felt the more because Admiral Reginald Macdonald, then present, was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India. All others were reserved for the Civil Service, “and a whole swarm of natives of every conceivable class.”

That they should receive the lion's share of honours in the creation of the new Empire of India was, perhaps, politic and proper; but that the representatives of those who had created, or won, that Empire, and men who had done the State such good service in long years past, should be passed over, was bitterly resented.*

After the event, some dissatisfaction, it would seem, was created by the discovery that rumour had greatly exaggerated the spirit of the viceregal speech, as it had been freely, if vaguely, asserted, that large concessions of territory were to be made to certain native princes. Nothing of this kind took place; whether or not to the disappointment of the princes in question, it is impossible to say, except in so far as the alleged and scarcely concealed discontent of Scindia, at the non-restoration of his famous rock-fortress of Gwalior, (of

* *Homeward Mail*

* *Times of India, &c.*

which we took charge in the Mutiny) may be taken as a type of more general, but better-veiled dissatisfaction. "We have no reason, however," says a journalist, "for supposing that such was the case. No evidence, at all events, has been made public which affords the slightest ground for any such suspicion; and the rumour was probably one of those *canards* for which Indian society is celebrated. It is, of course, impossible to calculate with any exactness the impression produced upon a race so unlike ourselves by a ceremony which was enacted so many thousands of miles away. But we, at least, know this much, that the Oriental mind adores

power, and is easily impressed by the external symbols of it. Nothing seems to have been wanting to make the spectacle as effective as possible. . . . Whether our Indian Empire shall date a new lease of life from Monday's ceremonial, must depend, of course, on the continued exhibition by the governing class of the qualities which originally won it. But supposing those qualities to undergo no deterioration, the event celebrated will probably form an effective agent in the suppression of clannish feuds, the maintenance of social tranquillity, and the encouragement of liberal education."

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

THE VICEROY AT PUTTIALA AND ALLYGHUR.—THE AFREEDIES.—THE INDIAN FAMINE OF 1877.

AT the installation of the young Maharajah, in the city of Puttiala, the Viceroy made a long speech, in which he traced our connection with the principality since the year 1808, when the then Maharajah, Sahib Sing, was taken under the protection of the British Government, in whom the Phulkian chiefs reposed the utmost confidence; and the faith had been reciprocal. "In the year 1857," said Lord Lytton, "His Highness Maharajah Naundar Sing placed all his resources and his great personal influence absolutely at the disposal of the Government. His Highness then sent to Delhi a contingent, whose valuable services we still remember gratefully, and the assistance then rendered by the Maharajah has already been rewarded and acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government."

He concluded by reminding the members of the Council of Regency that to them had been entrusted the onerous and honourable task of administering the State of Puttiala during the minority of the young prince, that large powers had been confided to them for that purpose, and that, in return, Her Majesty looked to them for honest, loyal, and devoted labour, in which case they might confidently reckon on the firm support of the administration, which, on the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in concurrence with the Rajahs of Jheend and Nabha, had appointed them to the high office they then held.*

From Puttiala the Viceroy proceeded to the town of Allyghur, in the doab of the Ganges and

Jumna, to lay the foundation of a native college, under the shadow of the same ancient fortress which, as we have already related, Morison of old stormed from Pedron, and which prominently figured in the events of the Mutiny in 1857.

In replying to a grave and eloquent address by the Venerable Syud Mahmoud, on the 8th of January, Lord Lytton said that he felt the ceremony constituted an epoch in the social progress of India under our rule which was no less honourable to the past than full of bright promise to the future; and that, trusting to the vigour of the Indian Mohammedan character, if firmly devoted to the attainment of an object in view, he promised them all the assistance which it was in the power of the British Government to give to voluntary institutions on behalf of education.

He pointed to the achievements of the Moors in the Iberian peninsula, at a time when all Western Europe was sunk in darkness, as a proof that the highest form of intellectual culture was not incompatible with the creed of Islam. This might be sophistry or policy; but he wisely reminded the Syud Mahmoud of Allyghur that it was to the activity of Western ideas, and the application of Western science, that we must now look for the social and political progress of the new Indian Empire.

There was, he said, a special reason for welcoming the foundation of the college of Allyghur, as there was no object which the administration of India had more at heart than that the plain prin-

* Gazette of India.

ciples of its rule should be thoroughly intelligible to all its subjects, from the highest to the most humble. "He could not," he concluded, "anticipate the attainment of this object until the great precepts of British polity should have been translated, not only into vernacular forms of language, but also into vernacular forms of thought. For such an undertaking, a body of cultivated natives was more fitted than twice their number of British officials or twenty times their number of English scholars. Those who succeeded in such an undertaking would render services to Government and to their country which could not be too highly appreciated."

A fortnight had not elapsed after the famous durbar when notes of alarm began to be sounded on the frontiers, and telegrams from Rawul Pindee, on the 16th of January, announced that a band of hillmen had descended on Nowshera, surprised the police-station, killed the inspector, and seized thirty stand of arms; that the road between Nowshera and Peshawur had become most unsafe by night; and the independent tribes on the frontier were becoming openly insolent.

At Kohat, on the 3rd of January, two days after the royal proclamation at the city of Kohat, some police sowars, marching to their posts, fell into an ambuscade of Afreedies, and one was shot dead, while others were severely wounded, one having a limb amputated; and on the night of the 30th of the preceding month, a hundred of them, descending the Kohat Pass, attacked a village named Bandh Jharma, the jaghire of Badshah Mian, inspector of police at Kohat, five miles north of the Bansa road. The inhabitants sought safety in flight; but ten men who fell into the hands of the invaders were mercilessly tortured and put to death; fifteen were wounded; and after setting many houses on fire, the Afreedies, who were committing the greatest disturbance along the whole Peshawur frontier, returned to their fastnesses in triumph. On these matters, the *Civil and Military Gazette* of January asks:—"Will the day of retribution never come? As the Turko-Servian armistice has now been prolonged till March, the Government of India is free to take into consideration the outrages committed by the Afreedies. The policy of ignoring the Pass tribes was upheld as being wise, as it would have been extremely inconvenient for Government to have entered upon a war which might have seriously hampered it at the moment when a large and bold front was necessary towards Herat."

At this very time, it would appear, singularly enough, that cartridges for the Snider rifle were being extensively bartered among the various tribes

of the Kohat Pass at from two to eight rupees per hundred, being half the price at which they were granted to the volunteers by Government, and fully one-sixth less than their actual retail value!*

The assumption of the title of Empress of India would seem to have excited in several parts of that Empire vague ambition, and still more vague expectations, among the native population, or some portion thereof, within a fortnight, as we may gather from some of the local journals. We are told that "the expectations of India" had formed the first subject of conversation throughout native society since the 1st of January; that everything connected with the holding of the great assemblage was calculated to give rise to them; but that after the official record of the event had been published, the non-fulfilment of these expectations—whatever they were—excited regret and surprise.

The empire, as it exists, had been assumed by Her Majesty with all formality and pomp so far back as the close of the Mutiny in 1858; hence, they urged, there was no occasion to repeat the ceremonial if nothing special was meant or intended for the many princes and peoples of India. That it was true the Prince of Wales had been, in the preceding year, fêted, honoured, and welcomed, and this must have gratified Her Majesty and the British public; but that if this act was considered to require a return beyond a warm acknowledgment, and advantage was to be taken of it to cement the bonds of union between the governing and the governed races, "we submit," says one organ, "that the Government should have made a corresponding sacrifice—at least, this is the test by which the people of this country, and all men generally, examine all professions of love and attachment—for what is it but the ready sacrifice of money, time, and convenience incurred by this nation (India) honouring the Prince of Wales (and before him the Duke of Edinburgh) which proved to Her Majesty and the British public the feelings that actuated it?"

Coming quickly after, and all but concurrent with, the splendour of the Delhi durbar, when princes and governors vied with each other in the extravagance of their pomp and the splendour of their pageantry, the announcement of a famine in India, and the terrible revelations thereof in Madras and Bombay, together with the declaration that death from sheer starvation might only be completely averted at the risk of a national bankruptcy, came jarringly and harshly to the ear. And none who looked upon that mighty spectacle could have supposed that in "the highest hour of imperial pride the mind of the central figure of the pageant was

* *Indian Public Opinion.*

disturbed by thoughts that would come to mar his satisfaction, of thousands and hundreds of thousands—nay, of millions—of persons, besieging the officials and sub-officials of the Indian Government to give them a little work, that they might have a handful of rice, lest they die.”

So vast are the distances in Hindostan, that in the days of the Mogul Emperors the dwellers in the mighty valley of the Ganges, in a time of famine, could no more hope to procure aid from a rich harvest in the Deccan, than from Siam, China, or Europe. The slow bullock caravans, laden with grain, traversing with toil, ill-constructed and ill-kept roads, threatened, moreover, by dacoits, Senessee fakirs, and roving bands, were totally unable to keep pace with the emergencies of such a calamity; hence, it came to pass, that in the days ere Britain ruled the East, when famine came, it might destroy its thousands in one province without obtaining adequate aid from another.

But Western civilisation, the railroad, and the telegraph, have changed all that, and lend their aid to the administration in a struggle with even the evils of Nature itself; and the great scarcity of food consequent to a dry season may be encountered with fair success by an ably-organised system of internal communication. “We may do much,” it has been said, “in the process of years to develop the food-producing powers of the Indian soil; by irrigation systems we may turn barren and sandy deserts into fruitful, arable, or pasture land; by introducing improved methods of cultivation we may multiply almost indefinitely the profits of the husbandman and the produce of his farm; but when science has done all it can do, and when the people of India have been induced to tolerate its innovations, the uncertainties of a tropical climate will *still* remain to be encountered. The cessation of the autumn and winter rains does not mean only a scanty crop, but often a total destruction of the expected crop before it has time even to approach maturity. No irrigation canals, no improvement of agriculture, will avert the miseries of a stroke like this; but, fortunately, Nature does not bear at once, crushingly and universally, upon the Indian cultivators; when there is scarcity in one province there is profusion in another, and the demand for food in the former will, in the natural course of events, be met with, and compensated by a liberal supply in the latter.”

The famine of 1877, however, had a far greater area than that of 1874, thus increasing the task and anxiety of Lord Lytton's administration, as it spread into Bombay and Madras, and from these presidencies crossed the Deccan; and the popula-

tion was far greater, though not collected in such dense masses as the famine-stricken people of the previous calamity.

It will be within the remembrance of many that when the scarcity in Bengal first assumed a menacing aspect, towards the end of 1873, the Indian administration, yielding to the hard pressure put upon it by the Home authorities, threw all thoughts of economy to the wind, as it was evident that, at all cost, life must be saved; and the Earl of Northbrook—though he had gone to Calcutta as an economical Viceroy—was obliged to warn district officers that they would be held personally responsible for any deaths from starvation that occurred within their several jurisdictions.

Hence there were few or no deaths, but a vast sum was spent in partially relieving the sufferings of the people, and, regarded from a humane point of view, the policy he inaugurated was excellent; but it was clear enough to every Indian statesman that to spend millions in relieving famine in a country where it is of such frequent occurrence would lead, in the end, to national ruin; and thus, when the next crisis came, the administration of Lord Lytton were quite aware of the peril of too much philanthropic extravagance.

The distress, especially in Madras, had been felt so far back as July, 1876, and it had been steadily increasing, without any prospect of alleviation from natural causes. The north-east monsoon proved a failure, as the south-west had done, and ere autumn came, it was but too apparent that nothing short of a miraculous rainfall could repair the injuries of the droughts. As distress increased crime grew with it, especially at Kurnaul; and Dacoitee developed itself to such an extent that November saw 200 prisoners arrested and placed in the jail of Nemdial, and this number rapidly increased to 600, compelling the Inspector-General to erect a camp for them in the Maidan outside the fort.

A difficulty in the distribution of grain in the interior of the presidency caused an inconvenient block on the three great lines of railway. At one station there were 900 wagons, and at another 400, shunted off into a siding, because the platforms were so obstructed by piles of wheat and rice in bags that it was impossible to make room for more. Over the whole famine tract there could scarcely be said to be any populous locality whose isolation from transit routes could excite the alarm of the Indian administration; and it was a wise principle which the latter inaugurated, to the effect that in future, so far as possible, every province must meet the cost of its own famines, and that the burden thereof should not fall upon general rate-

payers. By this rule local governments were led to exercise greater precautions for the prevention of scarcity, and a lavish expenditure of the means for relief was avoided. But it must be borne in mind that in no previous famine of more recent occurrence could this new policy of the administration have been inaugurated with less peril of adding to the suffering; for Madras is well opened up by roads and other means of communication, and Belary is touched by the main line of railway from Madras to Bombay.

By Lord Carnarvon's despatch to Lord Lytton, dated January 12th, 1877, acknowledging the reception of certain documents and returns, it would appear that famine, black and desolate, was now fully face to face with the millions of Western and Southern India. From this it appeared that in Madras twelve districts were affected: Cudapah, so famous for its sugar, cotton, and diamond mines; Nellore, so celebrated for its cloth and cotton; Kurnaul; Madura, with its proud temples and palaces; Trichinopoly, with its wonderful rock; Tanjore; and others—that in Bombay the drought had extended to nine great districts, including Belgaum, Poonah, Dharwan, and Sawunt Waree, where there was ruling a young prince, educated by English masters and taught in English schools.

Lord Lytton was requested by the India Office to furnish regularly, week by week, a telegraphic summary of the leading incidents that might arise in each presidency, together with special narratives by mail, detailing the progress of the famine and the proceedings of the Governments of Madras

and Bombay, and assuring him of the hearty support of the Home administration in providing alleviation for the sufferers. The earl also expressed his full approval of the special mission of Sir Richard Temple to these two presidencies, to confer with their respective Governments and to visit in person the distressed districts.



PORTRAIT OF THE RAJAH OF NAGORE.

The Delhi durbar was over, and simultaneously, as fast as the electric wire could flash it, the announcement was supplemented by similar proclamations all over India, and, naturally, the suffering people of the famine districts turned for assistance to the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, whose parental protection had been so loudly proclaimed by trumpet and cannon, and to the British people, which had restrained them from those old barbarous practices which at one time would have prevented, perhaps successfully, the demand from exceeding the supply within the country. Britain had taken these many millions under her care; she had assumed the task of governing them against their own desire; and she could not, even

if she would, have escaped the responsibility of supporting them when peril menaced, and teaching them that "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war."

On the 17th of January, a despatch, received by Lord Salisbury from the Indian Government, announced the total cost to the State, on account of relief works and other measures for mitigating the effects of the famine in Bombay and Madras, was then estimated at £6,500,000 sterling.

It was laid down by the administration that at the beginning of a period of distress, when it



A HILL TRIBE ON THE MARCH.

was doubtful whether actual want might follow, local works of a minor character, small but well supervised, should be opened as an essay; but when it became obvious that sheer famine was impending, then larger works should be adopted, and more numerous hands employed, with adequate labour exacted. Nor was it necessary, it was urged, that such works should imperatively be in the oppressed districts, as temporary migration from their villages had always been, in times of want, "the natural and one of the best remedies to which the people have had recourse; and the organisation of public works in places where food is plentiful, and to which access is not difficult from the distressed districts, may, in some cases, be more useful than works at places where the supply of food is already insufficient."

The policy of the Madras local administration had failed to meet with the approval of the supreme Government in its attempt to interfere with private enterprise. Thirty thousand tons of grain had been procured by the Madras Council, to be kept in store as a reserve; but Lord Lytton declined to sanction any further acquisitions of this kind, deeming them calculated to increase the difficulties of generally procuring a supply of food; and, moreover, he objected to any Government entering into contracts liable to excite apprehension on the part of merchants that the former were about to take their places, and upset those bases upon which their calculations of profit were made.

In the Presidency of Bombay there had been an entire failure of the crops of twenty-one out of ninety-one sub-divisions of districts. In fifty-nine more the failure had been more than half, and in the remaining eleven it was under half. In Sholapore the failure was then complete, and nearly so in Kaladgi, Dharwar, Belgaum, and Poonah, Khandeish, and Nassick, while the prospects were still more gloomy in Madras.

Then only eight districts of the whole of the latter were free from actual famine; but even among these there was a considerable amount of distress, accompanied by unusually high prices, in South Arcot, Tinnevely, and along the coast of

Malabar, causing serious apprehensions concerning the future.

The affected districts of Madras may be divided, as stated, into two tracts of country: one in which the south-west and north-east monsoon had failed; and the other in which the north-east monsoon had not brought a sufficient rainfall. Unfortunately, these two great presidencies were not the only portions of India which famine visited. The province of Mysore underwent a second year of scarcity, and, save a few talukas in the westward, the crops dependent on irrigation from tanks suffered nearly as much as others; and 11,400 head of cattle perished. But the expenditure on relief works in Mysore, and the territories of the Nizam at Hyderabad and elsewhere, did not fall on the Indian Government.

Lord Lytton now authorised the immediate commencement of the Dhond-Munmar Railway, under the Bombay Government; but directed the confinement of the work to those portions which would not commit the administration to immediate completion, until the pressure of the famine had ceased.

Lord Lytton also left the important question of the remission, or suspension only, of the land revenue to the discretion of the Governments of Bombay and Madras; but warning them against too free remissions. On the 7th February, Sir Richard Temple reported to him the welcome tidings that over the whole of the latter presidency the famine was being successfully combated, that starvation was being effectually prevented, that the physical condition of the peasantry was excellent; while the public relief-works, great and small, were everywhere open, the charitable relief arrangements were well-organised at all the centres, and a village relief organisation was being perfected.

On the 25th there came to Calcutta the equally welcome tidings that the long-desired rain had fallen in the suffering districts of Madras, at Kistna, Vellore, Kurnaul, Coimbatore, and Tinnevely, and that there was a decrease at the relief-works everywhere, except South Arcot; but though a little rain had fallen at Sholapore, there was no change in the gloomy prospects of Bombay.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE JAIL DELIVERY.—THE NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIERS, ETC.—DEATH OF JUNG BAHADOOR.

THE release of so many prisoners from the various jails of India, in honour of the Queen's assumption of the Imperial title, was the cause of considerable comment and regret among the Europeans, who comprehended the circumstance as an annoyance to the peaceful and loyal portion of the population, done in deference to native custom, which always acted thus on occasions of great public rejoicing; "but we regret," says one influential print, "that the jail delivery sop should have been thrown to barbarism not only because it is within the meaning of that hated word *mamool*, but because, as a sop, it is quite unappreciated by the multitude."

At that very time, a Prison Conference was being held in Calcutta by some dozen or so of superintendents of jails, called together from the most distant parts of British India to discuss the different systems of penal discipline then in force, with the intention of devising some generally uniform means of dealing with the criminal population of that vast empire; and few, perhaps, can realise the immense criminal force that is leavening and fermenting the apparently docile and law-abiding masses of British India; but it was then stated that scarcely a day passed in which fewer than *one hundred and fifty thousand* criminal offenders were immured within Indian jails for periods of detention varying in extent.*

That the new royal title keenly attracted the attention of Russia may easily be supposed; and, on the subject, the *Vedemosti* of St. Petersburg wrote tauntingly and scornfully to the effect that, frightened by Russia's steady progress in Central Asia, Britain had determined on this dramatic display (at Delhi), with theatrical precision in the matter of trappings and appurtenances. Fearing that Russia might anticipate her, Britain hastened to declare her title to India. The noise made by the new Imperial dignity was simply intended to paralyse Russian policy in Central Asia; that the Suez Canal financial operation was the first step on the road to a new Oriental policy, and the assumption of the Indian Imperial title was a fitting supplement to the purchase of the canal shares; but that "no demonstration will alarm Russia, whether set afoot in Asia or in Europe."

Be all this as it may, the time is coming when the warmest supporters of inactivity and non-inter-

ference with respect to Central Asia may be compelled to admit the importance to British interests of a strong Government in Afghanistan, in friendly relations with ourselves, for the strength and security of our north-western frontiers.

The forward advance and the intrigues of the Russians in Central Asia are of the first importance; and our officers feel assured that the forces of the former in Turkestan would be but as the left wing of any army with which they menaced Constantinople; and though years may elapse before the Cossack and the Sepoy cross their weapons on the banks of the Indus, it is an undoubted fact that Russia can bring strong pressure to bear upon our empire in India; and among her last intrigues, are those by which she sought to secure an ally in the person of Shere Ali Khan, the Ameer of Cabul, at whose court, in the last days of 1876, there was a Russian agent, furnished with letters and presents.

The Ameer, as we have related elsewhere, had been organising an army extensively, and introducing a new system, by which every young man of his hardy clans was liable for military service. These tribes are more than twenty in number, and about 1850 possessed a population which, according to Mountstuart Elphinstone and others, amounted to 5,120,000, and when the Afghan domination was at its height, the numbers must have been 14,000,000 at least. "They are divided into innumerable petty clans," says a statist; "but unlike our Scottish Highlanders, the clannish attachment of the Afghan is more to the community than the chief." They are divided into two classes—shepherds and agriculturists—but all become soldiers in time of war.

It was deemed a significant fact that the Ameer had made overtures to Acyub Khan, and promised a provision to the Governor of Herat should his overtures be accepted. The official in question, Yakoob Khan, was the Ameer's son, who was so treacherously seized while on a visit to Cabul; and at this time, though not connected with Afghan politics, but likely to become not unimportant in any strife beyond the Khyber Mountains, lively interest was manifested in the conduct of the Afreedies and the health of the aged Akhoond of Swat. The Akhoond, a Mussulman ecclesiastic of high importance, though his abode lies remote between the Indus and the Indian Caucasus, in

* *Madras Times*, 27th Jan., 1877.

February, sent urgent messages to the chiefs of tribes to come forward in aid of the Ameer for the support of their common religion in accordance with the precepts of the Koran; and during that month a Cabul paper was entirely taken up in publishing appeals to the people, with Koran injunctions on their duty to defend their religion against all, the Russians included.

With regard to the Afreedies, it was alleged that it would be no easy matter to teach them a suitable lesson. We could enter their rocky country in force, and drive back their armed bands, at the daily loss of life to be expected in these hill campaigns; but that, beyond diminishing their numbers, we could do little more.

Single-handed, this powerful clan is not to be despised; but should Russian emissaries foment the disturbances they excite, it would be impossible to foresee the end, as they occupy a difficult country, and one that produced warriors resolute enough to defy the power of the greatest of the Mogul Emperors; while the land beyond—Afghanistan—has been to us an object of some unreasoning fear ever since the destruction of Elphinstone's army in its terrible mountain passes.

Despite all this, Lord Lytton made up his mind to conciliate or coerce the Ameer, to whom he sent Colonel Pelly as envoy in the month of February.

The conference between Colonel Pelly and the Cabul envoy, Nur Mohammed Shah, the Ameer's Prime Minister, and the British agent at Cabul, Atta Mohammed Khan, took place at Peshawar.

It is fortunate for us, perhaps, that the Afghans have no real patriotism, and think only of the interest of their various tribes; and there are so many rival parties in the country, that with a combination of liberality and the skilful playing off of one chief against another, the country could probably with ease be conquered and retained, even from the Russians. Utter mismanagement brought about the fatal rising in 1841; and though we have no desire either to annex, or even temporarily occupy, Afghanistan, with the experience of the past to guide us we could do either with ease in case of necessity.

Early in January, news came that a Russian expedition, under Captain Kuropatkin, which had been for some time cantoned at Kashgar, in the most western division of Chinese Turkestan, had marched to Toksoun, twelve hundred Russian versts to the eastward of Kashgar, in order to meet Yakoob Bey; and at Toksoun it was his intention to effect a junction with Petzwalsky. About the same time, the leading journal published a telegram

that was certainly calculated to give the thinking portion of the British public food alike for reflection and anxiety.

It announced that the chiefs of Karategin, Derwaz, Rashan, and Shignan, forming the northern districts of Badakshan, which is the generic name for the whole tract enclosed in the upper basin of the Oxus, had placed themselves in immediate communication with the Russian authorities in Turkestan, and complained of the policy of the British Government in favouring their embodiment with Afghanistan.

This announcement concerning Badakshan following so closely upon that of the Russian encroachments at Khokand and elsewhere—especially as all the districts specified had been completely explored by flying columns of Russian troops and scientific engineering expeditions—was naturally deemed of great significance.

In our negotiations with Russia regarding the north-eastern boundary of Shere Ali's dominions, it may be remembered that great difficulties were at first raised by Prince Gortschakoff, as to which portions of Badakshan and its dependency, Wokhan, constituted Afghan territory, and that an attempt was boldly made to cut off the north-western districts from it.

The objections of the politic prince were based, first, on the incompleteness of the title; and secondly, on the perils that might accrue from local complications. Eventually Russia yielded, but only to open the question again; though the Ameer of Cabul never sought to exercise more than mere suzerainty over North-western Badakshan, and, moreover, had carefully avoided all direct administration of the districts in question.

In connection with this movement, others of the Russians must be taken into account. They were alleged to have presented twelve pieces of cannon to Abdul Rhaman Khan, nephew of the Ameer Shere Ali, and son of his former rival, Afzal Khan, to encourage him in attacking Afghan Turkestan. That personage had then been for some years a refugee at the Court of Bokhara, where he had espoused a daughter of the prince. So, in this instance, Russia seemed resolved to show what power of annoyance the Czar could possess, as, during the former negotiations regarding Badakshan, Abdul Rhaman's restless designs against his monarch and uncle were restrained by Russia.

It would seem, too, that in 1864, Arminius Vambery, who traversed the deserts of the Oxus and Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, by routes unknown to Europeans, and in the disguise of a dervish, found the Uzbek chiefs of Mannench in

direct dependence on Bokhara,* and during the negotiations about the frontier, between 1869 and 1873, Russia at first objected to that State being included in Afghan territory, but subsequently withdrew her protest, for the reason that the then Prince of Manneneh was a devoted personal adherent of Shere Ali of Cabul.

It was soon evident that Russian intrigues were pressing upon the latter prince in another direction, for, according to the *Bombay Gazette* of January, 1877, the Governor of Herat had advised his sovereign to release Sirdir Khan, the chief of the Jamshaiel Turcomans, an alien race in the vicinity of that city, who were about to ally themselves with Russia; hence, it was augured that, notwithstanding the apparent friendship and cordiality inaugurated between him and the Indian Government at the great Umballa durbar in 1869, his regard for the Indian administration had never been sincere, and he was the more likely to become the tool of Russia.

That Shere Ali was suspicious of us there could be little doubt, though he accepted our presents of arms and money; but, being as unscrupulous as most Afghans, he would not hesitate to repudiate the most solemn engagement he made if it interfered with his whim or his intent; and it is very probable that he was suspicious of our designs, for, despite all assurances that we had no desire to enter his country, we had established an outpost at Quettah, or Shawl, on the south flank of the Tukata range of mountains, where the people are Afghans and Beloochees. That this measure gave him high umbrage was evident from the fact that he directed Sofdar Ali, commanding the Kandahar army, to visit the Bolan Pass, and discover what was the object of the British Government in constructing a road through it.

But, be Russian intrigues what they might, the time had now come when it was necessary for the Indian Administration to fix its attention on Afghanistan. It had been asserted that Shere Ali had been for some time in very indifferant health, and that if he died of disease, or by assassination—as the luckless Shah Sujah perished—there would commence a reign of anarchy and misrule, by which Russia, under the pretence of intervention, would be sure to make permanent profit. Our representative at the Court of Cabul was a mere moonshee—Atta Mohammed Khan—instead of a man of position, and it was well known that on peril of his life he dared only forward to the Indian Administration such local information as Shere Ali

permitted him to despatch; and there had now become a crying necessity for some British officer, at all hazards, residing in Cabul, to watch steadily the progress of events.

The practicability of invading the British possessions in India by land has often been asserted, and almost as often been on the point of being put to the test; and during the campaign of Moscow, in 1812, the idea was actually revived, and it was currently believed that, in the event of peace, a corps of the French army, under Davoust, aided by one of similar strength from Russia, was to descend the Volga, cross the Caspian Sea, and march on India; and this rumour gained ground about the time of Lord Moira's nomination as Governor-General and Commander-in-chief.

In 1829, long before the Russians had, as they have now done, pushed their frontier almost in sight of the Cabul mountains, and overrun Bokhara and Turkestan, two works bearing on this much-agitated subject appeared, one by General Sir De Lacy Evans, "On the Practicability of an Invasion of British India," and another on the same subject, published anonymously.

The former work, the author of which was an officer of the highest distinction, who had served in the operations against Ameer Khan and the Pindarees, is full of information relatively as to the routes that offer themselves, and to the nature of the countries through which they pass, and show the perfect practicability, even then, of that enterprise which it is commonly believed has been in the Russian mind for many years past.

Some of the regions to be traversed by the invader are barren enough, but others are among the finest in the world, whether we regard the soil or the climate, with an abundance of all that an advancing army would require, and, particularly, that most essential element, the means of transport. Horses and camels constitute the chief wealth of the inhabitants, and these quadrupeds abound in numbers, together with oxen, asses, and mules. The principal line of march indicated in the work of General Evans is facilitated, throughout a great portion of its extent, by a navigable stream, on which are always numerous craft of a size and construction most suitable for the conveyance of troops and stores; and, lastly, he asserted, at that time, as to the disposition of the natives, or their powers of resistance, if averse to the invader, that the accounts were such as to divest the most cautious of any doubt with respect to the success of the undertaking. On the great plains of the Oxus, or, more properly speaking, from Orenberg to the vicinity of Cabul, neither in the mode in

* "Travels and Adventures in Central Asia." London: 1865.

which the natives are armed, or in ability to act in concert, was there anything, it was asserted, which a disciplined army could not overcome.

In 1834 the matter was also well discussed by Colonel Head, of the Queen's Royals, who served as Quartermaster-General to the force assembled

and that they had steam navigation in view on the Sea of Aral. But since Colonel Head wrote, they have spread their lines and intrigues far beyond Khiva. He points out a route from the Gulf of Balkan to Herat as being the shortest line by which the Indus can be approached, while General



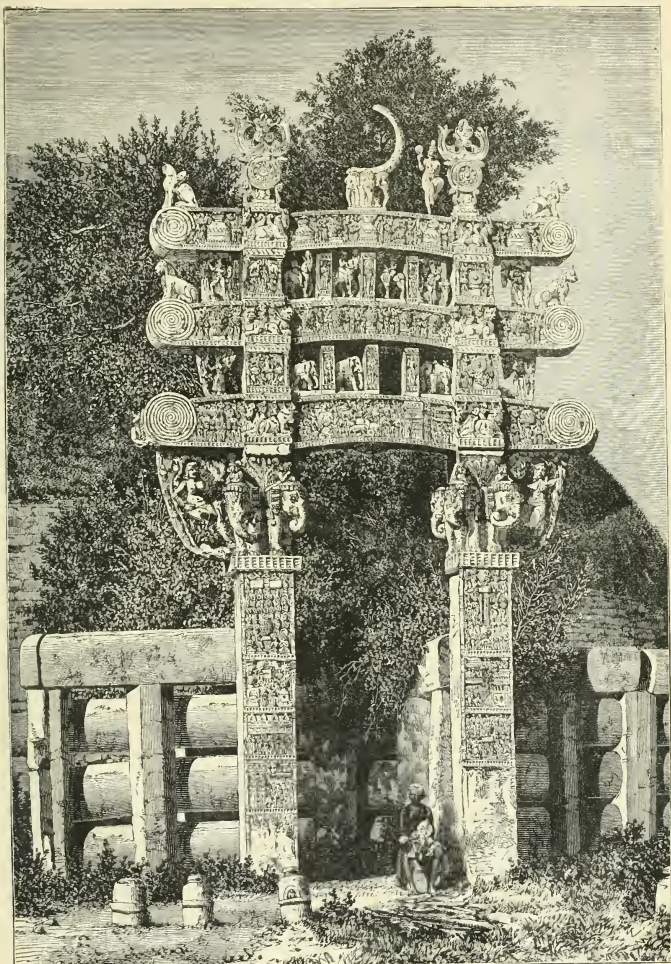
PORTRAIT OF H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

before Kolapore, in the South Mahratta country, during 1827.* He gives little that is new on the subject, but bears ample testimony, as a military man, to the ease with which a Russian invasion could be attempted; and he quotes, as a startling circumstance, the evidence taken before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, that the Russians had surveyed the Oxus with great care, were establishing a military colony at Khiva,

Evans advocated one by Khiva and Bokhara, Balk, and Cabul, the very point to which the State policy, attention, and watchful diplomacy of Indian statesmen are now drawn.

In the spring of 1877 there came to light an example of the interest taken by Russia in our Indian frontiers. We have referred in its place to the important Trans-Himalayan explorations, and the mission undertaken by Sir Douglas Forsyth, by order of the Indian administration, to Kashgar and

* "Journey from India to Europe," &c.



EXAMPLE OF HINDOO ARCHITECTURE : NORTH GATE OF THE TEMPLE OF SANCHI.

the regions of the Upper Oxus. It transpired that the reports of these examinations—at least, the complete form in which they were to be laid before the Viceroy and the Indian Secretary of State—were ordered to be “carefully preserved from circulation, lest they might offer a too desirable contribution to Russian research in the same regions.” But in spite of these instructions, it is not unlikely that copies of the reports were carefully perused and studied in the very quarters where it was hoped they would not be attainable.

It can be shown that Russia, in the event of any movement towards India, besides her railway that runs north from Rostov, on the Sea of Azof, to Vladikavkas, north of the Kasbek Pass, over the Caucasus, has still another line that commands the supply from Astrakhan, by steamer to Baku, a port on the Caspian Sea, and close to the Persian frontier. While the railway above-named leaves 140 miles of road over the Caucasus to be accomplished ere Tiflis is reached, by the Caspian Sea troops and stores could be poured, with ease, at once into Trans-Caucasia. A movement of this nature would render the attitude of Persia of great interest to India: between her frontier and the Baku-Tiflis road lie those plains over which her armies and those of Russia have fought again and again: and seldom without success to the former, while disciplined by British officers and paid by British subsidies.

When these aids were withdrawn Persian reverses began, and in 1827 Paskiewitch defeated the army of the Shah, and dictated to him terms of peace in his capital of Teheran. There, now, the Russian influence is great, while we have lost our hold upon the Shah, who, while perhaps hating and fearing Russia, has virtually become almost her vassal.

From Moscow to Vladikavkas is a five days' journey by railway. The circle of Moscow contains 100,000 troops. From Kasan by the Volga to Baku is ten days by steam; and as the circle of the former place contains permanently 30,000 troops, Russia could quietly and with ease increase the Trans-Caucasian army to a quarter of a million of soldiers. To detach Persia from Russia would strengthen our frontiers, both towards her and Cabul. “A few good native Indian troops,” says a writer who has studied the question, “a considerable number of experienced officers speaking Persian, and a money subsidy, would turn Persia from a Russian alliance. With Persia hostile, a Russian line of advance through Baku is endangered.

. . . . If further motives be needed for such a step in Persia, I need only point to the fact, that

if Persia were in our hands, any Russian advance along the Attrek Valley, now recognised as the only route by which India will ever be really endangered, would become impossible; and that our prestige throughout the entire East would be raised, while that of Russia would proportionately fall.”

Looking to another quarter, some very able Anglo-Indians, and even travellers of foreign nations, have affirmed that the next great danger to British India will be from the Chinese, all the more so that rifled cannon and breechloaders are coming into use even there. We have already seen a little of this peril on our Burman borders, and also on the other side of India, at Yarkand; but we were tolerably assured of safety while Sir Jung held the strong passes beyond the pestilential Terai of Nepaul.

We lost our chief friend and strength on the frontier in question—the Chinese—when “the Bismark of Nepaul,” Sir Jung Bahadoor, Knight Grand Cross of the Bath and of the Star of India, died suddenly in the Terai, on the 25th of February, 1877. These orders of chivalry he had received as the reward of the good services he had rendered us during the siege of Lucknow, when the division of Ghoorkas marched on Lucknow from their yet unmapped native hills of mist and rain. He aided us in the subjugation of Eastern Oude, and subsequently allowed our troops to cross his borders in pursuit of the rebels. The story of Sir Jung's life presents a sensational career of romance and crime most singular in this age of the world, even in India.

The nephew of an influential Ghoorka gentleman, he spent his earlier years in gambling and Indian dissipation of every kind, but repaired to the capital, Khatmandoo, with the intention of pushing his fortune on his uncle becoming chief Minister of the kingdom of Nepaul. Ambitious, he speedily became a man of mark; unscrupulous, he resolved to take a short path to power by the murder of his uncle. The idea of committing this crime is said to have been suggested to him by the Ranees, or queen, who had formerly been that uncle's patroness; but who now, for some reason best known to herself, desired his destruction.

He perished accordingly, and then the Ranees, who appeared to have been the virtual ruler of Nepaul, transferred her favour to the nephew, Sir Jung, whom she made Commander-in-chief. Another assassination, that of his uncle's successor both as Minister and favourite of the fickle Ranees, became necessary for the further advancement of his fortunes. So far as actually known, he did not

commit this foul deed with his hand ; but that he profited thereby was a suspicious and undoubted circumstance. A colleague of the victim was accused of having been the assassin ; the Raneé demanded vengeance ; to cloak himself, perhaps, Sir Jung was quite ready to gratify her ; and a horrid tragedy ensued. Sir Jung suggested to a friend of the murdered man to put his alleged destroyer to death, and become himself sole Minister of Nepaul. Finding that he hesitated, Jung Bahadoor, having the whole Ghoorka army at his orders, determined to arrest him till the dark scheme was carried out, and gave an armed party the signal to do so. The son of this too weak, or too scrupulous man, thinking his father's life was in peril, rushed forward to save him, but was instantly cut down ; while his unfortunate father, who sought to avenge him, fell a corpse under a bullet from the rifle of Jung Bahadoor.

The slain man had many friends, who were also the enemies of the favourite. Fourteen of these, all chiefs of rank, were in the room when these deaths took place, and it was alleged that they sought to take summary vengeance. However that may be, Sir Jung, trusting to the fidelity of his followers, with his own rifle shot down thirteen of them before they could escape from the room. It has been alleged that this was a deliberate massacre planned beforehand, as the

victims were everywhere hemmed in by his guards. The next morning, having a majority of friends at court, to his office of Commander-in-chief he added that of Prime Minister.

A party was soon formed against him, but the conspirators were seized and beheaded ; while the Raneé, who had taken some part in the plot, with her husband and two sons, were banished. The heir, Dhiraj Toorendri Bikram, was placed upon the throne, "but Jung Bahadoor was a genuine Mayor of the Palace to *Roi Fainfant*," for so much was the prince kept in the background, and so little known of him, that many people in Britain believed the Minister to be the King of Nepaul. He made little attempt to conceal the great power in his hand, for when, on his visit to this country, in 1850, he was entertained by the East India Company, he said, in reply to his health, that henceforth "his army, his munitions of war, and his own life should be devoted to the service of Great Britain ;" but never a word did he say of the king, his master. Whatever his early deeds, he became a firm friend of the British Government. He went much to court, and was a good deal fêted in society ; he travelled in England and in Scotland, and in the latter country was so struck with the magnificent appearance of the Grenadier Company of the 93rd Highlanders, that he wished to purchase it !

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

WHEN we consider the progress of British power in the East, and the long course of events we have narrated, it is impossible not to be impressed with surprise and admiration. Before the union or consolidation of Great Britain, and when England was single-handed, a few merchant adventurers, anxious only to gain a paying trade, sent a few small vessels to the then almost unknown East as a bold experiment. Some perished amid tempests, and some were destroyed by enemies, but others, more fortunate, returned with cargoes valuable enough to stimulate the owners to fresh and greater exertions ; and this went on day by day till Britain became the possessor of one of the finest empires of

the Orient, "and beheld her merchant factors," says M. Dupin, in his time, "reign over a hundred millions of subjects. The conquests of her merchants in Asia began where those of Alexander ceased, and where the terminus of the Romans could never reach. At this moment, from the banks of the Indus to the frontiers of China, from the mouths of the Ganges to the mountains of Thibet, all acknowledge the sway of a mercantile company shut up in a narrow street in the City of London."

Since Dupin wrote, the latter have passed away ; but even beyond India our power in the East has extended in the seas and isles of China and else-

where, once vast regions that had for ages slept in lonely and enervated magnificence and luxury. For generations Britain in a great measure neglected the continent of India, and her mercantile exertions were mainly directed to the spice islands of the Eastern Archipelago and the shores of the Persian Gulf. In the latter the returns were far from satisfactory, though aided by the dangerous practice of seizing and pillaging the shipping of the natives. In the former direction, the avarice and jealousy of the Dutch presented so many obstacles that the spice trade was all but destroyed.

On the western coast of India our tenure of possession became more solid and different, when the Island of Bombay, with its magnificent harbour, became the property of Great Britain, as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine of Portugal; yet, at first, there seemed grave doubts whether this great acquisition was calculated to injure or advance the interests of the growing East India Company. To carry royal prerogative to its utmost limit was, in those days, the general policy of the English Government, which began to exercise in the East a species of authority calculated to nullify the chartered rights of the merchant Company.

Quarrels, complaints, and recriminations ensued, and it is difficult to see how they might have ended had not the English Government luckily discovered that the Island of Bombay, instead of being a source of revenue, was yearly a heavy loss. By a court so needy as that of Charles II., and so much impoverished by the long Civil War, this was an evil difficult to endure, and the arrangement was, fortunately, concluded by which the East India Company took possession of Bombay, with all its responsibilities.

This acquisition proved of vast importance. Prior to it, the Company had only been merchant traders, whose presence among those seas and shores had been permitted solely by the sufferance of the native princes; but now they too became sovereign lords, with a solid basis for more extensive operations; and relinquishing the fawning tenor of address which had been their use and wont in transactions with the Indian powers, they adopted a loftier language, and, adding the sword to the ledger, acted with a bolder bearing.

No longer satisfied with the mere profits of simple trade, they began to reckon the revenues of their territories, and gave orders to those who served them, in a civil or military capacity alike, that these funds were expected to form an important feature in the exchequer of the future. From thenceforward the idea of growth in power and

wealth was never forgotten; and as it became enlarged, the Company, despising their first existence by sufferance, began to contemplate conquests; and for the warlike element thus necessarily introduced in such a land as India they soon found ample scope: first, in repelling the aggression of native princes, and then in their struggle for supremacy with France, whose power, at one time, seemed ready to crush British interests for ever in Hindostan.

Fierce was the struggle, but France was everywhere beaten in the end; the battle of Plassey, after "Clive the Avenger" had rescued Calcutta from the perpetrators of the Black Hole atrocity, broke up the strong confederacy against us, and changed the destiny of Bengal, obtaining, ere long, for the Company the absolute control of the revenues of that great and populous province, with those of Behar and Orissa, together with the full right to appropriate them to their own purposes, subject only to certain stipulated payments. From that moment, as holders of the Dewanee, the Company acted as absolute lords of the three provinces. Paniput limited for ever the power of the aspiring Mahrattas; and the battle of Buxar, fought three years after, made "the gentlemen in Leadenhall Street" masters of the entire valley of the holy Ganges, from the Himalayas to the sea.

The empire of British India, thus founded, continued to extend and advance, in spite of every hostile combination against it, till each and all were overthrown. Wellesley, at Assaye, secured all Southern India; Ochterlony won to us the Ghoorikas from the mountains of Nepal. In later years, the defence of Herat preluded the war in the Khyber Passes, and Napier won us Scinde. All India is ours from sea to sea; but for every rood of it we have taken blood, and given it freely.

Owing to the magnitude of the interests involved, it was necessary to proceed with prudence ere the Crown could exercise its rights in India as in its other dependencies; and the final step of annexation might have been delayed for a time but for the catastrophe of the sepoy revolt, for which the Company could be in no way to blame. It was urged, however, "that a Government which was not ignorant of the danger, but allowed itself to slumber even till the crisis actually arrived, must have laboured under grave defects, both in substance and form;" and the horror and indignation excited by the Mutiny of the Bengal army led to the final extinction of the Company as a ruling power; and hence, since then, the monarch of Great Britain rules India like other dependencies of the Crown.

In the administration of India the Viceroy and Governor-General is supreme, but assisted by a Council of six, in addition to the Commander-in-chief. This body forms that which is called "the Supreme Government of India," and passes in review the entire management of public affairs, the business of which is further conducted in six separate departments, viz. :—The Financial, which looks to questions of finance, and also stamps, excise, and postal business; the Home Department deals with the educational, medical, ecclesiastical, judicial, police, and other matters, including the penal settlements of Nicobar and Port Blair; the Foreign Department conducts the relations with Cabul, Nepal, and other countries, and corresponds with the political agents of the numerous semi-independent native princes; the Military Department controls the Army and Marine Service; the Public Works Department has the charge of matters connected with such works and the telegraphs; the Department of Agriculture, Revenue, and Commerce deals with questions of revenue, trade, public exhibitions, weights and measures. Each of these departments is under the care of a secretary, and each is also the special care of a member of the Supreme Council, who has authority to deal with affairs of routine and minor importance, selecting only those which are deemed worthy the consideration of the Viceroy and assembled Council.

The Legal Member takes charge of Government Bills in the Legislative Council, which consists of twelve members (besides the seven of the Supreme Council), of whom one-half must be unconnected with the public service. The three presidencies have each their own local council, and that of India legislates for those provinces which are unprovided with such administrations, or in matters of exceptional importance affecting the empire.

In British India, exclusive of the native States of nearly 190 millions of inhabitants, 73·07 per cent. are supposed to be Hindoos, and 21·45 per cent. are Mohammedans, and the average number of inhabitants is 211 per square mile. The slender European population, ever changing in numbers, even if equally distributed over this vast territory, can produce little or no effect upon the manners, modes of thinking, or the domestic habits of the people, more especially as none of them, in any capacity, purpose to reside permanently in India, their only aim being to realise money as fast as possible, and return to spend it at home—having no more in common with the social habits of the people, as Edward Burke remarked, than if they still resided in Europe.

In the matter of education much is done by

opening schools and providing them with well-qualified teachers; but in the selection of subjects to be taught, the Indian administration is compelled to stop short and exclude the only topics by which the Hindoo mind and heart can be reached; hence, much of the teaching in Government schools is lost upon three-fourths of those who attend them. "Thus knowledge," says a writer, "cannot find a resting-place in the mind of persons whose previous beliefs consist of such monstrous dogmas as Hindooism inculcates, and whose religious observances, entwined with the ordinary business of life, have become to them a second nature. The case of the remaining fourth of the scholars is somewhat different. Their object is probably to obtain some of the Government appointments, for which the knowledge acquired in schools and colleges is an essential qualification. They accordingly pass through the whole curriculum, and will in due time be found seated at the desks of Government offices. But there is, unfortunately, another side to the picture, and when inquiry is made into the private character of these men, it is too often found they have paid dear for their knowledge. They have cast away their early beliefs without substituting anything better, and belong to liberalised Hindoos, who ape the manners and practise the worst vices, but are utter strangers to the virtues, of European society; and to this class, but with all its worst qualities exaggerated, the infamous miscreant Nana Sahib belonged."

Those who are most averse to intrusive proselytism may not be uninterested in the voluntary efforts which are made to promote the welfare of Her Majesty's Indian subjects by the diffusion among them of a knowledge of the Christian faith, and an inculcation of the gentle practices of Christianity. "We have had before us, from personal experience," says the late editor of the *Friend of India*, in 1875, "very good examples of their active agencies in the matter of mission schools and native churches, and these were of Baptist origin." There is a "boarding-school" in Calcutta, he tells us, for native children, which is strictly missionary. The school hours begin at six in the morning, before which hour the female boarders must have bathed and breakfasted, and after which, in common with the out-door boarders, they have singing, prayer, and perusal of the Scriptures.

The missionary lives close by, and if he has a wife she assists him. A large water-tank divides the mission-house and the school from the bungalow of girl boarders, who manage their own affairs to the utmost before the school opens and after it closes. The object of this system is to interfere

as little as possible with any of their domestic arrangements, and also to take them as little as need be out of their native system of life.

At a native church in Lower Bengal (the editor

Never could there have been, in the early times of Christian teaching, a more solemn service or a more attentive body of listeners. Surely, we may ask, are not ideas—seed, we may say—being planted



A CASHMERE WIDOW.

tells us), a practical, thoughtful, and much-esteemed missionary was leaving, and the village also for Britain, and the people, who looked upon him as a father, asked him to baptise, ere he departed, such of them as had arrived at the years of discretion.

"The congregation that assembled for this purpose might number perhaps two hundred (we write from memory), men, women, and children.

There? They sat on the floor, of course, the men in one place, the women in another. At the end of the service the people left their chapel and crowded round a large tank, singing lustily, while the minister went down into the water and baptised one after another, we know not how many. Then they all crowded round him to say good-bye."

It was in the Baptist Chapel at Serampore that



CAVALCADE SETTING OUT ON A TIGER-HUNT.

the gallant Sir Henry Havelock was married, and there the table at which the ceremony was performed is still preserved as a species of relic.

It is not remarkable, perhaps, that in British India the State chaplains and the missionaries have often regarded each other with eyes the reverse of friendly, for though belonging to the same holy service, they seem to feel as if it were to different branches of it. "The missionary," says the writer quoted "(in some cases), looks upon the chaplain as a careless Gallio, albeit among the apostles; while the chaplain looks upon the missionary (in some cases) as a meddlesome intruder into matters with which he has no concern. In reality, they are merely working in different ways for the same end—we are saying nothing here of any principle involved as to their right to State support or otherwise—and it is not too much to say that India, even native India, has owed more than she has yet discovered to the chaplains. Fervour is good in its place, as the missionary meetings are good and useful; but the men who are not compelled to send in reports to any committee, or look for the suffrages of any meeting or assembly, have now and then held the balance, not without usefulness, in the war of sects. . . . Whatever the cause may be (in stations and cantonments), the English regiments in India always seem to supply a considerable number of church attenders; and what is more, we are greatly mistaken if the attendance is not one of choice. To the Scottish or Irish soldier, of course, all the associations are different. To the English soldier, the old familiar words and tunes tell of home, of the church on the hill, and a good many things besides. The appearance of an Indian church is peculiar, from the long punkahs moving alike over the heads of the minister and congregation, so that the latter obtain only glances of the former: much in the same way as you see a revolving light. Then the punkahs are pulled by coolies, who, at times, look on the whole affair with undisguised amazement as something beyond their ken. It is the white man at his *poajah*, bowing to and praising his all-powerful God—the God that had dethroned Brahma, and trampled on Mahomet, and seemed only to grow stronger in times of danger and difficulty. It is said, when Nana Sahib had condemned the men to die at Cawnpore, a gentleman, clergyman or otherwise, stepped forward, and said it was customary for white men to make *poajah* (i.e., to pray) before they died; might they now? 'Yes,' was the reply; 'but be quick.' They were quick, and then died, leaving their dear ones to what fate we know. . . . Soldiers who have been years in India are serious in solemn

matters; and under the punkahs, with the birds flying through and through the windows that seem to nestle among the green leaves of the cantonment church, we have seen some very serious faces indeed. Then some men might dance on the following evening, or act an amateur play; why not? The chaplain would be likely to echo the question, while sometimes working in his own vocation his own way."

Over many of the native princes and gentlemen changes are coming fast. As an instance of this we may mention, that when a public meeting was held at Calcutta to prepare for the visit of the Prince of Wales, the best reported speeches were made by high-class natives; though at balls, levees, and garden parties, native gentlemen are certainly rather out of place, unless, like the Maharajahs of Vizianagram, of Puttiala, Sir Salar Jung Bahadoor, and others, they have become half English in tone and manner. They are unable to dance, but they can promenade and talk freely enough with ladies. It has now been seen that we can only gain the affections—if they are to be won—of the high and educated classes of British India by meeting them on a frank footing of friendly equality. Rajahs, it has been said, may put chains of gold over a visitor's neck, and wealthy bankers and merchants bow low to the European, but good feeling and kindness alone can procure the unbuyable courtesies of life.

Of all the royal lines of India, the most remarkable is the Rajpoot. Mr. Talboys Wheeler says it is the proudest there, and that, with the exception of the Jews, there are no living people of higher antiquity or more pure descent than the Rajpoots, or Sons of the Rajah. They claim to be the representatives, lineally, of the Kshatriyas—the descendants of those Aryan warriors who subdued the Punjaub and Hindostan in times of the most remote antiquity.

To this day they are said to display many of the characteristics of the Mahabharata and Ramayana—those famous Hindoo poems, the first of which is a sanscrit epic, consisting of 100,000 verses, and, like the latter, was well known in India in the second century before our era. The Rajpoots form a military aristocracy somewhat of the feudal type; they are heroically brave, generous, chivalrous, and keenly sensitive of the honour of their women. When occasion serves, their chiefs are ready to lead the lives of homeless outlaws, like the Pandana brothers, or retire into exile as haughtily and silently as Rama, when he retired with Sita into the forest to lead a life of seclusion and austerity; and such is their nature that, but for the paramount power of the British Government, they would still, from generation

to generation, wage bloody and exterminating wars. "The Rajpoots are the links between ancient and modern India. In the days of old they strove with the kings of Magadha for the suzerainty of Hindostan from the Indus to the Lower Gangetic valley. They maintained imperial thrones at Lahore, at Delhi, at Canouj, and Ayoodya (or Oude). In later revolutions their seats of empire have been shifted further west and south, but the Rajpoot kingdoms still remain as relics of the old Aryan aristocracy."

In all, the Government of India has about 153 feudatories, to whom salutes of cannon are accorded. Their troops far outnumber ours; the artillery, in many instances, are magnificent, and their wealth is enormous, while their revenues are personal; for very rarely does the money return to the people in the shape either of expenditure, improvement, or administration. A long line of ancestry is not necessary to procure a chief or prince honour in the eyes of the people. The late Guicowar of Baroda, at no remote distance, was the descendant of a cowherd as his name imports; the adventurous Mulhar Rao Holkar was also the son of a herdsman and Ranojee.

Scindia, though allied to some of the best families in Rajpootana, sprang from the caste of cultivators, and began life as a humble menial in the service of Baloojee Vishwunath; while the kingdom of Oude was founded in the middle of the eighteenth century by a merchant of Khorassan—the Land of the Sun.

That the great mass, if not the whole, of the people of India are more at ease under our rule than ever they were, or would be under native dominion, must be apparent even to themselves; and they must have been well aware that under any native dynasty the suppression of the sepoy revolt would have been followed by a massacre unparalleled in history, and that every town and province wherein the conquered were found, would have been converted into a howling desert. Well did they know that we used our triumph with moderation, and that the punishments were few and slight, compared with the hideous enormity of the crimes that elicited them; and perhaps they were acute enough to see in this circumstance some of the gentle teachings of Christianity, especially when leniency in the hour of triumph was followed by humanity and liberality in the terrible time of famine.

They are slightly taxed; they have no conscriptions, as when under their nabobs and rajahs; they sow and reap in security from the march of armies, the raids of Pindarees, and the ravages of Dacoits; and can mourn as little as the European over the

decayed greatness of many of the native rulers, whose personal vices and shameful misgovernment led to British intervention and the abolition of those powers, which amounted to nothing more than a faculty or proneness for mischief, extortion, cruelty, and tyranny. Bishop Heber tells us that when he was on his tour in the Upper Provinces there were serious apprehensions of a drought of rain, to be, as usual, followed by scarcity and famine, but the rain of heaven descended, and fear passed from the hearts of the people. At this juncture Archdeacon Corrie, when on his way to join the bishop, heard two native farmers conversing in a field by the wayside. "Neighbour," said one of them, "the rain has come at last!" "Yes," said the other; "and we have now a government that will let us eat our bread in peace and quietness." It has been said that no eloquence, poetry, or rhetoric could pay a higher compliment than this to the old East India Company and the parental rule of the British administration.

It is worthy of remark that to the last days of his life the Duke of Wellington, who won his first fame in India, never ceased to devote attention to its affairs, and always applauded the old mixed system of Indian administration, deprecating any measure which tended to diminish the power of the directors; but the grand old duke could not foresee the dark time of the Mutiny, and still less that the monarch he had served in his old age, would be proclaimed Empress of India.

Great indeed has been the progress of that country between the days of Warren Hastings and our own time. The inborn recklessness of human life peculiar to the Hindoo in so many forms has been well-nigh crushed out by kindness, and the highest-class education has been placed within the reach of all the wealthy. New channels for industry are constantly being opened up, and the people are learning to make articles for European employers in European style, and to drive bargains as hard as any in the Western world. In counting-rooms and banks the clerks are nearly all natives, and in many of the printing-offices the compositors are Hindoos. When railways were introduced, it was long doubted whether natives would use them. They asserted that they would not. A holy brahmin was to stand before a train and forbid it to move; but as the engine advanced, the brahmin thought it prudent to leap out of the way, saying the Fire-Horse was the Horse of Fate. In the trains every carriage is crowded by natives now, the people standing up as closely as they can be wedged together, heedless of caste. But the

carriages are no better than cattle pens, and are often a disgrace to the companies, who urge the extreme lowness of the fares, and the native tradersmen, earning perhaps little more than fourteen shillings per month, cannot afford to pay much.

We may remark that the term "presidency," which is still applied to the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, is no longer a correct one, and in the case of the first-named is almost misleading. But the expression is a relic of the days when the three infant settlements of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay were each under the authority of a president, and comprised all that Britain then held in India.

In fact, British India now contains nine provinces, each under its own civil government, but subordinate to the Viceroy in council. Bengal was under the charge of the latter till 1853, when it became a separate administration, under a lieutenant-governor. The North-west Provinces were separated from it in 1833, under a lieutenant-governor. The Punjab, after its annexation, was, as we have told, placed under a Board of Commissioners, but became a lieutenant-governorship in 1859; Oude, annexed by Lord Dalhousie, is equal in size to Holland and Belgium. The Central Provinces were formed in 1861. Assam was made a separate province in 1874. Madras and Bombay, &c., we need not refer to; but the revenue of these nine provinces, amounting to the average of fifty millions sterling, enables the British Government to maintain peace and goodwill throughout an empire equal in size to all Europe without Russia.

Mysore and Berar, though under British protection, do not contribute to the revenue of India, the three great and chief sources of which are land, salt, and opium. The latter is a Government monopoly in Bengal, those persons only being allowed to grow it who will undertake to deliver the entire crop to the Government agents. The opium is prepared in the Government depôts at Patna and Ghazepore, where it is sold by auction, and being superior in quality to that of China, it finds there a ready sale. The Bombay opium revenue is derived from the drug grown in Malwa, which pays a heavy duty on entering British territory.

The native states of India—the most important of which are Hyderabad, Scindia, Baroda, Jeypore, Travancore, Cashmere, Jodpore, Holkar, Puttiala, Oodeypore, Bhurtpore, and Bhopal—cover an area of nearly 600,000 square miles, containing a population of about 55,000,000, with military forces estimated at 300,000 men of all arms.

"In dealing with India," says a writer, "the first difficulty is to know where and how to begin, and the only other difficulty is to know where and how to end. The subject seems inexhaustible. . . . The history, for great events, extending over vast periods—for relation to ever-recurring waves of fierce conquest, with strange and stupendous civilisations—wonderful in art and even in polity—overlying strange barbarisms, ready in a moment to take fire and level all civilisation to the ground, has scarcely any parallels. No one, we grant, after seeing Rome, would deem any work of art in India exceptionally grand, though there is grandeur in much. It is when viewed in relation to races almost changeless that Indian art seems to tell a story all its own, and so often causes the visitor to sit down calmly to try and think out some of the strangest problems in the history of mankind."

And with regard to those stupendous temples, mosques, and tombs scattered over India, and the carvings of which tell such strange and often terrible stories of the remote past, it is most gratifying to find that the administration, while attending to the material welfare of the people, does not forget the duty of investigating, classifying, collecting, and in many instances repairing, the antiquarian remains that still exist. Nor is the literature of the past overlooked; and scholars have been employed to visit the seats of native learning, and to invite the *servants* to commit to paper the strange traditions which have been transmitted to them. Like Europe, India has had its successive styles of architecture, and, singularly enough, the changes in these styles have been almost coeval with the changes in the West, while divided into two great classes, the Hindoo and Mohammedan.

The former may be subdivided into three—viz., the Buddhist, consisting of carved caverns, monasteries, temples, and pillars, such as remain at Ellora, near Bombay, and near Bhilsa, in Malwa; the Jain, the principal works of which are in Rajpootana, Gwalior, and Bundelcund; and lastly, the Brahmin, the style of which extends over a vast period: hence it is difficult to attain more than an approximate determination of their age.

The Mohammedan architecture is divided into that of the Patans, "who built like giants and finished their work like jewellers," and the Mogul; but, as the religion of the Prophet forbids the representation of anything living, man or inferior animal, the actual sculpture of India is limited to the Hindoos. Only two such examples of Mohammedan art were known to exist. They were lost sight of for years, having been buried, and only came to light after the sepoy revolt.

Vast indeed are the architectural remains in India. Apart from the rock-hewn temples, such as those at Ellora, Salsette, Adjunta, and Elephanta—the work of at least 2,000 years ago—there are other remains which indicate that fully 3,000 years past India was nearly as far advanced in civilisation as she is now, and contained a mighty population, not merely scattered over the land in rural villages, but assembled in great centres, where multitudes were extensively engaged in manufacture and trade, and that indicate such centres to have been the capitals of once independent but now forgotten states.

The commerce of India may be considered under two great heads—viz., that which is maintained with Europe and America, and the coasting-trade, being that which is carried on between one portion of the peninsula and another, and from thence to the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia and the eastern shores of Africa. The Indian trade with Europe is almost entirely carried on by Great Britain, and, till the extinction of the Company's monopoly, it was exclusively the commerce of that body; but the moment that the trade to India was thrown open, a vast amount of capital and of tonnage were embarked in it by private individuals.

Wonderful indeed is the vegetable kingdom of India. It produces those species of grain which are most common to Europe; but rice, the chief food of the inhabitants, is the great object of culture, and the vast plains of the country are peculiarly fitted for its produce. There are no fewer than twenty-seven varieties of it cultivated, and under good care the soil yields crops all the year round. Maize comes next to rice in the Western Provinces, on poor soil and hilly ground; sugar is reared in some places; and also tobacco, but the latter is inferior to that of America. Among the many trees and families of palms, the cocoa-nut is the most remarkable. In one season a vigorous tree will yield 500 full-grown nuts. The leaves of the fan-palm are used as paper, and from its trunk is procured the liquor called palm-toddy. The fruit of the plaintain is used as bread. The bamboo we have already referred to. Every species of fruit is to be found in British India; but the most exquisite of all are the mango, which is to be obtained on the west of the Bay of Bengal, and another called the mangosteen. Sandal-wood is confined to Mysore, and the cotton-tree and pepper vine are natives to some places in India. It is in Bengal, Behar, Oude, and Agra, that indigo is chiefly cultivated.

The kossa-grass of the natives deserves particular notice among the poas. It is regarded as sacred, and is held almost constantly in the hands of those

who are anxious to be regarded as extremely devout. It is, moreover, of the greatest use in this climate, as from its roots are made those kind of mattings called *tatties*, which are placed against the doors and windows, and by being constantly watered keep apartments cool, while spreading a fragrance and freshness through them. On the frontier of Eastern Bengal there is an immense tract of country covered by a peculiar kind of growth, called by the natives *augeah-grass*. It thrives in sandy soil, grows to the height of thirty feet, and is thicker than a man's wrist.

In the Rajmahal district of Bengal, the common jungle-grass attains the height of ten feet, and is tipped on its summit by a beautiful and elegant down, resembling the feathers of a swan; but to treat of these matters in detail, or of the fauna of India, which is no less rich and varied than its flora, would require volumes rather than a reference in these concluding remarks.

The first place is unquestionably due, among quadrupeds, to the elephant, which, besides living in wild herds, has been from time immemorial domesticated, and employed in all labour requiring strength and sagacity. The buffalo, yak, and camel are also domesticated, and the latter is of great use in the west, on the borders of the desert which it is required to traverse. Man has been unable either to utilise or subject the one-horned rhinoceros; and the wild jungles teem with tigers, leopards, panthers, hyenas, and jackals, and many species of monkeys; and among many other varieties of the cervine tribe, we may enumerate the wild sheep, the goat, and the ass, also wild, the wild boar and hog, the chickara or four-horned antelope, the hog-deer, and the Nepaulese stag; while the birds include almost every species that fly.

When we pass to the lower order of the animal kingdom, the transition is less agreeable; for there we find, in all the large streams—but more especially in the Ganges and the Indus—the hideous alligator; and there are large and venomous snakes infesting both land and water, and so numerous as to include no less than forty-three varieties, the most terrible of which is the deadly *cobra di capello*.

The coasts and rivers of British India teem with fish, furnishing many varieties and an unlimited abundance of food; among these are the leopard-mackerel and the mango fish—the former measuring three feet, and the latter, occasionally, four feet in length; and both find a place at the dinner-tables of the Europeans.

Everywhere over all that wonderful land, from sea to sea, from the low sandy point of Cape

Comorin to the slopes of the mighty Himalayas, the full and teeming life of India, animate and inanimate, in its vigour and exuberance, never fail to impress even the most unimpressible of Europeans.

As a mineral country, India has not yet been fully developed. Though in distant ages gold was so abundant there, that the Indian was the only one of the Persian satrapies which paid tribute in that precious metal, it has only some river washings now, which are not very valuable; while its once famous diamond mines have been nearly exhausted. Coal is being discovered and worked well, however, at Raneeunge and elsewhere; it has mines of copper, and produces iron, from which steel of the most exquisite quality is manufactured; nitre is abundant, and its vast beds of salt, already referred to, are believed to be inexhaustible.

The old idea, once so prevalent, that to uphold and perpetuate our power in the East it was deemed good policy to keep the natives in igno-

rance, nor to teach them aught of Christianity and science, has now completely passed away, and a better, truer, and juster spirit prevails, as we have amply shown.

Nothing is left undone to seek to raise them, if possible, to our own level in regard to religion, to education, and the general civilisation of the Western world. Every successive administration of late years has laboured towards this glorious end; and the determination of what that sequel should be was fully announced by the spirit of the Imperial proclamation at the great Delhi durbar, that in future every justice shall be done to British India.

A time may come when that mighty empire, having attained a full knowledge of its own vast resources, may be able to dispense with our tutelage; but unless this consummation is to be peacefully reached—thus shedding a greater glory on the British name—we must hope that the day of its accomplishment will be far distant.

THE END.



"SALAAM."

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